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A

HISTORY OF ROME

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE EMPIRE.

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§ 1. So far in the History of Roman conquest, the countries round the Mediterranean had been divided, as it were, into two worlds, the Western and the Eastern: the Western, in which Rome and Carthage were struggling for mastery; the Eastern, in which the Macedonian successors of Alexander the Great were wasting their strength in never-ending wars. But from the moment that Philip V. of Macedon entered into alliance with Hannibal, the line of separation had been broken; and Rome only waited her time to break in upon the enervated nations of the East. That time came when the battle of Zama had delivered her from the fear of Hannibal and Carthage.

But before we enter upon the narrative of these new wars, it will be useful to survey the state of the Eastern world.

§ 2. At the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., his vast Empire fell at once into distinct portions. The successful Generals of the Great King at first governed these provinces under a Regent, as Viceroys of Alexander's infant son. But this child, with the rest of the royal family, was presently set aside; and within twenty years of the King's death those Imperial Governors assumed or accepted the style and title of independent Sovereigns. Ptolemy son of Lagus, surnamed Soter, became King of Egypt; Seleucus, of Babylonia and the Eastern provinces; Antigonus, with his son Demetrius, of Syria and Asia Minor; Lysimachus, of Thrace; Cassander, son of the Regent Antipater, of Macedonia, with more or less authority over the whole of Greece.

Of these soldier-kings, all of them well able to maintain the supremacy of the Macedonian arms, none except Ptolemy were disposed to govern their new dominions in peace and order. Schemes of conquest filled their thoughts; each one wished to become the successor of Alexander. But the most ambitious of all were the Kings of Syria, Antigonus and Demetrius; and the year 305 B.C. saw all the other sovereigns combined against these two. A general war followed; in 301 B.C. the Syrian Kings met the combined army of their rivals on the plain of Ipsus in Phrygia, and were utterly defeated. Antigonus fell upon the field at the age of eighty-one; Demetrius escaped to lead a life of strange adventure for nearly twenty years longer.

The battle of Ipsus made a great and sudden change in these Macedonian monarchies. Seleucus became master of the greater part of Asia Minor and of Northern Syria; Phœnicia and Cœlé-Syria fell into the hands of the King of Egypt.

We must now add a brief account of these kingdoms down to the period of the Second Punic War.

§ 3. We will begin with EGYPT. This curious and interesting country enjoyed long tranquillity. Ptolemy Soter, with his son Philadelphus, and his grandson Euergetes, seldom interfered in the wars of the other kings. In the course of the eighty years which followed the battle of Ipsus, the Kings of Egypt quietly extended their sway over parts of Arabia and Libya, as well as

over Lower Syria, and became masters of Lycia and Caria, of Cyprus and the Cyclades. The flourishing Republic of Rhodes was their firm ally. Trade flourished; art and literature reached a height unknown since the best days of Athens: the natural sciences were cultivated with unexampled success. Ptolemy Soter himself wrote a history of the campaigns of his great master; and the praise of judicious authors makes us regret its loss. He was a munificent patron of learning. From his time dates the establishment of the famous Library and Museum of Alexandria. The court of the Ptolemies was ennobled by the presence of Theocritus and other Greek poets, who, in a foreign court, added new lustre to their native literature. Alexandria increased daily in wealth and population, and became (as its great founder intended) the chief seat of trade between the East and West. Yet with all this outward splendour and prosperity, these kings sowed the seeds of decay. Instead of raising the standard of morality, they themselves gave way to the degrading practices of Egypt. Ptolemy Philadelphus set an example of elegant voluptuousness, and shocked the best feelings of the Greeks by wedding his own sister Arsinoë; and his example was followed by many of his successors. The decline of the monarchy may be dated from the accession of the fourth Ptolemy, surnamed Philopator; and so rapid was it, that when he died, towards the close of the Second Punic War (205 B.C.), the ministers of his infant son Epiphanes were obliged to look around for some powerful patron to defend it from the Kings of Macedon and Syria, who had impudently agreed to divide it between them.

In the year 273, Philadelphus had formed an alliance with Rome;[a] and her present attitude of superiority after the struggle with Carthage attracted the notice of all the Mediterranean nations. The Senate, therefore, were requested to become guardians of the boy-king, and without hesitation they accepted the office.

§ 4. The kingdom of SYRIA next claims attention. After the death of Seleucus, who assumed the surname of Nicator, the monarchy soon fell into decay. His son, Antiochus I., shifted the seat of the monarchy from Babylon to his new city of Anti-

[a] Chapt. xxvii. § 3.

ocheia (Antioch) on the Orontes. The consequence of this was that the Eastern Provinces were left open to the inroads of the Parthians. Asia Minor also, or the greater part of it, was lost to the monarchy. The kings of Macedon gained a footing in Mysia and Ionia; Caria and Lycia fell into the hands of the Egyptian sovereigns; Bithynia became an independent monarchy under kings, whom we shall hear of under the names of Nicomedes and Prusias; Cappadocia and Pontus owned the sway of sovereigns, whose names of Ariarathes, Ariobarzanes, and Mithridates sufficiently attest their Eastern origin; Northern Phrygia was occupied by hosts of vagrant Gauls, who passed over the Hellespont, and gave name to the district called Galatia or Gallo-Græcia; a Greek eunuch, named Philetærus, Treasurer of Lysimachus, King of Thrace, gained possession of the city of Pergamus, and was confirmed in his possession by the favour of Seleucus. He transmitted his Principality to his nephew Eumenes; and Attalus, another nephew, succeeding to Eumenes, took the title of King. Most of the Greek cities on the coast, with the Greek islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos, became free and independent. Such was the condition of things when Antiochus III., the sixth prince of his dynasty, ascended the throne of Syria in 223 B.C. The first years of his reign were marked with considerable vigour. He turned his arms against the Parthians with so much success that he assumed the title of the Great.

§ 5. Attalus, King of Pergamus, immediately saw his advantage in siding with Rome. Threatened by the King of Macedonia on the north, and by the King of Syria on the south, he at once threw himself into the arms of so powerful an ally, and ever remained faithful to her. He possessed a considerable fleet, and was of no small use to the Roman commanders. His name will often appear in the following narrative, as also that of his son Eumenes.

§ 6. The Republic of Rhodes rapidly recovered from the terrible siege which it had sustained from Demetrius Poliorcetes.[b] After Alexandria, Rhodes was the chief commercial place in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean. The government of Rhodes was conducted on upright principles; her citizens

[b] Dr. Smith's Greece, p. 562.

commanded the respect of all who had dealings with them. It is difficult to find, in the corruption of the ancient world, men so honest and respectable as the Rhodians. They would gladly have stood aloof from the Roman wars. But their old ally, the King of Egypt, had become too weak to support them; and the brutal conduct of the King of Macedonia, of which we shall have to speak hereafter, forced them into alliance with Rome. Their fleet, numerous, well-manned, and skilfully commanded, was of the utmost service to their ally.

§ 7. It remains to take a view of MACEDON itself and Greece before we proceed to the history of the Macedonian wars.

A very short time after Demetrius the Besieger fled from the field of Ipsus, discrowned and helpless, we are surprised to find him in possession of the sceptre of Macedon and lord of Greece. After reigning at Pella for seven years, he was expelled from his new kingdom by a second coalition, headed by Lysimachus, the veteran King of Thrace, and Pyrrhus, the young King of Epirus.[c] He made one more desperate attempt to recover his Asiatic dominions, when he fell into the hands of Seleucus, and died in captivity in the year 283 B.C. The year after, died Ptolemy Soter. And in 281, Lysimachus fell in battle against Seleucus, who thereby became possessor of Thrace. Seleucus, now the only survivor of Alexander's generals, would now have won Macedon also, but in the very moment of conquest he fell by the knife of an assassin. This assassin was Ptolemy Ceraunus, eldest son of the deceased King of Egypt. His furious temper had gained him a name, and lost him a kingdom. Being disinherited in favour of his younger brother Philadelphus, he had sought the protection of the King of Syria, and recompensed his benefactor by assassination. For a brief period, this savage became King of Macedonia and Thrace, and lent aid to Pyrrhus in his Italian campaigns. But he did not long enjoy his ill-gotten spoil. In that very year (280 B.C.) a host of Gauls, who had long been moving eastward from the Alps, burst into Greece, and swept like a torrent over her Northern districts, exactly a century after their brethren had burnt Rome. Ptolemy Ceraunus lost his life and crown in endeavouring to stay the course of the barbarians.

[c] See Chapt. xxvi. § 1.

A period of confusion followed. The Gauls, being expelled from Europe, settled in the heart of Asia Minor; and when Pyrrhus returned from Italy in 274 B.C., he found that the sceptre of Macedon had fallen into the hands of Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius. Pyrrhus soon found vent for his love of enterprise by invading Macedonia and driving Antigonus from the country: and he might have secured the throne, had not his ever-restless spirit led him to invade Peloponnesus, where (as we have said above) he fell ingloriously. Antigonus Gonatas now regained his power, and transmitted the sceptre of Macedon to his son Demetrius II. When this prince died, in the year 239 B.C., he left his son Philip, then a child of eight years old, to the charge of his cousin Antigonus Doson.[d] This Antigonus, however, took possession of the throne for himself. But in other respects he acted with honour and good faith towards his young charge. He gave him a good education; and at his death, in 221 B.C., he took care that he should be proclaimed King to the exclusion of his own children. Such an example of good faith deserves notice in this age of selfishness and corruption.

The administration of Antigonus Doson had been wise and temperate. When Philip V. succeeded to the throne, he found his kingdom in a more flourishing state than it had been for many years. No foreign enemy threatened his shores; and unhappy Greece, torn by the discord of her own sons, was ready to welcome him as a protector.

§ 8. The mere mention of the name of Greece excites some interest in the mind of the most indifferent reader; and when Greece is mentioned, the first name that memory recalls is that of Athens. But there was little left of that glorious spirit

[d] Δώσων, *intending to give;* for he did not give up the throne to Philip till his death. It may be useful to add a pedigree of the chief descendants of Antigonus and Demetrius:—

Antigonus, General of Alexander, King of Syria, died 301 B.C.
|
Demetrius I., called Poliorcetes, King of Macedon, 294–286.

Antigonus I., Gonatas, King of Macedon, 272–239.	Demetrius of Cyrené.
Demetrius II., King, 239–229.	Antigonus II., Doson, King, 229–220.
Philip V., King, 220–179.	
Perseus, King, 179–168.	

which enabled Athens to throw back the Persian invader from her shores. After the last struggle for independence, when the name of Demosthenes sheds a dying glory over the city, she surrendered herself quietly to the protection of the Kings of Macedon. Demetrius indeed pretended to set her free; but Athens was more disgraced by the servile flattery lavished on her self-styled liberator, than by all the bondage she had undergone before. Art, indeed, and literature still remained in their old abode. Even now the silken chains were being woven, which, at a later time, were to bind her Roman conquerors. Even now, Zeno the Stoic and Epicurus were establishing the rival doctrines which afterwards divided the Roman mind between them. Menander and Philemon and Diphilus were bringing on the stage those dramas of the New Comedy, which not long after delighted the Romans in the imperfect versions of Plautus and Terence. Yet, for all this, Athens, the star of Greece, had lost her brightness. The subtle intellect and vivid imagination which distinguished her sons above all other nations were turned to the basest uses. An Athenian and a sycophant became convertible terms.

§ 9. The next great name that claims our notice is that of SPARTA. There, the old Dorian nobility had dwindled away to a few families, who had engrossed the land, and exercised tyrannical rule over the Lacedæmonian people. In the year 241 B.C., Agis IV., one of the Kings, a young man of noble spirit, endeavoured with youthful vehemence to bring about a reform of the State. He proposed to abolish all debts, and to admit to the Spartan franchise a number of the Lacedæmonians, among whom all lands were to be divided anew according to the system of Lycurgus. But the old burgesses, led by the Ephors and the other King, opposed him vehemently; and Agis was put to death. Then followed a reaction. Cleomenes III., son of the King who had opposed Agis, succeeded to the crown and resumed the projects of that unhappy prince. But he showed more prudence in the execution of them. Before giving public intimation of his purposes, he attached the soldiery to his person; and by their support he put the Ephors to death, seized the government, and abolished the exclusive system of Lycurgus for ever. This was in the year 225 B.C. For a time

some appearance of vigour was restored to the enfeebled frame of the Spartan constitution.

§ 10. But in considering the state of Greece at that period chief notice belongs to a people who had hitherto played a very subordinate part in the history of their common country, the people of Achæa. From the time when the "long-haired Achæans" gave a general appellation to the Greeks who fought against Troy, their name had almost vanished from the pages of history. All we know of them is, that they were a relic of that ancient people who formerly possessed Peloponnesus, and were driven by the conquering Dorians, as were the Britons of our island by the Saxons, to a narrow strip of land on the sea-coast of their old domain. It was in the year 280 B.C., when the irruption of the Gauls filled all hearts with fear, that four towns of this obscure district united for mutual defence. Such was the beginning of that Confederation, which in a few years became famous under the name of the Achæan League.

§ 11. Yet it was not to themselves that this fame was due. Aratus, a native of Sicyon, was the true author of their greatness. This celebrated man was born about the time when Pyrrhus came to his ignoble end, and grew up to manhood at a period when Greece was fallen to her lowest estate. Some of her cities were overawed by the garrisons of Antigonus Gonatas; some were oppressed by Tyrants of their own. Sicyon was in the latter case. Scarcely had Aratus reached the age of twenty, when he formed the plan of delivering his native city from her thraldom. Success justified his audacity; and Sicyon, by the advice of Aratus, joined the Achæan League (251 B.C.). Not many years after, he was elected General-in-chief of the League; and, supported by the money of Ptolemy Philadelphus, he formed the design of expelling the Macedonians, and of uniting all Peloponnesus under the League. He surprised the important city of Corinth by night, and the Macedonian garrison surrendered the citadel. Corinth, grateful for the good service, joined the Federation; and her example was soon followed by Megalopolis and by Argos; so that by the year 227 B.C. the Achæan League had become the chief power of Peloponnesus. Argolis and Corinth, Arcadia

and Achæa, all formed one united State; the Athenians and the Phocians, the Bœotians and the Locrians were in alliance with it. Aratus seemed not far from the accomplishment of his darling project.

§ 12. Cleomenes was now King of Sparta; and he had no mind to let his country become a province of the League. Aratus, on the other hand, seems to have expected that Sparta, if she would not come in voluntarily, might easily be conquered. He was mistaken. With all his adventurous disposition, he was an unskilful general; whereas Cleomenes possessed great talents for war. It very soon appeared that Sparta was more likely to become master of the Achæans, than the Achæans of Sparta. In this state of things it is matter for regret that the pride of Aratus would not brook an equal alliance with the King of Sparta. Instead of this, he determined at all hazards to overpower him; and for this purpose he did not scruple to undo the work which he had spent his best years in executing. He called in the aid of Antigônus Doson, or, in other words, he made the Achæan League subject to Macedon. As a guarantee of his good faith, he admitted a Macedonian garrison into Corinth, and thus cancelled the most glorious exploit of his youth. The army of Antigonus, united to the forces of the League, was too much for Cleomenes. He was utterly defeated at the battle of Sellasia (222 B.C.), and died soon after an exile in Egypt. Sparta fell into the hands of bloody Tyrants; Aratus henceforth appears not as the chief of an independent people, but as Lieutenant of the King of Macedonia.

Such was the state of things in Greece when Philip succeeded to the throne, in the year after the battle of Sellasia. He was but seventeen, and his inexperience might have tempted the Spartans to renew the war, if Cleomenes had been still at home. But though Sparta was prostrate, there was another powerful and warlike State which has not yet been mentioned, which was always ready to take advantage of the weakness of its neighbours.

§ 13. In the best times of Greece the ÆTOLIANS make little more figure than the Achæans. From the time when "yellow-haired Meleager" slew the boar of Calydon, we hear

little of them. Dwelling in a mountainous district, difficult to assail, and having no interests in common with the rest of Greece, they kept aloof from her wars and treaties, and made war on their own account whensoever and with whomsoever they pleased. They were a nation of freebooters, a sort of land-pirates, caring for nothing but plunder. They owned no King; but before this time their several tribes had formed a sort of League; and deputies met every year at Thermon, their chief city, to elect a Captain-General (στρατηγός). They had thriven on the weakness of their neighbours, and had made themselves masters of many places in Locris and Phocis, in Acarnania and Epirus, in Bœotia and Thessaly. Ambracia, the capital of Pyrrhus, was theirs; so was Naupactus, once the chief station of the Athenian navy in the Gulf of Corinth. The Ætolians had become the most powerful state of Northern Greece. Thermon rose to be a splendid city. The chiefs lived in great magnificence. But they continued their marauding habits on a larger scale and in a more regular manner. It was chiefly by their selfish policy that the Romans were enabled to become masters of Greece.

§ 14. The Ætolian chiefs thought that the death of Antigonus Doson presented a good opportunity for a foray into Peloponnesus. The time was well chosen. Philip was too young, they thought, to act with promptitude; Aratus was too unskilful a general to alarm them. There was, indeed, an officer of the Achæans who possessed military talents as great as any captain of the best times of Greece. This was a young man named Philopœmen, a native of Megalopolis, who had commanded the Achæan cavalry at Sellasia, and had mainly contributed to that day's victory. But Philopœmen, thinking that in Greece, now again delivered over to Macedonia, there was no room for active service, had offered his sword to the patriots in Crete, and remained absent from his country for the next ten years. When, therefore, the Ætolians advanced into the territory of the League, Aratus himself was obliged to meet them. He was utterly routed; and the marauders ravaged Arcadia and Argolis at will. Next year they prepared to repeat their inroad, relying for support on Elis and Sparta, the determined enemies of Aratus. But Philip now came to aid

the faithful ally of the Macedonians, and the tide of war turned against the Ætolians.

The young King of Macedon showed great vigour and no small military skill. Not only did he expel the invaders from Peloponnesus, but broke into their own country and surprised Thermon, where all the treasures of the nation were deposited. Here he made the fierce chiefs of the Ætolians his enemies for ever; for not only did he carry off their treasure, but wantonly destroyed their houses, and burnt down their temples. Yet, for the present, they were willing to make peace; so much had they suffered in the war. Philip's attention also was attracted by events which made his successes in Ætolia look pale and trifling. These events were Hannibal's first victories in Italy.

§ 15. It was in the winter of 217 B.C., when the Achæans and their allies were assembled at Argos under Philip's presidency, that their deliberations were suspended by the tidings of the battle of Trasimene. The young King's mind was fired with eager desire to take part in this more splendid drama. He made peace with the Ætolians in terms very favourable to the Achæans; and thus ended what was called the last Social War.

Nothing could be more imprudent than Philip's desire to take part in Western politics. His position at home was most advantageous. His army was well disciplined, his fleet considerable, his finances in good order. The King of Egypt was too feeble to thwart him; the King of Syria and the Republic of Rhodes were willing to be his allies; the Greek states of Asia and Europe were ready to own him as protector; the malcontent Ætolians had just felt his power. With prudence he might have formed an Eastern confederation, which would have offered a formidable front to Rome's encroaching power.

But his imagination was inflamed by Hannibal's glory; in sleep his dreams transported him to Italy; and when the news of the great victory of Cannæ followed that of Trasimene, he determined no longer to stand aloof. It must be added, that his natural ambition was urged on by a person whom he had just admitted into his councils. This was Demetrius of Pharos, who for treachery had lost the Illyrian Principality given him by Rome.[e] He took refuge with Philip, and in the autumn

[e] Chapt. xxx. § 17.

which followed the battle of Trasimene, the Senate had sent to demand the surrender of his person. But at that moment, to be an enemy to Rome was to be the friend of Philip; and Demetrius became the King's chief adviser. His acquaintance with Roman politics recommended him; his unscrupulous advice suited the temper of Philip better than the cautious policy of Aratus, who ceased henceforth to have any weight in the counsels of Philip.

§ 16. It has been above mentioned that as soon as the news of the battle of Cannæ arrived, Philip sent off ambassadors to offer terms of alliance to Hannibal; that the messengers fell into the hands of the Romans, and consequently the treaty was not concluded till late in the year 215 B.C.[f] In this treaty it was stipulated that Philip should send an army to support Hannibal in Italy; and that, in the event of a successful issue of the war, Illyria should be given to Demetrius, while the Roman possessions in Epirus were handed over to Philip. The result of this treaty was the First Macedonian War.

[f] Chapt. xxxii. § 8.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FIRST AND SECOND MACEDONIAN WARS: SETTLEMENT OF GREECE BY FLAMININUS. (214—194 B.C.)

§ 1. Outbreak of hostilities between Philip and Rome. § 2. Impolitic conduct of Philip. § 3. League formed by Lævinus with Ætolians. § 4. Activity of Philip: Lævinus succeeded by Galba: Ægina taken. § 5. Danger of Philip in the year 208: his vigilance and successes. § 6. End of the First Macedonian War. § 7. Philip assists Hannibal at Zama: Embassy to Rome. § 8. His impolitic conduct towards the Achæans. § 9. His attempt to seize the possessions of Ptolemy in Asia Minor, opposed by Attalus and Rhodes. § 10. Athens revolts from Philip: envoys from Athens, Rhodes, and Attalus sent to complain of Philip to the Senate. § 11. Difficulty in persuading the Centuries to declare war against Philip. § 12. Forces led by Galba to Epirus: conquests of Philip in Thrace. § 13. The Romans burn Chalcis: the Achæans refuse aid to Philip. § 14. Galba enters Macedonia by the North-west: his fruitless campaign. § 15. Operations of the Fleets: the Ætolians join the Romans, and Amynander chief of Athamania. § 16. Second Campaign: L. Villius, Consul, attempts to enter Thessaly. § 17. T. Quinctius Flamininus supersedes Villius: he forces the pass of the Aoüs. § 18. His operations in Greece: dissensions in the Achæan League. § 19. Conference during winter between Philip and Flamininus. § 20. Third Campaign: Flamininus continued in command as Proconsul: Romans dominant in Greece. § 21. Battle of Cynoscephalæ: complete defeat of Philip. § 22. Terms offered by Flamininus to Philip: Peace. § 23. Discontent of Bœotians and Ætolians with Roman authority. § 24. Declaration of the independence of Greece at the Isthmian Games. § 25. Settlement of Greece. § 26. Proceedings of Antiochus, King of Syria. § 27. Nabis Tyrant of Sparta: siege of Sparta: Peace with Nabis. § 28. Policy of Flamininus. § 29. Address of Flamininus to the Greeks at Corinth. § 30. His departure, and Triumph.

§ 1. IN consequence of the seizure of the first envoys sent by Philip to Hannibal, the Senate had stationed M. Valerius Lævinus as Proprætor, with a small squadron, at Brundusium.[a] In 214 B.C., this enterprising officer received intelligence that Philip had appeared with a fleet off the coast of Roman Epirus,[b] had taken Oricum, and that his fleet in the Aoüs with his

[a] Chapt. xxxi. § 39; xxxii. § 10. [b] Chapt. xxx. § 17.

army on land was blockading Apollonia. Lævinus immediately crossed over to Oricum, which he recovered without a blow, and entered Apollonia secretly with a body of 2000 troops. The appearance of the Roman squadron in the Aoüs so alarmed the King, that he burnt his ships and made a precipitate retreat across the mountains into Macedonia. Lævinus remained at Oricum during the winter.

In the following year Philip confined himself to a war with Scerdilaïdas the Illyrian, a younger brother of Agron, the husband of Teuta, who had conquered the mountainous district about Lake Lychnidus (Drilo), which lay between Epirus and Macedon. Philip, however, had recovered these in a single campaign; the strong fortress of Lissus (Alessio) also fell into his hands, and all that part of Illyria which marched with Macedonia submitted to his rule.

§ 2. It has been before remarked, that Philip's wisest course would have been to abstain from mixing himself up with the affairs of Italy; but, having done so, he ought to have engaged heartily in the war. In 213 B.C. Hannibal attempted to take Tarentum; in 212, he became master of that important city. Then, if ever, would have been the time for the King to have dispatched the Macedonian Phalanx to support the Carthaginian in Italy. His inactivity is the more remarkable, because about the same time he delivered himself so entirely to the counsels of Demetrius that he did not hesitate to disembarrass himself of the troublesome remonstrances of Aratus by poison. Thus was the patriotic founder of the Achæan League, so long the faithful servant of the Kings of Macedon, requited for his services.

§ 3. Lævinus, during this period of torpor, was continued in his command. But he was too weak to take any forward step till the year 211 B.C., when he entered into negotiations with the Ætolians, and soon found means to induce their greedy chiefs to form a treaty with Rome on terms that reveal their selfish policy. They were to join Rome in war upon Philip; all cities taken by the confederate forces were to be handed over to the Ætolians, but the inhabitants and moveable property were to be left to the Romans: the Romans were to assist the Ætolians in gaining possession of Acarnania. Thus,

for their own selfish ends, the Ætolians assisted in reducing their own brethren into slavery.

A provision was added to the treaty, by which Attalus of Pergamus, and Scerdilaïdas of Illyria, with his son Pleuratus, were to be allowed the power of joining the League against Philip.

§ 4. The news of this treaty roused Philip to something of the activity he had displayed in the Social War. He baffled the assault of his enemies on every side. Lævinus, however, succeeded in taking the strong city of Anticyra in Locris, which was given over to the Ætolians, while the inhabitants and booty were, as by treaty agreed, left to the Romans.

Soon after Lævinus received tidings of his election to the Consulate for the year 209 B.C. His successor was P. Sulpicius Galba, who was ordered to send home the legion which had hitherto been employed in Greece. The Senate, anxious to finish the war in Italy, were of opinion that the Consul, supported at sea by the fleet of Attalus, and on land by the Ætolians, were sufficient to hold Philip in check.

Galba, thus hampered, was unable to do more than seize the island of Ægina. Here, as at Anticyra, the inhabitants were sold as slaves for the benefit of the Romans, while the place was left to the Ætolian chiefs, who handed it over to Attalus for the price of thirty talents. This monarch had lately joined the allies with a squadron of thirty-five Pergamene ships, and Ægina henceforth became his head-quarters.

The Achæan League, notwithstanding the suspicious death of Aratus, preferred maintaining their alliance with Philip to uniting themselves with greedy freebooters like the Ætolians.

In 208 B.C. Philopœmen returned from Crete, and succeeded in placing their army in a more effective state. Men of rank and property were induced to serve in the cavalry. Still they were hardly a match for the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, who had joined the Ætolian League.

§ 5. Towards the close of the year 209, when the deputies of the Achæan League met at Ægium, an attempt was made to bring about a general peace. But the insolent demands of the Ætolian chiefs prevented all possibility of such a result, and in the next year (208 B.C.) Philip with the Achæans had

to enter upon a conflict with the Romans and Attalus at sea, the Ætolians and Lacedæmonians by land, while Scerdilaïdas and his son Pleuratus threatened the northern frontiers of Macedonia, and the Thracians broke into the eastern districts.

To meet these multiplied assaults, Philip exerted a vigour and activity worthy of his best days. Fixing his head-quarters at Demetrias (a strong fortress on the Pagasæan Gulf in the south of Thessaly, erected by Demetrius Poliorcetes in order to command the passage, both by sea and land, from Macedonia through Thessaly into Greece), he sent troops to defend the Bœotians, Acarnanians, and Phocians from the attacks of the Ætolians. Attalus was happily detached from the League by an incursion made by Prusias, King of Bithynia, into his kingdom of Pergamus; and Galba, being thus left alone with a feeble squadron, was obliged to retire to Ægina. The only success of which the allies could boast in this campaign was the capture of the town of Oreus in the north of Eubœa; and this was betrayed by the treachery of its commandant.

In the two following years fortune declared positively for Philip. In the Peloponnesus Philopœmen gained a decided superiority over Lacedæmon. The King invaded Ætolia, and again committed Thermon to the flames.[c]

§ 6. The Ætolians, finding that the Romans left them to bear the whole brunt of the war, were glad to conclude a fresh peace on terms favourable to Macedon. This was in 205 B.C. Scarcely was the peace concluded, when P. Sempronius Tuditanus arrived at Dyrrhachium with two legions and an additional squadron of ships, to retrieve the disasters of the last year. Philip hastened over the mountains to attack him in Epirus. But before any decisive action, the Epirotes offered their mediation, and a further treaty of peace was signed between Philip and Rome. It is probable that this treaty also was favourable to the King; for he retained his conquests in Atintania and Illyria, and thus remained master of the passes by which his country was approached from the west. But the Senate were anxious, at this time, to bring the war with Hannibal to a close, and the Peace of Dyrrhachium was confirmed by the assent of all the Tribes.

[c] Chapt. xxxviii. § 15.

Thus ended what is commonly called the First Macedonian War. The object of the Romans had been not to carry on active hostilities in the East, but to prevent Philip from assisting Hannibal in Italy. In this they had succeeded at a very small expense to themselves either in men or money.

§ 7. That Philip entertained few thoughts of a lasting peace, is shown by the fact that on Hannibal's return to Africa he sent him 4000 men, commanded by Sopater, a nobleman of the highest rank at the Macedonian court, to assist in maintaining the war against Scipio. These men took part in the battle of Zama, and their commander with many of his men became prisoners. Philip had the impudence to send envoys to Rome, partly to complain of the Senate giving ear to the complaints laid against him by certain Greeks, partly to demand the liberation of the officers and men who had been taken prisoners. His envoys were dismissed with the stern answer, that "if Philip wished for war he should have it."

§ 8. Meantime the King of Macedon had been displaying a most unfortunate activity in the East and in Greece.

On the death of Ptolemy Philopator in the very year of the Peace of Dyrrhachium (205), Philip made a bargain with Antiochus King of Syria to divide between them the dominions that now devolved on the boy-king Ptolemy Epiphanes. This was the unprincipled Treaty of Partition which drove the ministers of young Ptolemy to place him under the guardianship of Rome.[d]

But it was in Greece that his conduct was most impolitic. The tyrannical disposition which he had disclosed ever since Demetrius of Pharos had replaced Aratus as his chief counsellor, exhibited itself more and more. Demetrius was killed in battle soon after the Peace of Dyrrhachium, and was succeeded in the king's confidence by still more unscrupulous knaves, Heraclides, a Tarentine pirate, and Dicæarchus, an Ætolian exile. At their instigation Philip now attempted to take off Philopœmen as he had taken off Aratus, but without success. The Achæan patriots, Philopœmen, Lycortas the father of Polybius the historian, and others, were in a difficult position. On one side they saw the Ætolian marauders, likely

[d] See Chapt. xxxviii. § 3.

to be supported by Rome; on the other, the oppressive tyranny of Philip. It would have been easy for the king to have made them his hearty friends, and to have had his Macedonian phalanx supported in the struggle with Rome by the Achæan cavalry under the able conduct of Philopœmen. But he could not bear the existence of a shadow of freedom in Greece, and sacrificed his best allies to a love of despotism.

§ 9. It was to be expected that Philip would be thwarted in his attempt to seize the Asiatic possessions of Egypt by Attalus and the Rhodians, who could not view with satisfaction any advance of the grasping sovereign of Macedon. To forestall opposition, his new minister Heraclides treacherously repaired to Rhodes, in the character of a deserter; and this fellow, after worming himself into the confidence of the brave islanders, set fire to their arsenal, and was received in triumph at the court of Philip. The King then took the field: on the European side of the Hellespont he captured Lysimacheia, and, crossing the Hellespont, Chalcedon. Then, in conjunction with Prusias of Bithynia, he attacked Cius, a city in alliance with the Ætolians, and treated its inhabitants with a barbarity unexampled in Grecian warfare. Thasos, Chios, and Samos surrendered to his fleet. Suddenly he entered the kingdom of Pergamus, and Attalus escaped with difficulty. He then passed triumphantly into Caria.

But by this time the Rhodians had sufficiently recovered from their late loss to take the sea, and their fleet combined with that of Attalus fell upon the King's squadron at Chios, and defeated it, but not decisively. A second battle off Miletus was still more equally contested. Yet the combined fleets were able to blockade Philip in Caria so closely, that it was not till the spring of 201 B.C. that he effected his escape into Europe.

§ 10. The Rhodians and Attalus now passed over to Greece, and promised the Athenians support if they would throw off the Macedonian yoke. Philip despatched an army to overawe Athens, while in person he returned to the Hellespont and laid siege to Abydos.

But, meantime, the injured powers had sent to complain at Rome. Athenian envoys represented that their lands had been wasted, and their peaceful citizens compelled to take

refuge behind the walls of their city, by the Macedonian soldiery. The ambassadors of Rhodes and Attalus set forth the ravages that Philip had in the last year committed on the coasts of Asia Minor. Three commissioners, who were then just starting to assume the guardianship of the young King of Egypt, were ordered to visit Philip on their way, and remonstrate on his proceedings. They were all men of note,—Claudius Nero the conqueror of Hasdrubal, P. Sempronius Tuditanus the author of the Peace of Dyrrhachium, and M. Æmilius Lepidus, a young Senator of high and generous spirit, who afterwards rose to be the first man at Rome. Lævinus was despatched anew to Greece with the fleet that had during the Punic War been employed on the coast of Sicily. But no proposal to declare war was made till the next year (200 B.C.).

§ 11. On the Ides of March, the day on which at that period the Consuls entered upon office, these magistrates summoned the Senate. Despatches had just arrived from Lævinus,[e] detailing in full the late conduct of Philip, and urging the necessity of an immediate declaration of war. New envoys arrived from Athens, urging that without assistance they must submit. The three commissioners, it was added, had found Philip at Abydos, and Æmilius had remonstrated in plain and open language. "You speak thus," replied the King, "because you are a young man, a handsome man, and—a Roman. If," he added, "you wish for war, I am ready." The Consul, P. Sulpicius Galba, who had before succeeded Lævinus, was again appointed to conduct the Macedonian war, and prepared to bring in a bill for the purpose before the Assembly of the Centuries.

Great pains had been taken to prepare the minds of the people for ready acquiescence. At the conclusion of the Hannibalic War, the achievements of Roman arms had been celebrated with games of extraordinary pomp by the Ædiles, one of whom was T. Quinctius Flamininus, the future conqueror of Philip. The poorer class of citizens had been invited to purchase at a low rate the large supplies of grain sent over by Scipio from Africa. Portions of the Public Land in Apulia and Samnium were distributed to the veterans of Scipio.

[e] Lævinus died in the course of this year.

There was, however, a general disinclination to make the sacrifices required by a new war in a distant country. The citizens of Rome, as well as the Latins and Italians, were all liable to be drawn for service, unless they were past the military age, or had already served their time. Every family had for years seen its best and strongest males withdrawn from rustic labour to bear arms against Carthage; all were anxious to avoid any return of the miseries which they had endured during Hannibal's occupation of Italy. Q. Bæbius, a Tribune, declared against the Senate, and attributed the proposed war with Macedon to their desire for commands and opportunities of plunder. When the Bill was proposed by the Consul, it was rejected by the vote of almost every Century.

But the Senate was not to be thus discouraged. When Bæbius appeared in the House, he was assailed with reproaches; and the Consul was ordered to summon the Centuries to a second vote. Before the question was put, he addressed them in a set speech, in which he urged that "the point for decision was, not whether they would go to war with Philip or not, but whether they would have that war in Italy or across the sea." The yeomen of the Roman Tribes, terrified at the thoughts of a new invasion, believed his arguments, and reversed their late vote.

§ 12. The levies ordered consisted of six legions, four for Italy and two for the Macedonian War. For war was still raging in Northern and Southern Italy,—with the Gauls in the north, with the Bruttians in the south.

The Macedonian legions comprised many of Scipio's veterans; but it was expressly ordered that none of these soldiers should be enrolled, except by their express consent. The whole force, Romans and allies, could not have amounted to much more than 20,000 men. Galba was not able to reach Apollonia till near the end of the season (200 B.C.); but he at once despatched C. Claudius Centho, with 20 ships and 1000 men, to relieve Athens.

Meantime Philip had been pursuing a very successful career in Thrace. Maroneia was taken by assault. Ænos was betrayed. Doriscus and a number of smaller places yielded at discretion. Abydos alone held out with heroic bravery: rather

than yield to Philip, they said they would destroy every living soul within the city. "Well," remarked the King, with the reckless wit for which he was famous, "we will suspend the siege, and give them three days to kill themselves in." By the time that it had fallen, Philip heard that the Romans were in Epirus and at Athens.

§ 13. At once he crossed over to Demetrias. While he lay here, Claudius made an inroad into Eubœa, and surprised the strong city of Chalcis. Philip crossed the Euripus; but, too late to save the place from plunder, he resolved to take vengeance upon Athens. Claudius was not strong enough to meet him in the field, and Philip wreaked his barbarous rage on the sacred groves and buildings round the city, which his generals had hitherto spared. He then pushed on to Argos, where the Achæans were sitting in Council. But though Philopœmen was absent, the Assembly was so alienated from Philip by his late conduct, that they determined not to take part in the war, but to confine themselves to the defence of their own confederates against Nabis, the ferocious despot who now ruled Sparta. Philip returned in disappointment to Macedonia.

§ 14. Early in the next year (199 B.C.) Galba moved. The course which he intended to take was the valley of the river Apsus, which leads past the city of Antipatreia (Berat) into Western Macedonia. His Legate Apustius, who was sent forward, stormed Antipatreia, put to death all the adult males, gave up the city to plunder, and burned it to the ground. But on the approach of a large body of Macedonian troops, he retired, loaded with plunder, down the valley, and suffered much loss from the enemy.

Moreover, the Consul had been just visited by Pleuratus, son of Scerdilaïdas, and Bato, son of the Chief of the Dardanians, a tribe which occupied the Scodrus chain between Macedonia and Upper Mœsia, and it was settled that the Roman army, instead of attempting to penetrate directly into Macedonia by the valley of the Apsus, should march northward and enter the country from the territory of these friendly tribes. Meantime Apustius was detached with the fleet to join Attalus and the Rhodians at Ægina, so as to assault Philip's dominions in the East.

To oppose this double attack, Philip showed great energy. Leaving Heraclides in command of the fleet at Demetrias, he hastened, with his son Perseus, to watch the northern passes which the Romans were about to attempt.

Galba advanced through the rugged and woody districts to the west of the Axius (Vardar), then called Eordæa and Elymiotis,[f] but avoided a descent into the level plain; and Philip, not choosing to risk a battle on ground unfavourable to the action of the phalanx, contented himself with watching the enemy. After long and painful marches for many days through this inhospitable district, Galba returned to Apollonia by the valley of the Apsus. He had effected nothing, and his army suffered greatly in its bootless campaign.

§ 15. As soon as Galba turned his back, Philip left Perseus to punish the Dardanians, and returned hastily into Thessaly. Apustius, joined by Attalus, had entered the Peiræeus; and the Athenians, encouraged by the presence of so strong a fleet, gave full vent to their feelings against Philip. They decreed that all honours hitherto bestowed on the King of Macedon should be obliterated, and that Philip and his family should be cursed in the public prayers. On Attalus they bestowed honours similar to those which they had lavished on Demetrius, and created a new Tribe to be called Attalis after the King of Pergamus. The combined fleets then proceeded to take or occupy various outlying places belonging to Macedon, on the coasts of Eubœa and Thessaly. After a series of petty successes, Apustius retired to Corcyra, Attalus to Ægina.

But Thessaly was threatened from the other side also. Amynander, chief of the Athamanians, an Epirote tribe which occupied the valleys of Mount Pindus to the west of Thessaly, had welcomed the Romans, and endeavoured to persuade the Ætolians to join the confederacy against Philip; but the Ætolians remembered how the Romans had deserted them in the former war, and stood aloof from all alliance. When, however, they heard that Galba had penetrated into Macedonia, and that the allied fleets were masters of the sea, love of plunder overcame resentment, and they poured into Thessaly from the

[f] The woods, by the account of modern travellers, have entirely disappeared.

south, while Amynander descended from the west. But Philip surprised them, and drove them with loss out of the country.

On the whole, the campaign of 199 B.C. had not been flattering to the Roman arms. A great display of force had been made, but no results had been gained. Galba, on landing at Corcyra, wrote word to the Senate that a laurel with which his ship's stem was decked had budded—a sure omen of victory; but no laurel wreath adorned the Consul's brow.

§ 16. Galba's campaign took place after his successor P. Villius Tappulus had entered upon office; but the latter did not arrive at Corcyra till late in the season, and during the winter he was occupied with quelling a mutiny of the veterans of Scipio. In the spring of 198 B.C. he took the field as soon as he was able, but did not attempt the Macedonian passes, either on the West or on the North. He had the merit of perceiving that Philip was most vulnerable in Thessaly; that the army, supported by the fleet, might by its presence in that country separate Philip from the Achæans, and deprive him of influence in Greece. With the aim of penetrating into Thessaly, therefore, he marched up the valley of the Aoüs; but in a narrow defile, at no great distance from the sea, he found Philip strongly posted, and while he was considering his next move, he received news that T. Quinctius Flamininus, the Consul of the year, had arrived at Corcyra. A few days later, the new Consul arrived in camp and took the command of the army.

§ 17. Flamininus is as much the hero of the Macedonian war as is Scipio of the war with Hannibal. He also was a Patrician, and was elected to the Consulship at the age of thirty, though as yet he had held no office save the Quæstorship. Two Tribunes protested against his election; but an appeal was made to the Senate, and they declared him eligible. His character will exhibit itself in the sequel. Unlike Galba and Villius, he left Rome soon after the Ides of March, instead of allowing himself to be detained at Rome till it was time to go into winter-quarters. He brought with him additional troops,—8000 foot and 800 horse, including a fresh levy of Scipio's veterans. His brother Lucius accompanied him as Lieutenant, and was invested with the command of the Fleet.

The position occupied by Philip was at a point where the

valley closes in to a narrow gorge, which the Macedonians had occupied so skilfully that Flamininus, like his predecessor, hesitated to attempt a direct attack.[g] Both armies lay confronting each other for about six weeks, when the Epirotes offered their mediation, and Philip agreed to meet the Consul. After some parley, Flamininus avowed his intentions with regard to Greece by demanding that "the King should withdraw his garrisons from all Hellenic cities, make restitution for injuries past, and leave them independent for the future." Philip then broke off the conference in anger, exclaiming that "no harder terms could be asked if he were beaten." Next day the Consul made an unsuccessful attempt upon Philip's lines; and it is probable that he might have been altogether foiled, had not an Epirote chief named Charops shown him a path by which the enemy's position might be turned. Having sent a detachment by this path to take the enemy in rear, the Consul again assailed their lines. The Macedonians beat off the Roman assaults gallantly till they found themselves attacked in rear. Then they fled precipitately up the pass. Another stand might have been made on the summit, near the present town of Metzovo, a favourite position in modern Greek wars, but no such attempt was made. Philip made a rapid march through Thessaly, compelling the people to desert their towns, and throwing garrisons into the strongest places; but Pheræ, the most important town of the district, closed its gates against him, and he withdrew to Pella.

§ 18. Meanwhile Amynander on the north, and the Ætolians on the south, had again broken into Thessaly, and were plundering the country without let or hindrance. The politic Consul remained some little time in Epirus, where he secured the good-will of the people by his mild treatment. From Epirus he marched through Thessaly, and passed southward into Locris, where the sea-port of Anticyra served as a basis of operations. He then laid siege to Elateia, a strong fortress which commanded the chief pass from Bœotia northwards.[h]

[g] The place seems to have been a little below Klissoura, where a ridge strikes across the gorge, and leaves a very narrow passage for the stream.

[h] Well known as having been seized by Philip II. when he was preparing his attack upon the liberties of Greece. See the famous description in Demosth. *de Corona*, p. 284: ἰσπίρα μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ἦκε δ' ἀγγέλλων τις . . ., ὡς Ἐλατεία κατείληπται.

The Fleet under Lucius Flamininus, after taking the Eubœan cities of Eretria and Carystus, anchored at Cenchreæ, the eastern haven of Corinth. The purpose of Lucius was to influence the General Assembly of the Achæan League, which had met at Ægium. In the past winter, Philip had essayed to undo the bad impression created in every Hellenic mind by his treatment of Cius, Abydos, Athens, and other Greek cities, by disgracing his Admiral, the pirate Heraclides, and affecting a tone of general moderation. The question for the Assembly now to decide was whether they were to take part in the war, and if so, what part. Opinion had gradually been becoming more positive in favour of the Romans. Cycliadas, the trusted leader of the Macedonian party, had been banished; Aristænus, the Captain-General of the year, was wholly in the Roman interest; yet there was a third party, headed by Philopœmen and Lycortas, who recommended strict neutrality. Great was the perplexity of the Assembly. If they declared in favour of the Romans, they would find themselves leagued with the barbarous Ætolians; if they remained neutral, they might find themselves left in a perilous state of isolation. It is probable that the neutral party would have carried the day, had not Philopœmen been again absent from the Peloponnesus. After hearing the envoys of both powers, they sat a whole day silent or murmuring. Then Aristænus rose and openly urged them to side with the Romans. A tumultuous debate followed; and when on the third day the Assembly voted with Aristænus, the representatives of Dymé and Megalopolis, with part of the Argives, rose and withdrew under protest. Soon after this, Argos admitted a Macedonian garrison: so that Corinth and Argos, the most important cities of the League, were now in the hands of Philip. Megalopolis stood aloof, yet the vote of the Assembly enabled Flamininus to declare himself Protector of the Achæan League, and asserter of the liberties of Greece. Before winter set in, Elateia yielded, and the whole of Phocis and Locris submitted.

§ 19. During the winter, both powers were active in negotiation. Philip was alarmed at the success of Flamininus in attaching the Grecks to his cause. Flamininus was fearful of

being superseded by the next year's Consul before he had brought the war to an issue.

Both parties therefore agreed to a conference, which was held on the coast of the Maliac Gulf, a little south of the Pass of Thermopylæ. The King approached the appointed place in his state galley, attended by Cycliadas the banished Achæan, and two Macedonian officers. Flamininus stood upon the shore surrounded by his allies,—Amynander King of the Athamanians, the envoy of Attalus, the Rhodian admiral, the chiefs of the Achæan League, and Phæneas the one-eyed captain of the Ætolians. Flamininus then renewed his demands, that "Philip should restore freedom to all the cities of Greece, and make restitution for injuries." He was followed by his several allies, who each urged their own claims, not without vehemence. Philip kept his patience till the Ætolian chief broke in by saying, that "this was no question of words: the long and short of it was that Philip must conquer or obey." "Aye," retorted the King in his sarcastic vein, "one may see that with half an eye." So closed the first day's conference. Next day the King's galley did not make its appearance, till Flamininus had persuaded the allies to allow him to conduct the negotiations alone. On the third day proceedings closed with a proposal that both parties should send ambassadors to the Senate at Rome.

When Philip's envoy began a set speech before the Senate he was cut short by the question, "Whether the King was prepared to withdraw the garrisons from the three fortresses which, in his biting way, he used to call *the Fetters of Greece*—Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth?" The envoy replied he had received no instructions on this point, and was ordered to leave Rome.

§ 20. Both parties therefore prepared for a decisive conflict. Flamininus was continued in the command as Proconsul. All Greece between Thessaly and the Isthmus was with him, except Acarnania and Bœotia. Acarnania might safely be neglected, but it was of high importance to secure Bœotia. On the approach of Flamininus, an assembly was held at Thebes to discuss the propriety of submission to Rome, at which Attalus,

now an old man, spoke with so much warmth that he fell down in a fit of apoplexy, and died not long after. During the debate the Consul introduced a body of soldiers into Thebes, and the Assembly, being thus overawed, voted for alliance with Rome. Still more mortifying to Philip was it to see Nabis, Tyrant of Lacedæmon, follow the general current. He had stooped to court the favour of this monster, and as an earnest of goodwill put Argos into his hands. Nabis took the bribe, and immediately concluded an alliance with Flamininus.

§ 21. In 197, therefore, Flamininus advanced from Elateia to Thermopylæ with all Greece at his back. Here he paused till he was joined by a division of Ætolian cavalry. Philip had already passed through the Vale of Tempé into Thessaly. Constant wars had so drained the population of Macedonia that the levies included veterans past the time of service, and boys of the tender age of sixteen. The Phalanx, as usual, consisted of two divisions, each 8000 strong; and to this were added about 7000 light troops and 2000 horse. The Romans had about the same number of foot, but the Ætolian cavalry gave them a great advantage in this arm. When the King arrived at Larissa, he heard that Flamininus was already near Pheræ, and he immediately pushed forward to this place; but the ground near Pheræ, being cut up by walled gardens, was unsuited for the movements of the Phalanx. Philip therefore fell back upon Scotussa, where plains of waving corn, then just ripe, supplied plenty of forage. Flamininus followed; and the two armies encamped, unknowingly, on opposite sides of the same low range of hills, which from their appearance were called Cynoscephalæ, or the Dog-heads. The next day was stormy, and the air so darkened by mist and rain that the men could only see a few yards before them. Philip, however, detached a strong body of light troops to occupy the ridge of the hills; and at the same time a Roman reconnoitring party ascended the opposite slope. The Romans, being the weaker, were driven down the hill towards their camp, where they were supported by fresh troops, and the Macedonians were obliged to retire to the summit of the ridge. The mist now cleared off. The Macedonians, being reinforced in their turn, again forced the Romans down the slope, and would have cut them

to pieces had not the Ætolian cavalry held the enemy in check. Flamininus now drew out the legions, and advanced with his whole line; while the Macedonian officers sent off message after message to the King, exaggerating their success, and urging him to bring up the Phalanxes and secure the victory. Philip was a good general, and had no mind to entangle his columns in uneven ground, but he suffered himself to be persuaded against his better judgment. Philip himself led one Phalanx on the right, while Nicanor was to follow with the other on the left.

On ordinary occasions the Phalanx was drawn up sixteen men in file; but on this day Philip threw his division into a much deeper column. Its weight was thus much increased; and as it bore down upon the Roman left with levelled lances,[i] ten points against each soldier, its charge was irresistible. The Legions gave way before it. But while this was taking place on the left of the Roman line, Flamininus upon the right observed Nicanor's division still upon the brow of the hill, broken by the rough ground. He immediately sent up his elephants, and following with his Legionaries charged before the enemy had found time to form. The left division of the Phalanx, attacked in this helpless condition, was driven over the hill in utter confusion. Philip saw that all was lost, and left the field. Not less than 8000 Macedonians were killed; 7000 were taken prisoners. The army was annihilated.

§ 22. When the Romans reached the Macedonian camp, they found that their light-fingered allies the Ætolians had already plundered it. If this disgusted the soldiery, Flamininus himself was provoked by the arrogance with which their chiefs claimed the chief share in the victory of Cynoscephalæ. Their cavalry had doubtless done good service; but it was too much for Roman pride to hear an epigram recited, in which it was said that "Philip had been conquered by the Ætolians and the Latins."[k] The Ætolians had now ceased to be useful to the Romans, and

[i] τοῖς μὲν φαλαγγίταις ἐδόθη παράγγελμα καταβαλοῦσι τὰς σαρίσσας ἐπάγειν. Polyb. xviii. 7. Livy translates this: "phalangem, hastis *positis* (instead of *demissis*), quarum longitudo impedimento erat, gladiis rem gerere jubet." (xxxiii. 8.) He first mistranslates, and then invents a reason.

[k] Αἰτωλῶν δμηθέντες ὑπ' Ἄρεος ἠδὲ Λατίνων. Alcæus Messen. ap. Plutarch., Vit. Flamin. c. 9.

from this time forth we find little harmony between them. Flamininus held a conference with Philip at Tempé; and the Ætolians were furious to find that the politic Roman offered Philip the old conditions of peace, whereas they wished for nothing less than to deprive him of his crown. Philip gladly accepted the offer of the General: he paid down 200 talents caution-money, and gave up his son Demetrius and other hostages, who were to be restored in case the Senate refused their assent to the treaty. But Flamininus was at this time completely trusted by the government at home; and ten Commissioners were sent with a Decree of the Senate, which prescribed the basis on which the settlement of Greece was to be made. All the engagements of the Proconsul were sanctioned; but Philip was required to pay 1000 talents, half at once and half in annual instalments for ten years.

§ 23. Before they arrived, the General had accomplished the work of reducing all Greece. The sturdy Acarnanians refused to give in, till Lucius, with the fleet, had taken their chief city of Leucas. The Bœotians showed symptoms of discontent, and reëlected Brachyllas, the friend of Philip, to the chief place in the government. On this, Zeuxippus, the leader of the Roman party, applied to Flamininus to remove him by force. He declined to interfere, but recommended Zeuxippus to speak to the Ætolian General. This ruffian, deterred by no scruples, furnished six assassins, who slew Brachyllas by night in the streets of Thebes. This crime is a deep stain on the name of Flamininus; and the result proved that it was no less impolitic than wicked, for the Bœotians became more attached than ever to the cause of Macedon. For the present their discontent vented itself in assassinations: it became unsafe for Roman soldiers to travel alone; great numbers disappeared no one knew how. Search was made in Lake Copaïs, and more than 500 bodies were found there.

On the arrival of the Commissioners, rumours became rife of the intentions of the Senate. The Ætolians eagerly caught up these rumours, and endeavoured to raise the indignation of the Greeks. "The freedom promised was," they said, "an illusion. Greece would only find a change of masters. Macedonian garrisons will be replaced by Roman. The *Fetters of Greece* would

only be clasped tighter by a stronger hand." Flamininus exerted himself to weaken the effect of these representations; among other concessions, he gave up possession of Corinth, on condition that a small force should hold the Acrocorinthus. On the whole he was successful. The Greeks waited anxiously, but quietly, for the promulgation of the Decree.

§ 24. The Commissioners were sitting in council at Corinth, and it was generally known that their resolutions would be publicly announced at the approaching Isthmian Games. That city of old renown was thronged by the assembled Greeks, who came not so much to witness the national festival, as to learn their country's fate from the lips of the conqueror. The day arrived. Flamininus took his seat in the Amphitheatre. Amid the expectation of all men, a trumpet sounded, and a crier advanced into the arena, who proclaimed that, THE ROMAN SENATE AND T. QUINCTIUS THE GENERAL, HAVING CONQUERED KING PHILIP AND THE MACEDONIANS, DECLARED ALL THE GREEKS WHO HAD BEEN SUBJECT TO THE KING FREE AND INDEPENDENT. The glad news was more than men could believe; they gazed incredulously on each other; they asked their neighbours whether they had heard the words aright. Then a general cry arose that the proclamation should be repeated. And now, when doubt gave way to certainty, a deafening shout of joy burst from the assembled multitude. Men's minds were too much absorbed with serious topics to be interested by shows; the games were hurried over. When the Roman General rose to leave the Amphitheatre, the crowd pressed so closely round him, eager to touch his hand and wreath his head with garlands, that he was well nigh smothered under their tumultuous greeting.

This memorable event took place in the summer of 196, about a year after the battle of Cynoscephalæ.

§ 25. The rest of the year passed in fulfilling the promises thus publicly given. Thessaly, long subject to Macedon, was broken up into several Republics. Pleuratus, Chief of the Illyrians, and Amynander of the Athamanians, were rewarded with the gift of those Illyrian and Epirote territories which had been wrested from them by Philip. Corinth, with Triphylia, was restored to the Achæans. Homage was paid to

the ancient glory of Athens by presenting them with the lordship of Delos and Paros, of Lemnos and Imbros, a small fraction of their old dominions. Flamininus showed his wish for the real freedom of Greece by refusing to sanction the proposed transfer of the cities of Eubœa to Eumenes, son of Attalus, the new King of Pergamus. All these cities were declared free. As for the Ætolians, their claims were referred to the arbitration of the Senate. But there was no hope there: and henceforth Rome could count no more bitter enemies among the Greeks than the Ætolians.

§ 26. Flamininus remained nearly two years in Greece after the day of the Proclamation. Already the seeds of a new war had been sown. Envoys had arrived from Antiochus, King of Syria, to ascertain what were the views of the Commissioners with respect to his late proceedings. The rash and selfish monarch had some reason for alarm. He had been the ally of Philip, and had proposed to divide with him the possessions of the King of Egypt. But no sooner was Philip engaged in war with Rome, than Antiochus seized the opportunity to occupy Asia Minor. The Southern and Western Provinces, together with the Greek cities lately conquered by Philip, yielded to his arms; and he was now preparing to cross the Hellespont into Thrace.

Hitherto, Flamininus had abstained from every step which could irritate a new enemy; but now he cared not any longer to humour the King of Syria. He dismissed the Envoys with peremptory orders that Antiochus should "restore the Greek cities in Asia to independence, and on no account set foot in Europe." At the same time he promised that Commissioners should be sent to acquaint him more explicitly with the pleasure of the Senate.

§ 27. Some things in Greece required the immediate attention of the General. It was necessary to secure the peace and safety of Peloponnesus by putting down Nabis, Tyrant of Lacedæmon. We have several times heard the name of this barbarian. No peaceful community could subsist by the side of such a neighbour. How he gained his power we know not. He confirmed himself in it by a caricature of the reforms of Cleomenes, and distributed the lands among a number of enfranchised

Helots. The rich and respectable citizens he banished or put to death; those who were suspected of wealth were put to the torture. His favourite engine for this purpose was a wooden figure representing his wife Apega, which clasped the unhappy recusant to breasts furnished with sharp spikes in place of nipples. He maintained a considerable fleet and army, which were employed in piracy and plunder.

The Roman had no pretext for war against him. He had admitted him into alliance just before the battle of Cynoscephalæ, and Nabis had not broken the terms. Flamininus, therefore, resolved to act merely as the agent of the Achæans, who had abundant grounds for complaint against the Tyrant. He called a meeting of the League at Corinth, and laying before them the condition of Argos, which was governed by Apega, he demanded whether a Grecian city, once a member of the League, should be left in such a condition. The Ætolians tried to raise suspicions in the minds of the Achæans, by representing this question as a mere pretext for maintaining a Roman army in Greece. But the Achæans unanimously adopted the proposition of their Captain-General Aristænus to declare war against Nabis.

Flamininus led the allies directly into the vale of the Eurotas, so as to threaten Sparta itself, while his brother Lucius, with the fleet, blockaded Gythium, the station of the Tyrant's navy. After an obstinate resistance, this place surrendered, and Nabis offered to treat for peace. The Achæans opposed this; but Flamininus, with his usual policy, offered to make peace, if Nabis would give up his fleet, disband his army, and pay a certain sum of money to defray the expenses of the war. These terms seemed so hard, that the Tyrant resolved on a last struggle: and the allies advanced to the assault of the capital. Sparta, formerly unwalled, was now strongly fortified; and the desperadoes who formed its garrison defended their last hope bravely. The allies at one time penetrated into the city, but were obliged to retreat again. But Nabis perceived that he could not make an effectual resistance; and Flamininus, whose departure from Greece was now fast approaching, gave him to understand that he might yet make peace on nearly the same terms as had before been offered. The Achæans murmured,

but in vain. Argos was restored to the League. The Tyrant was deprived of the southern portion of Laconia, which was declared free;[1] and was required to give up his fleet and disband his army.

§ 28. Flamininus concluded his work of war by appearing in state at the Nemean Games, where the Independence of Argos was proclaimed with due formality.

He employed the few months that remained before his departure in making a tour of Greece, and settling the government in Thessaly and other newly-emancipated places. Everywhere, as might be expected, he gave preponderance to the aristocratical or Roman party; and he seems to have attempted to create such a balance of power among the several States, that each State should be afraid, if not incapable, of going to war. He spared Philip in the North to check the power of the Ætolians, and Nabis in the South to be a thorn in the side of the Achæans. He intended that no State in Greece should be strong enough to prevail over the rest, but that all should maintain a species of independence under the protection of Rome, who was to occupy the place which Macedon had filled since the battle of Sellasia.

§ 29. The spring of the year 194 B.C. now came on, and Flamininus prepared for departure. He assembled the allies at Corinth, and addressed them in a parting speech. He declared he had been actuated in all his measures by a sincere desire of promoting their good; nor had the Achæans anything to allege against him but the sparing of the tyrant Nabis. He said he had shown mercy to this monster only because he could not put him down without destroying the ancient city of Sparta. He passed on from a review of past events to hopes of the future, and concluded amid universal applause by saying that "his last act should prove whether the word of Romans or of Ætolians were more trustworthy. He would show that the freedom of Greece was to be no illusion. He would withdraw the Roman garrisons from all the cities, even from those famous strongholds which were called the Fetters of Greece. Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias should be pledges of his sincerity. And now," said he, "now that you have full and

[1] Hence this district was named *The Eleuthero-Lacones.*

perfect liberty, show that you understand its value by maintaining peace and goodwill among yourselves. Let the Roman People know that you are worthy of the gift they have bestowed."

These words so touched the hearers, that with the excitable temper of a Southern people they burst into tears; and the General himself was so affected, that he was for a time unable to go on. After a pause, he asked as a personal favour, that all Roman citizens who were in slavery among them should be set free, and allowed to attend his triumph. The request was granted by acclamation: and the Achæans alone redeemed twelve hundred Roman slaves at the expense of the State.

§ 30. Two months after this memorable scene, Flamininus set sail from Oricum, after an absence of nearly five years, during three of which he had been almost the absolute Sovereign of Greece. He landed at Brundusium with his army, and marched in a sort of festal procession along the Appian Way to Rome. The Senate met him outside the walls, and granted the Triumph he had so justly earned. The Triumph lasted three days. The first two were taken up with processions of cars, carrying the spoils taken from Philip and Nabis. On the third day, the General himself ascended to the Capitol, preceded by his prisoners and hostages, among whom were two sons of kings, Demetrius son of Philip, and Armenes son of Nabis. After him came his soldiers, all enriched by the war; and, lastly, the liberated slaves, forming the most glorious part of the whole. Not Scipio himself had enjoyed a more splendid triumph. The character of Flamininus, indeed, could not challenge comparison with the heroic proportions of his great rival: yet there was no other living Roman who could be compared with Flamininus.

CHAPTER XL.

WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS, AND SETTLEMENT OF EASTERN AFFAIRS. (192—188 B.C.)

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§ 1. NOTWITHSTANDING the warning of Flamininus, Antiochus crossed the Hellespont (192 B.C.). Abydos yielded to him. Lysimacheia, which had been destroyed by Philip, he ordered to be rebuilt; and it was at this place that he was found by the Commissioners of the Senate.[a] They told him not to imagine that it was for his sake that the Romans had been shedding their blood to weaken Philip, and required him to quit Europe at once and to give up all the cities of Asia Minor which he had wrested from Philip, as well as those which he had taken from the Egyptians. An angry argument followed, which was broken off by a false report of the death of young Ptolemy. The Syrian King returned in haste to Antioch,

[a] See last Chapter, § 26.

that he might be ready for any contingencies that might spring from this event, but left his son Seleucus at Lysimacheia.

§ 2. At this crisis the court of Antiochus was visited by a man whose counsels, had they been followed, might have changed the history of the world.

After the conclusion of peace with Rome, Hannibal had applied all his energies to the reform of Carthage. His first step was to put down the selfish Oligarchy which had crippled his enterprises in Italy. He had carried safe from the field of Zama the greater part of his veterans, and by their means he easily made himself master of the Government. He found that the finances had been shamefully maladministered by the Council of One Hundred, who were self-elected and wholly irresponsible.[b] He at once ordained that this Council should be reëlected, wholly or in part, every year, and that not by themselves, but by the citizens at large. He then published a statement, by which it appeared that the present Revenue, properly administered, would amply suffice to defray all the expenses of the Government, as well as the tribute due to Rome. The old commercial oligarchy could not brook to lose the gains of office without a struggle. They sent messages to the Senate accusing Hannibal of forming secret treaties with Antiochus and others. As soon as the Macedonian War was ended the Senate began to lend an ear to these slanders, though Scipio nobly endeavoured to dissuade them; and in the year 195 B.C. they sent commissioners to Carthage to inquire into the truth of the allegations. Hannibal felt that he was already condemned by these prejudiced judges, and made his escape from Africa, not without difficulty. He reached Tyre in safety, and was duly honoured by the founders of his own great city. Thence he went on to Antioch: but Antiochus had again returned into Asia Minor, and Hannibal found him at Ephesus. Here he was introduced to the Syrian monarch. Urged by ancient enmity, later disappointment, and recent injury, he exerted all his abilities to widen the breach between him and Rome.

§ 3. His task was easy. Antiochus had made up his mind to a breach, and Hannibal was welcomed and consulted. His plan of operations was this. He asked for 10,000 men and 100

[b] See Chapt. xxviii. § 3.

ships of war, with transports. With these, he said, he would sail to Carthage and make her declare war against Rome. Strengthened by her support, he would, for the second time, invade Italy, while Antiochus, with an overpowering force, should cross over into Greece and raise all the country against Rome. When the strength of the League was proved, it was not to be doubted that Philip would forget the wrongs done him by Antiochus, and take the opportunity of revenging himself upon the common enemy.

§ 4. The time was favourable. For some years past the Romans had been engaged in desperate conflicts with the Spaniards, as well as with the Ligurians and the Gauls of Northern Italy;[c] and the presence of Hannibal in that district might have revived a contest as fierce as in the Great Punic War. In Greece the discontent of the Ætolians had laid a train of fresh troubles. No sooner had Flamininus turned his back than they began their intrigues, and determined to set Greece in a flame, hoping to draw profit out of her disorders. At the suggestion of Thoas, their General-in-Chief, envoys were sent at once to Antiochus, Philip, and Nabis, urging these monarchs to war against Rome. Philip at once refused; he had suffered too much; besides, he detested the Ætolians, and was at present little satisfied with the selfish conduct of Antiochus. Nabis wanted little incitement. He flew to arms, assassinated all the Roman partisans in Lacedæmon, laid siege to Gythium, and sent marauding parties into the territory of the Achæan League. Philopœmen was not a man to submit tamely to such injuries. He failed, indeed, to relieve Gythium by sea, but by land he gave the tyrant's troops a signal defeat, and compelled him to retire behind the walls of Sparta. Antiochus sent back Thoas with great promises, and the Ætolians resolved at once to commence their movements.

On a given day they attempted to gain possession of the three great fortresses, Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta. At Chalcis they failed; Demetrias was betrayed by some of its inhabitants. At Sparta their conduct was marked by more than usual perfidy. Under pretence of delivering Nabis from the Achæans, they sent an army into the country, having

[c] See the next Chapter.

instructed the officer in command to assassinate the tyrant and then proclaim the freedom of Sparta. The chiefs hoped that this step might win the favour of the Achæans, who bore a grudge to Rome for leaving Nabis in possession. But their plan was frustrated. As soon as Nabis was killed, the Ætolian soldiery fell to plundering the city; and the Lacedæmonians, instead of welcoming them as deliverers, rose as one man to defend their property. The Ætolians were beaten, and the most respectable citizens hastily sent for Philopœmen and declared Sparta a member of the Achæan League.

§ 5. These things took place in the summer of 192. On hearing of the first disturbances, the Senate had despatched Flamininus to Greece at the head of a Commission; he himself remained in that country, while he sent on the other Commissioners to the court of Antiochus at Ephesus, hoping to prevent the King from taking part with the Ætolians. But Thoas had just returned to Ephesus with news of the capture of Demetrias. If the King would but show himself, he said, Macedonia and all Greece would rise to welcome him: but he must come at once, or the Romans would be upon them.

The only forces which Antiochus had ready were those which he had assembled to execute the plan of Hannibal. Some jealousy had arisen in his mind against the great Carthaginian. For a time Hannibal overcame that feeling by the tale of his boyish oath to bear eternal enmity against Rome, and the required forces had been assembled. Then, however, the flattering words of Thoas once more estranged the King's mind from Hannibal; and this lying Greek obtained absolute influence at court. Notwithstanding the pleadings of Hannibal on the one hand, notwithstanding the warnings of the Roman Senators on the other, Antiochus determined to set sail for Europe, and thus virtually declared war against Rome with the paltry force of 10,000 men.

§ 6. He offered a solemn sacrifice at Troy, and in a few days landed at Demetrias. Here he was welcomed with loud acclamations. The Bœotians, eager to satiate their hatred of the Romans, received him joyfully; the people of Elis, old enemies of the Achæan League, sent him favourable answers; the Epirotes also promised to join him as soon as he should appear

among them; and Amynander, the Athamanian, was persuaded to desert his old allies and join Antiochus. The Achæans, however, unanimously declined his offers, and declared war against the Ætolians and the King.

The field was open to him. He cut off a small body of Romans near Delium, and Chalcis opened her gates. After this success he held a council of war at Demetrias. The Ætolians and Amynander advised that the first thing needful was to secure possession of all Thessaly. All the rest approved except Hannibal, who sate silent. The King asked his opinion. He said that "his opinion was unchanged. He had thought before, and he thought still, that all the time spent in gaining the support of the Greeks was thrown away. They *must* side with the strongest, and if the King were victorious would join him as a matter of course. It was ill-advised to have believed the false reports of the Ætolians, and to have ventured into Greece with so small a force; but now the best thing to be done was to force Philip to take part with them, by ordering Seleucus, the King's son, to advance into Macedonia; to send for reinforcements without delay; to station the fleet at Corcyra, and concentrate all the forces in Epirus, so as to hold the passes against the Romans there, or (if possible) to anticipate them by invading Italy."

§ 7. But this plan was too great for the petty mind of the King and his advisers. Nothing was done except to send orders to Polyxenidas, a Rhodian exile who commanded the Syrian fleet, to bring it over to Greece. Soon after, Antiochus committed a fault which determined Philip to take part against him. To conciliate the Greeks, he ordered the bones of their citizens who had fallen fighting against the Macedonians at Cynoscephalæ to be interred with magnificent rites. The person employed for this service was one Alexander of Megalopolis, brother-in-law of Amynander, and a pretender to the crown of Macedon. Both the person and the act revived all Philip's ill-feeling towards the Syrian monarch, and he immediately sent for M. Bæbius, the Roman Prætor stationed at Apollonia, to concert measures against Antiochus. The Syrian King had succeeded in taking Pheræ and some other Thessalian towns; but, foiled at Larissa, he had retired into winter-

quarters at Chalcis. Here, as if there were no fear of the Romans, the senseless monarch gave himself up to enjoyment. He married a fair daughter of the place, and celebrated his marriage with Oriental splendour. His officers and their men followed the royal example; all bonds of order and discipline were relaxed. The Syrians passed the winter in idling and drinking, and Philopœmen regretted that he was not now General of the League, that he might cut off the whole army in detail.

Meanwhile the Senate were busily engaged in preparing for war. The conduct of Antiochus had so completely thrown the game into their hands that it was easy to represent the war as one of simple defence. No one could say that they had provoked it. The Achæans regarded them as their champions.

§ 8. In the spring of the next year (191 B.C.) Antiochus roused himself and advanced into Acarnania. His prospects suddenly darkened. At the same moment he heard that Philip, with the authority of the Romans, was fast reconquering the Thessalian cities which had submitted in the previous year, and that the Consul, M' Acilius Glabrio, had landed in Epirus and entered Northern Thessaly. The Ætolians, after all their promises, brought but 4000 men into the field. Antiochus hastily retraced his steps to Chalcis, and sent urgent messages to Polyxenidas to bring over additional forces, but in vain. Thessaly was already lost: the Roman Consul was approaching Thermopylæ from the north, and unless he were checked here, Bœotia and Eubœa would follow the fate of Thessaly.

§ 9. The Pass of Thermopylæ is formed, as is well known, by a spur of Mount Œta, which comes close down upon the sea. The King intrenched himself in the narrowest place, like Leonidas of old, but not in the spirit of Leonidas. The mountain-path over Mount Callidromus, by which the Persian troops had found a way to the rear of the Greeks, was now committed to the charge of the Ætolians; but these freebooters sent a small detachment only on this service, while they employed their chief force in seizing the neighbouring city of Heraclea for themselves. The Consul encamped on the ground occupied by the Persians in front of the Pass; but before commencing the assault he sent his lieutenants, L. Valerius Flaccus and M.

Porcius Cato, to force their way over the mountain to the rear of the enemy. Waiting till he supposed they had accomplished their task, he made an assault upon the Syrian entrenchments. The Syrians defended their entrenchments well, but as soon as they found themselves attacked in rear, they threw down their arms and fled with precipitation. Antiochus himself was wounded in the mouth by a stone, and escaped with only 500 men to Chalcis. The Consul embraced Cato before the whole army, and, declaring that the whole merit of the victory lay with him, sent him home with news of the victory. He travelled across Thessaly and Epirus with extraordinary speed, landed at Tarentum, and in five days more announced to the Senate that Greece was delivered from the Syrians. As the Consul advanced into Bœotia, receiving the submission of the revolted towns, the King reëmbarked for Ephesus, carrying with him his Thessalian bride, the only conquest which he retained.

§ 10. Glabrio soon reduced Heraclea and other strong places in Southern Thessaly which were still in the hands of the enemy, while he left Philip to complete the conquest of the North. Meanwhile he had despatched his lieutenant, Flaccus, to reduce the Ætolians, and himself proceeded to lay siege to Naupactus, the chief station of their navy. While he was thus engaged, Flamininus arrived in his camp. He immediately pointed out to the Consul that it would be an error to crush the Ætolians altogether, and thus to leave Philip, who had by this time reconquered the great plain of Thessaly, without any state strong enough to balance his power in Upper Greece. Glabrio acquiesced, and Naupactus was left to the Ætolians.

§ 11. Meantime Flamininus had been executing an important mission in Peloponnesus. He ordered the Achæans to abandon a war which they had undertaken on their own account against the Messenians and Eleans, and then commanded these States to give in their adhesion to the Achæan League. Thus at length all Peloponnesus was combined into one Federate State, and the darling project of Aratus seemed to be fulfilled. But Philopœmen and the patriots of Achæa looked sadly on. They felt that this consummation was due to foreign force, and was, in fact, a proof of weakness. This weakness appeared still more palpably before the departure of the Roman. The

Achæans preferred a claim to the island of Zacynthus, which had lately belonged to Philip. "Take care," said Flamininus, "what you do. Your League is like a tortoise, safe while it keeps its head within Peloponnesus, but in danger as soon as it ventures beyond." The League needed no further hint. It drew in its head, and Zacynthus passed into the hands of the Romans.

§ 12. As soon as Antiochus had reached Asia, he thought he was secure from the Romans. He had no thought of their crossing the Hellespont; and proposed to withdraw his garrisons from Lysimacheia and Abydos,—the only towns which he still held in Europe,—in order that he might leave them no colour for doing so. But Hannibal, who had prophesied the event of the last campaign, and had now regained some measure of credit with the arrogant monarch, told him he only wondered they were not already in Asia, and urged him to keep his European strongholds, that he might at least present some obstacles to their advance.

The Consuls for the new year (190 B.C.) were L. Scipio the elder brother, and C. Lælius the bosom friend, of the great Africanus. Lælius was anxious for the command in the East, and the Senate were disposed to confer it on him; but Africanus rose in the House and said, that if they would give it to his brother, he would himself accompany him as lieutenant. This decided the question, and the two Scipios left the city as early as possible for Greece. They found Glabrio still engaged in besieging the fortresses of that country. Lamia (Zeitoun), a strong place which commanded the northern side of the Maliac gulf, had surrendered: he was lying before Amphissa when the new Consul arrived to take the command. Africanus had taken care that a number of his own veterans should be enlisted in his brother's army; and they both agreed that the war should be carried as soon as possible into Asia. L. Scipio therefore granted a fresh armistice to the Ætolians, and sent an envoy to Philip to demand a free passage for the Roman army through Macedonia and Thrace. Philip, eager to retain his late conquests in the north of Thessaly, showed great alacrity in the service of Rome. He repaired the roads and bridges, laid in stores for the army along its line of march,

and attended the Scipios in person to the Hellespont. For this loyal service he was rewarded with the remission of the tribute which was still due to Rome.

§ 13. The march of the Romans eastward convinced Antiochus that Hannibal was a true prophet. He immediately sent orders into Syria and its dependencies, that a force should be collected so vast as to insure victory over the rash invaders, and despatched Hannibal into Phœnicia to bring up reinforcements for the fleet. But in despite of the advice of the Carthaginian, he withdrew his troops from Lysimacheia and Abydos, leaving the passage of the Hellespont open.

The operations of the fleet had already commenced. Before the arrival of the Romans, Polyxenidas, the royal Admiral, had surprised one Rhodian fleet by treacherous means and destroyed it; but the brave islanders had fitted out another squadron, with which they joined M. Æmilius Regillus at Samos. The Roman commander detached them to the coast of Caria to intercept Hannibal, as he returned from Tyre, while he himself watched Polyxenidas. The Rhodians performed the service allotted to them with complete success: Hannibal's Phœnician squadron was dispersed, and the victorious islanders again joined Æmilius. The combined fleet did not amount to more than eighty sail, a small number when we compare it with the large armaments of the First Punic War. The fleet of Polyxenidas, however, did not number more than ninety ships, inferior to the allies in condition and seamanship. A sharp conflict ensued off Myonnesus, a promontory of Lydia, in which the Syrian Admiral lost more than half his fleet. After this the Roman commander sailed triumphantly along the coast, setting all the Greek cities free from the Syrian rule. The Rhodian squadron was detached to transport the Consul and his army across the Hellespont.

§ 14. The King had by this time collected a vast army from all quarters. Besides his own people, he gathered levies from Arabia and Central Asia; the Galatian chiefs and the King of Cappadocia sent him succours. Prusias of Bithynia at first gave him hopes of support, but was deterred by an envoy from Africanus. All kinds of men appeared in his ranks: Scythian and Galatian horsemen; Persian riders clad in complete

armour, man and horse; scythed cars, like those of the Western Celts; Cretan slingers; Arabian archers mounted on dromedaries; Indian elephants to the number of forty-four.[d] Sixteen thousand men bore the redoubted name of the Phalanx; and the élite of the army, like that of Alexander, were called Argyraspids; but though the names and arms were Macedonian, the men were the men of Xerxes and Darius.

With this host Antiochus ravaged the plains of Mysia and Lydia. Pergamus was bravely defended by Attalus, the young King's brother, Eumenes himself being with the Roman army. Africanus, who was one of the Salian Priests of Mars, stayed in Europe for the due performance of certain solemn rites, while the army crossed the Hellespont. Presently after, he was taken ill, and obliged to remain at Elæa, the seaport of Pergamus, while his brother at the head of the Legions advanced towards the King's quarters at Thyatira. Scipio's son had lately been taken prisoner by the Syrians, and Antiochus availed himself of this incident to open negotiations with his illustrious enemy. The youth was sent to his father without ransom, and a royal envoy appeared at Elæa. Scipio professed himself grateful for the favour, but returned for answer to the envoy, that "it was late for the King to seek for negotiation when the rider had put the bit in his mouth and the yoke upon his neck: the only advice he could give him was not to offer battle till he (Scipio) had joined the army." Whatever it might be that the Roman intended by this answer, his brother Lucius was too anxious for a brilliant victory to brook delay, and pushed on to Thyatira. The King, in obedience to the advice of Africanus, fell back across the Hyllus, and encamped at Magnesia under Mount Sipylus. He was closely followed by the Consul, who also crossed the river, and took up a position within three miles of the King's camp. Still Antiochus declined an engagement, till he found that the Romans were preparing to attack him in his entrenchment. Then he drew out his vast army in battle order.

§ 15. It is needless to give a detailed account of the battle.

[d] The Romans had a few African elephants, an inferior kind. They first used elephants in the Macedonian war (Liv. xxxi. 36), but they never relied much on these animals.

The Syrian army was three or four times as numerous as that of Scipio, who had invaded Asia with a common Consular army, supported by 3000 Achæans commanded by Diophanes, 800 men from Pergamus, and a few volunteers from Thrace and Macedonia; but they were more than enough to defeat the Syrians. The King fled, leaving 53,000 men upon the field. The Romans, it is said, lost no more than 400.

§ 16. By the single battle of Magnesia, Antiochus the Great was stripped of all his conquests in Asia Minor. He did not deem himself safe till he reached Apamea, in the south of Phrygia, where he was joined by his son Seleucus and his chief counsellors. Hence he sent ambassadors to the Consuls to treat for peace. L. Scipio was at Sardis with his brother Africanus, who now took upon himself to dictate the terms. Antiochus was to give up all his possessions north of Mount Taurus; and pay down a sum of 3000 talents, with a tribute of 1000 for twelve succeeding years. All his ships of war and elephants were to be given up for ever; he was to abstain from all interference with European matters; he was not even allowed to hire mercenaries except in Asia. The persons of Hannibal the Carthaginian and Thoas the Ætolian, with some others, were to be surrendered to the Romans.

§ 17. L. Scipio repaired straightway to Rome to enjoy his splendid but easy triumph. In imitation of his brother, he assumed the after-name of Asiaticus. The booty he had made was great beyond example, the sums he paid into the treasury enormous. The Macedonian and Syrian wars laid the foundation of those prodigious fortunes which afterwards distinguished the Roman nobles, and introduced that gorgeous but barbaric luxury which corrupted the manners of the whole people, and led to incurable evils in the State.

§ 18. The Senate now had leisure to punish the Ætolians. Soon after the departure of the Scipios for Asia, false reports reached Greece of successes gained by Antiochus. The Ætolians flew to arms, and drove Philip from his late conquests to the west of Mount Pindus; and Amynander, who had for some time been their guest, regained his Athamanian kingdom. On this news the Senate ordered M. Fulvius Nobilior, one of the Consuls for the year 189 B.C., to take the command in Greece,

while his colleague, Cn. Manlius Vulso, succeeded L. Scipio in Asia. Fulvius immediately laid siege to Ambracia, while Perseus, the son of Philip, invaded Ætolia from the north, and the Achæans from the south. Ambracia, a noble and well-fortified town, the ancient capital of Pyrrhus, was bravely defended. At length it capitulated on fair terms; but Fulvius, in scandalous violation of his word, gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. The Ætolian chiefs, finding their condition desperate, hastened to send a new embassy to Rome with full submission. Philip was now anxious to annihilate the Ætolians, as the Ætolians had formerly been eager to destroy him; but Flamininus had saved Philip to bar the power of the Ætolians, and he now interfered to save the Ætolians from Philip. The Senate listened to his arguments, and allowed them to become the vassals of Rome, on payment of a small sum of money and the surrender of their foreign dominions.

§ 19. The Roman wars in Greece were now ended for some years. All the powers of that unhappy country, reduced to a state of pitiable weakness, were, in fact, dependent on the will of Rome; but the Senate, with affected liberality, had not retained a foot of ground for themselves, except Ambracia and the seaports of Epirus, together with Zacynthus, Cephalonia, and the other Ionian Islands. These, they said, were necessary for the security of Italy. But there was a Roman party in every city; the intrigues which continually prevailed, and the appeals which were constantly made to Rome, led slowly but surely to the formation of the whole country into a Roman Province. Of this we shall speak hereafter. We must now follow Manlius into Asia.

§ 20. This Consul was much disappointed by finding that the war in Asia had been finished by the battle of Magnesia, and that nothing remained but for the Commissioners of the Senate who accompanied him to confirm the peace dictated by Africanus. But he was too anxious for plunder and for a triumph not to seek for war, and an occasion presented itself in the circumstance that the Galatians had served in the ranks of the Syrian army at Magnesia.

It has before been mentioned that Galatia or Gallo-Græcia was a district of Northern Phrygia, which had been seized by

a host of Gauls, who had been driven out of Greece about a century before. In the heart of Asia they retained their Celtic habits and names. Their three tribes still called themselves by the barbarous appellations of Tectosagi, Trocmi, and Tolistoboii. By continual inroads into the country of their neighbours they had amassed large stores of wealth.

When the Consul advanced into their country, the Galatians retired into their mountain fastnesses, but without avail. In two great battles they were defeated by the Romans, and obliged to give up all their riches. From this time these Asiatic Gauls gradually became assimilated to the Greeks.

§ 21. Manlius spent a second year as Proconsul in Asia Minor. In company with the ten Commissioners of the Senate, he received ambassadors from the various States, and distributed the possessions of Antiochus in Asia Minor according to a decree of the Senate. Eumenes of Pergamus was rewarded by the gift of Mysia, Lydia, Phrygia, and part of Caria, with those Thracian towns which Antiochus had abandoned. The rest of Caria, with Lycia and Pisidia, was given to the Rhodians. Caria and Lycia rightly belonged to Ptolemy Epiphanes, but that prince had offended the Senate by marrying a daughter of King Antiochus.

On the return of Manlius through Thrace, he was waylaid and suffered great losses from the barbarians. It was remembered that when the Scipios passed through the same country eastward, Philip had given them a safe conduct; and it was inferred that the present assault was due to his agency. The Senate treasured up this fact to be used at a convenient season.

§ 22. The Galatian war, insignificant as it was, became the root of great evils. It was the first time that a Roman General had ventured to make war without the authority of the Senate. Nay, the ten Commissioners had expressly forbade the enterprise; and when Manlius applied for a triumph, one of the ten opposed it warmly; but there were too many young officers in the Senate who looked forward to like opportunities, and the Consul was allowed to celebrate his triumph over the Galatians. His example was followed too often in after-times.

CHAPTER XLI.

WARS IN THE WEST CONTEMPORANEOUS WITH THE MACEDONIAN AND SYRIAN WARS. (200—177 B.C.)

1. Wars in Northern Italy: the Ligurians. § 2. Hamilcar, a Carthaginian fugitive, excites the Gauls to war. § 3. Conquest of the Boians: Placentia and Cremona peopled anew: Colony of Bononia founded. § 4. Conquest of the Italian Ligurians. § 5. Æmilian Road: Colonies of Mutina, Parma, and Lucca: new Province of Cisalpine Gaul. § 6. Condition of the Spanish Peninsula. § 7. Conquest of Northern Spain by Cato. § 8. Services and triumph of Cato. § 9. Policy of his Spanish administration. § 10. Continued troubles in Spain to the Prætorship of Tib. Gracchus: general pacification. § 11. The Lusitanians checked for a time. § 12. What terminated this tranquillity. § 13. Reduction of Sardinia by Gracchus: *Sardi venales*. § 14. Conquest of Istria: Colony of Aquileia.

§ 1. WHILE two or three Consuls were winning riches and honours in the East at an easy rate, others were engaged in the West with far more stubborn adversaries. Tedious wars with the barbarians in Northern Italy, and with the brave tribes of Central Spain, offered little to attract greedy or ambitious Senators; and yet in these districts many generals were compelled to keep watch and ward for years.

It was about the year 200 B.C. that the Senate received news of a general rising in Northern Italy. The Gauls, who took part in the movement, were the old enemies of Rome,—the Boians south of the Po, with the Insubrians and Cenomannians on the far side of that great river.[a] A new enemy was behind, the Ligurians, a wild people of uncertain race, who occupied the mountainous district of the Maritime Alps and Upper Apennines, from near the Rhone to the confines of Etruria. The Ligurians had furnished some troops to Hannibal and Hasdrubal. But they proved fickle and uncertain allies. Mountaineers will fight more bravely and more resolutely than the people of the plain in defence of their mountain-homes; but out of their own country—except, indeed, when they serve

[a] Above, Chapt. xxx. § 11-16.

as mercenaries—a victory or a defeat is alike the signal for their defection. In case of defeat they save themselves by flight; in case of victory they return home to secure their booty.

§ 2. The movement above mentioned was created by one Hamilcar, a Carthaginian officer, who had escaped from the slaughter at the Metaurus, and had been lurking ever since in Northern Italy. Under his guidance the Gauls plundered the Colony of Placentia, and laid siege to Cremona. In 197 B.C., the year marked by the victory of Cynoscephalæ, the Ligurians had pressed down from their mountains and taken Clastidium, while the Gauls continued under arms, and the Senate deemed the war serious enough to require the presence of both Consuls with two armies. Q. Minucius recovered Clastidium, and drove the Ligurians back into the mountains; while Cethegus, after detaching the Cenomannians from the League, gained a decisive victory over the Insubrians and Boians on the plains of Lombardy. In this battle Hamilcar was taken prisoner. After two campaigns more, the Insubrians followed the example of the Cenomannians, and sued for peace.

§ 3. The Boians, being now left to carry on the conflict single-handed, excited their neighbours, the Ligurians, to renew their inroads. In 193 B.C., bands of these marauders appeared before Pisa and Placentia at once. The war continued till 191 B.C.; and at the time when Glabrio was forcing the Pass of Thermopylæ, his colleague, P. Scipio Nasica, received the final submission of the Boians. They purchased peace at the price of half their territory; but the half which remained was more than enough for their numbers, diminished by nine years' deadly war with Rome. In the next year (190 B.C.), C. Lælius, disappointed of the command against Antiochus, was employed in settling the conquered country. The Colonies of Placentia and Cremona, which had suffered so much from the time of Hannibal's first appearance in Italy downwards, were re-peopled by 6000 families of Roman and Latin citizens. Part of the confiscated lands were assigned to a new colony at Felsina, which now assumed the name of Bononia, or (as the modern Italians call it) Bologna.

§ 4. But to subdue the Ligurians in their mountains required

long years of desultory warfare. These nimble mountaineers, lean and sinewy in form, inured to hardship, unincumbered with baggage, acquainted with every bye-path and fastness in their native hills, carried on a sort of guerilla warfare, which the Romans found as difficult to deal with as regular armies have always found in similar cases.[b] Whenever the enemy presented a front, they were sure to be defeated; but even then the bulk of their force escaped by mountain paths, and met again in some well-known resort. But often they surprised careless or over-confident commanders, and cut off large bodies of Roman troops. The Pass over the Apennines, leading from Parma to Lucca, long preserved in the name of Saltus Marcius the memory of the signal defeat sustained by the Consul Q. Marcius Philippus in the year 186 B.C. Two years after, Petillius, another Consul, was defeated and slain near the same place. But year after year the Roman columns penetrated further and further into the Ligurian fastnesses. One tribe after another submitted. L. Æmilius Paullus, son of him who fell at Cannæ, himself destined to become one of Rome's most famous men, remained in Liguria with proconsular command for several years. In 180 B.C., he received the submission of two of their largest and bravest tribes, the Ingaunians[c] and Apuans; and the last-named people, whose lands marched with Etruria along the Macra, were transplanted into Samnium to the number of 40,000 souls,[d] and their lands confiscated to the use of the Roman people. The war was now virtually at an end. It still lingered on, however, in remote glens. The last of the Cisalpine Ligurians submitted to the Consul M. Popillius Lænas in the year 173 B.C.; and this man, stubborn and rude in character, sold all the men of serviceable age. But the Senate cancelled the sale, and an unseemly quarrel followed between the Consul and the Government. But the

[b] "Liguribus, *latronibus* verius, quam hostibus justis," says Livy, xl. 27,—"a war against *banditti*, rather than a regular enemy." *Latrocinium* was the Roman word for this guerilla or partisan warfare.

[c] The name of this Tribe is still preserved in Albenga (Albium Ingaunorum), one of the stages on the beautiful coast-road from Nice to Genoa.

[d] Here they were long known as the Cornelian and Bæbian Ligurians, L. Cornelius Cethegus and M. Bæbius Tamphilus being the Consuls to whom was committed the business of removing them.

latter was resolute. It was useful to preserve the Ligurians, if for no other reason, at least to be a check upon the Gauls. The people rescued from slavery received allotments of land beyond the Po.

§ 5. The submission of Northern Italy, thus completed, was no doubt hastened by the construction of military roads. M. Æmilius Lepidus, Consul for the year 180 B.C., the same who so irritated Philip by his peremptory manner, constructed the great road which bore his name. The Æmilian Way led from Ariminum through the new Colony of Bononia to Placentia, being a continuation of the Flaminian Way, or Great North Road, made by C. Flaminius in 220 B.C. from Rome to Ariminum. At the same epoch, Flaminius the son, being the colleague of Lepidus, made a branch road from Bononia across the Apennines to Arretium. Soon after, on the line of the Æmilian Road, between Bononia and Placentia, the Senate planted the Colonies of Mutina (Modena) and Parma. The confiscated territory of the Apuâns was assigned to the new Colony of Luca (Lucca). Thus did Rome secure her conquests in the North as in the South. It was soon after these wars that the whole of Cisalpine Gaul with Italian Liguria was formed into a great Province,[e] which was always treated with favour, and proved one of the most valuable possessions of the Roman Empire. The Gallic towns became Latin in language and feeling, as well as in government; and some notable Romans of later times, among whom may be named Livy the Historian, a Paduan by birth, sprang from the loins of these Latinised Celts.

§ 6. We must now follow the tide of Roman conquest in the Spanish Peninsula.

That part of Spain which had been conquered by Scipio was divided into two Provinces, known as Hispania Citerior and Ulterior, each being ruled by a Prætor or Proconsul. But these Provinces in fact included only a small portion of the Peninsula. Hither Spain ran along the coast southward to a point beyond Carthagena, its western boundary being as yet indeterminate:

[e] Above, Chapt. xxx. § 16.

Further Spain contained little more than modern Andalusia. The rest of Spain was still unconquered. The Celtiberians, a brave race, who inhabited the chief parts of Castille, dwelt in numerous cities strong both by nature and art. The Lusitanians, who occupied the mountainous districts of Western Spain and Portugal, between the Douro and Guadiana, were shepherds or guerillas as the case required; now tending their flocks on the hill-sides, now making armed forays into the heart of the Further province. The Gallæcians and Cantabrians, between the Douro and the Bay of Biscay, had as yet scarcely heard of the Roman name.

§ 7. The formation of Spanish Provinces took place apparently in 198 B.C., when we first hear of six Prætors, two being destined to govern Spain. A general outbreak followed, and may be attributed to the fear entertained by the Spaniards that the Romans meditated the eventual conquest of all their tribes. When M. Porcius Cato, Consul in the year 195 B.C., entered on office, he was despatched at once to the Hither province to subdue the insurrection. This remarkable man had already distinguished himself as a Legionary Tribune under Fabius in the Hannibalic War, and had served as Quæstor under the great Scipio in Sicily. We have also recorded, by anticipation, the glory he won by turning the Pass of Thermopylæ in the campaign of Glabrio. But his military fame chiefly depends upon his operations in Spain.

He landed at Emporiæ (Ampurias), an ancient Greek colony with a Spanish quarter added. He found the whole country, up to the very walls of this place, in arms; nay, the Spaniards of Emporiæ itself were only prevented by the presence of a Roman garrison from joining their countrymen. He gave proof of his determined temper by dismissing the speculators who usually contracted to supply the army with victuals: "for," said he, "I will make the war support itself." He spent some time in training his troops for the desultory warfare practised by the Spaniards, occasionally dashing into the country occupied by the enemy, and inuring his men to every hardship. He shared all privations with the common soldiers, and won their affection by his blunt manners and rough jests. Sometimes he rode through the ranks, armed with a rude countryman's

javelin, called *sparus*, and chastised offenders not over gently with his own hand.

When this training had lasted long enough to give the General and his men confidence in each other, Cato led them forth to attack the Spaniards, who were encamped in force near Emporiæ. He fell unexpectedly on their rear, and defeated them with great slaughter. Profiting by the terror thus inspired, he penetrated into all the mountain valleys from the Ebro to Carthagena, and executed merciless vengeance on those who resisted. To the rapid military movements by which he terrified his opponents, he added a diplomatic trick, which shows the disconnected condition of the tribes he had to deal with. To the chiefs of every strong place in Northern Spain he addressed letters, commanding them on pain of suffering Roman vengeance to dismantle their fortifications, and took care that every letter should be delivered on or about the same day. Each chief supposed the order was addressed to himself alone; and each, fearing Cato's severity for himself, obeyed the order.[f]

§ 8. Thus in a few weeks Cato reduced the whole Northern Province to submission. No doubt he committed great atrocities. Numbers fell by the sword: more still were taken and sold as slaves: many, to avoid this fate, put themselves to death. But no Roman General hesitated to use harsh measures; no one thought of censuring him for doing so.

After his operations in the North, he made an excursion into the Southern Province, and by his presence assisted the Prætor in repelling the assaults of the Lusitanians. So that Cato, who was not accustomed to claim less than his due, had some reason for his boast, that he had pacified the whole of Spain. He returned to Rome laden with booty and honour. It must be mentioned to his credit, that he reserved no large share of plunder for himself, though he bestowed a handsome largess on each of his soldiers. "Better," he said, "that many men should have plenty of silver, than that one man should have plenty of gold."

The Senate were so well satisfied with his successes that they

[f] Appian says that "three hundred Cities" thus fell. Either the number or the nature of these places must be misrepresented. If there were 300, they could not be all *Cities*; if they were Cities, there could not be 300 of them.

decreed a public Thanksgiving of three days; and the triumph which he celebrated was the first which Rome had witnessed since Scipio returned from the field of Zama. It was happy for Cato's vanity that Flamininus returned home a few weeks later, or the glory of the Spanish triumph would have been eclipsed by the greater splendour of the Macedonian.

§ 9. It is probable however that the measures taken by Cato for the future government of the Spanish Provinces sowed the seeds of future evil. He laid regular taxes and imposts on the Spanish subjects of Rome, to which they had not hitherto been subject, and thus opened the way for the extortions of the tax-gatherers, which afterwards formed ground for heavy complaint. He also confiscated as State-property the mines of silver and gold,—mines which are now worked out, but which in those days might have made Spain to Rome what Mexico and Peru were in later times to Spain herself, had the Spanish tribes been as gentle and submissive as the natives of South America. It was foreseen that the measures of Cato would irritate the Spaniards; and Scipio, who knew the country well, opposed what he deemed arbitrary and impolitic regulations;[8] but they were all ratified by the Senate.

§ 10. Cato had indeed disarmed all the cities in the Province of Hither Spain; but there remained in the back-ground the mountainous districts of Central Spain, from which the Celtiberian tribes soon renewed a desultory war with that resolute activity for which Spaniards have been always famous. The Lower Province also was continually exposed to the inroads of the Lusitanian marauders. It were unprofitable here to follow, year by year, the meagre accounts given by Livy and Appian of these desultory wars. Generals, able men, had charge of both Provinces. These distant commands seem not to have been greatly coveted; for the same Governor usually remained several years at his post, and thus was able to turn to good account the experience he had gained.

Various vicissitudes were experienced. At one time we find the Romans penetrating down the Tagus beyond Toletum (Toledo); in another year the Prætors of both Provinces, with their combined forces, suffer a great defeat near this very place.

[8] Plutarch, Cato Major, c. 11.

On the whole, however, it is manifest that the Romans made steady progress; and the strength and spirit of the natives gradually gave way, till in the year 179 B.C., sixteen years after the Consulship of Cato, the limits of the Upper Province were settled, and a general pacification brought about. This happy result was due to Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, father of the famous Gracchi. He was himself a man of ability and courage, and ruled with a moderation little known and less valued among Romans. He reduced a great number of towns, and treated the inhabitants with such fairness and consideration, that many others submitted, and a general treaty of peace was concluded between the Romans and all the Celtiberian tribes on the borders of the Province. Many communities, who had been deprived of home and land, received new settlements, for which they were required to pay certain yearly dues, and to perform military service at the order of the Roman Governor. Henceforth none of their cities was to fortify itself without the consent of Rome. In other respects they were allowed to govern themselves without interference. Such is all that we know of the famous pacification of Gracchus.

§ 11. In the Lower Province also, L. Æmilius Paullus, who has been mentioned as a successful commander in Liguria, succeeded in checking the Lusitanian inroads, which had been renewed soon after the departure of Cato. At one time, indeed, he was surprised by some of their guerilla chiefs at the very eastern extremity of his province (190 B.C.); but he retrieved this dishonour by a signal victory, and his successor, C. Atinius, completed the work by defeating the Lusitanians in a great battle near Asta Regia, better known under its modern name of Xérès. The Lusitanian chiefs submitted to the Prætor L. Posthumius Albinus in the same year in which Gracchus established the supremacy of Rome in Central Spain.

§ 12. The whole of Spain now remained quiet, with the exception of a few trifling outbreaks, for more than a quarter of a century. Equity of administration might have made her brave people useful allies of Rome. They evidently looked on the Italian Republic with a feeling of awe: many of their States chose protectors in the ranks of her nobility; but corruption of manners and morals, as we shall show presently, was

daily increasing at Rome, and the provincial Governors daily became more oppressive. There were few like Gracchus, few even like Cato, among them. When we next speak of Spain we shall have to record bloody wars caused by tyranny and extortion.

§ 13. Here must be added a brief notice of some other conquests made by Rome in this same period. The Sardinians and Corsicans, who had first risen against Rome in the Second Punic War, again appeared in arms about the year 181 B.C., for what cause or with what justice we know not. This petty war continued, till after his return from Spain Ti. Gracchus obtained the Consulship. His vigorous hand soon checked the insurrection; and after an absence of two years he celebrated a triumph over the islanders. His measures do not seem to have been marked with the same forbearance which distinguished him in Spain; for so great was the number of prisoners brought home and sold that the slave-market was glutted, and "Sardinians for sale" became a proverbial expression for anything that was cheap and common.[h]

§ 14. The conquest of the northern shores of the Adriatic took place about the same time. In the year 183 B.C., a son of the great Marcellus, being Consul for the year, had occasion to march into Venetia to repel a threatened irruption of Celtic tribes from the north. Having effected his purpose with little difficulty, he wrote to the Senate to point out the great advantage which the Republic would derive from the possession of the peninsula between the modern towns of Trieste and Fiume, which then as now bore the name of Istria. The Istrians were an Illyrian tribe of little strength; and Marcellus, without waiting for a reply from the Government, invaded the country. He had, however, nothing to fear: the Senate sanctioned his unprovoked attack. It was not, however, till 177 B.C., the year of the pacification of Spain, that the whole country was reduced. But before this, possession was secured by the Latin colony of Aquileia, which became a place of great importance as a barrier against the northern barbarians. When it was destroyed by Attila centuries later, from its ashes rose the famous city of Venice.

[h] "Sardi venales," Liv. xl. 19.

CHAPTER XLII.

CIVIL HISTORY DURING THE MACEDONIAN AND SYRIAN WARS: CORRUPTION OF MANNERS: SENATORIAL PREDOMINANCE: SCIPIO AND CATO. (200—169 B.C.)

§ 1. General inclination to War caused by the conquests in the East. § 2. Change in the character of the Roman armies, originated with Scipio. § 3. Evil effects of wars of conquest on the social condition of Romans. § 4. Rapid rise of the new Nobility of wealth: its oligarchical tendency. § 5. Evil effects of sudden wealth on manners and morals. § 6. Political corruption proved by laws against Bribery. § 7. Evidence of profligacy: L. Flamininus; Bacchanalia: Poisoning by women. § 8. State of parties in the Senate: Scipio, his loss of power. § 9. Party struggles on the return of Scipio from Asia: accusation of Cn. Manlius for his Galatian war parried by a counter-accusation against Scipio. § 10. Cato leader of the attack on Scipio: his previous life. § 11. Cato's bitterness against Greek fashions: how far just. § 12. L. Scipio required to produce his accounts: conduct of P. Scipio: he is indicted before the People: his reply. § 13. New attack upon P. Scipio, diverted to Lucius: the latter found guilty, but his arrest prevented first by the armed interference of his brother, then by the intercession of Tib. Gracchus. § 14. Retirement and death of Scipio. § 15. Death of Hannibal in the same year. § 16. Cato turns upon the Senatorial party: his election to the Censorship. § 17. Severity of his Censorial administration. § 18. Effect of his example on succeeding Censors. § 19. Illustrations of his character. § 20. Subsequent relaxation of his severity.

§ 1. WE have before noticed the effects produced upon the People of Rome by the Hannibalic War. We have seen that it was only by the adroit management of the Senate, that the citizens were induced to consent to the Macedonian War. For to the Senators war was welcome even at that time of extreme depression. By commands, embassies, and commissions to foreign courts, they expected to find means of repairing their past losses and enriching themselves for the future; and they were not mistaken. After the wars in the East a great change seems to have been wrought in the feelings of the People also. The yeomen and farmers of Italy saw their brethren returning home laden with booty. A royal road to riches is always thronged, and such seemed to be offered by these Oriental

campaigns. We hear no more of disinclination to declare war. It was seldom necessary to resort to the Census-roll for compulsory enlistment. The Legions were filled by volunteers.

§ 2. A great change now began to be introduced into the condition of the Roman armies. During the Punic Wars, it had often been found impossible to dismiss the Legions levied for the year after the year's campaign was over. And what had hitherto been the exception now became the rule. A general usually kept the men who first took service under him during his whole command, and often handed them over to his successor. Thus the old militia of the Republic changed its character, and a race of professional soldiers came into being. There was not, indeed, a Standing Army in our sense of the word. The soldiery were not so much servants of the State, as attached to the person of a successful general, whom they regarded as their patron. This new state of things reached its height under Marius and Sylla, with their successors, Cæsar, Antony, and Octavian; but it took its origin with Scipio. Scipio was refused by the Senate the levies which he deemed necessary for the invasion of Africa, and he raised volunteers on his own credit in Etruria and other parts of Italy. These men remained with him till the peace, when they were rewarded with grants of land in Southern Italy. But their swords were at the command of any leader who offered a chance of fresh booty. Many enlisted under Galba and Flamininus for the Macedonian War; others followed the Scipios themselves in their Asiatic campaign. Many of the soldiers who had served under Scipio in Spain forgot their Italian homes, and married Spanish wives; and their descendants raised the city of Carteia in Bætica on lands granted by the Senate. The tendency to regard a soldier's business as a profession for life, rather than as the occasional duty of a citizen, received a great impulse from the invasion of Galatia by Cn. Manlius Vulso.[a] From this time Livy dates the greedy and licentious spirit which marked the Roman soldiery of his own time, as it has marked soldiers of fortune in all times. Cato contributed not a little

[a] See Chapt. xl. § 20. For a lively picture of the life of a Roman soldier see the Centurion's speech in Liv. xlii. *sq.* The man had become weary of war, it is true, but only because he had become rich by plunder.

to this spirit by his anticipation of the maxim of Napoleon, that "war should be made to support itself,"—a maxim which converts soldiers into marauders.[b]

§ 3. Thus the lust of conquest became general. The Senate had now no difficulty in carrying war-votes. Wars were no longer defensive, even in pretence. Increase of empire was the hardly-concealed motive of action. The most detestable practices were employed to create intestine dissensions in all countries, to encourage one potentate against another, to provoke quiet and independent States by acts of intolerable arrogance, to bring about by what means soever an appeal to Roman arbitration. Senatorial commissions were continually crossing the sea to Greece and Asia, to Carthage and Egypt. Diplomatic acts of the basest kind were becoming part of the profession of Senator. The rude simplicity of the old Roman character was being turned into brutal arrogance, or was used as a cloak for the meanest and most hypocritical ends.

These wars were producing a revolution in society. The chief Senatorial families grew immensely rich; many of the yeomen, discontented with their rural lives, sold their small estates at large prices, and went to live at Rome. There was a continual tendency of property to accumulate; and consequences followed which will form the principal topic of our History during the last century of the Republic.

§ 4. The Senate itself was every day becoming more confined and oligarchical. When the gold of Carthage and Macedonia and Asia was poured into Rome, it became the fashion for the rich to secure the Ædileship by promises of lavish expenditure at the games and public shows. We have before shown how the Senate itself and the superior offices of the State were thus barred against men of moderate fortune.[c] The old distinctions of blood had ceased: in the year 173 B.C. both Consuls were Plebeian, without any opposition offered on the part of the Patricians. But though the old Patrician Nobility was decaying, a new Nobility was rising, consisting of the wealthy Senatorial families. In this class, wealth was the mother of wealth: a family once ennobled by office had so many opportunities of making money, that every day it became

[b] Chapt. xli. § 7. [c] Chapt. xxxv. § 6.

more difficult for an upstart or New Man (as persons were called whose progenitors had not held office) to make his way to the Consulship, or even into the Senate. Those who could place in their vestibules or carry out to funerals the greatest number of the images of ancestors distinguished by office were the most noble. The Senate was fast becoming an oligarchical council, almost hereditary in certain families.

This was promoted by the Lex Annalis of Villius (180 B.C.) of which we have before spoken. But by this law the age at which the Consulship could be attained became so mature that second Consulships now became extremely rare,—a consummation agreeable to the jealous pride of oligarchical families, which endeavour to exclude all but themselves from power, but insist upon a fair division of offices among themselves. From the close of the Hannibalic War to the Consulate of Marius (200—107 B.C.), a space of 93 years, there were 192 persons who held the office of Consul. These 192 belonged to 83 families; so that each family on the average obtained more than two Consulships in less than a century. But many of the less important gained one only, and the richest a great number. The Posthumii Albini had eight, the Pisos seven, the Metelli six, the Cæpios, Lepidi, Marcelli, Nasicas, five each; and numbers of other families four or three. These figures will show how much the highest honours of the State were limited during this century. Thus was formed that powerful and rapacious oligarchy which gradually engrossed the power of Rome, established her Empire over the world, and prepared the way for democratic reaction.

§ 5. It will readily be perceived how fatal must have been the influence exercised on Manners and Morals by these changes. It has been said with melancholy truth that at the moment when the history of the Republic begins to extend itself so as to embrace the whole civilised world, it loses all its moral interest. The Romans before their conquests were (as we have seen) a hardy, thrifty, self-denying, and religious race, but withal ignorant, rude, destitute of common charity and humanity in their dealings with foreigners. When enormous wealth and power are suddenly placed in the hands of such a people, the results are certain. The proverbs of every nation

testify to the arrogance and vices of rich upstarts; and the Romans were no exceptions to the rule. They were much in the condition of savages exposed to the first influences of civilisation, who eagerly imbibe its new vices, and retain their own grossness.

The Roman historians with one voice concur in these representations. "The great Scipio," says Velleius with pregnant brevity, "opened the way to empire; his brother to luxury." "The Asiatic army," says Livy, "first introduced among us couches of rich workmanship, cloths of delicate texture, and all kinds of costly furniture. They set the fashion of sumptuous banquets, at which the guests were at once regaled with the choicest viands and charmed with voluptuous music. Cooks, who had formerly been the cheapest kind of slave, now became the most valuable."

§ 6. The effect produced by this rapid increase in wealth upon political morality is proved by the frequent laws against Bribery at Elections, which may be dated from the year 181 B.C.[d] In that year it was enacted that any one found guilty of using bribery to gain votes should be declared incapable of becoming a candidate for the next ten years.

§ 7. Some incidents have been preserved which prove the rising profligacy of the times. Lucius Flamininus, brother of the famous Titus, was elected Consul in 192 B.C., and sent to Cisalpine Gaul. He had lately bought a beautiful Carthaginian boy, who indulged in loud complaints at being taken away from Rome just before the exhibition of the great gladiatorial games. Soon after the Consul reached his province, a Gallic chieftain of the Boian Tribe fled with his family to seek for protection in the Roman camp. The fugitive was brought to the Consul's tent, where he was feasting with his unworthy minion. "Now," said Lucius, "you shall be rewarded for not seeing the gladiators;" and, at a sign, one of the attendants stabbed the suppliant, that his dying agonies might amuse the cruel boy. It may be said that this was a single case. But the fact that such a barbarity could be committed by a person

[d] There were earlier laws *de Ambitu;* but these were intended by the Nobility to check the New Men from *canvassing*. Now *canvassing* and *bribery* became synonymous, and were expressed by the same word, *Ambitus*.

of high rank and in high office is a sure index of the state of morality, which allowed such a crime to be possible. Moreover, it must be remarked, that the rank of the offender screened him from punishment for more than nine years, till Cato in his Censorship made a set speech against L. Flamininus, and struck off his name with worthy indignation from the Roll of the Senate.

A sure sign of corruption is to be found in the dissolute manners that were discovered among the women. In 186 B.C., the Consul Posthumius was accidentally informed that there were not only in Rome, but in many Italian towns, secret societies, in which young men and women were dedicated to Bacchus; and that, under the cloak of religious ceremonies, every kind of licence and debauchery was practised. The old Roman feeling was as yet too strong to allow such enormities to be passed over, and the Senate issued a stringent Decree for the repression of Bacchanalian orgies. Indeed, the panic fear created by the reports seems to have been greater than the facts warranted. Men were horror-struck at the thought of the old Roman religion being contaminated by foreign licentiousness, and the credulous eagerness with which every report was caught up and propagated, reminds us of the state of feeling that prevailed at Athens after the mutilation of the statues of Hermes, or in England at the time of the Popish plot. Numbers of men and women were arrested. Little attention was paid to evidence of guilt. Numbers of the men were put to death; the women were handed over to the heads of their respective families, for the law did not permit the public execution of a female.

Some little time after, C. Calpurnius Piso, Consul of the year 180 B.C., died suddenly. His wife Hostilia was accused of poisoning him, and reports prevailed that the practice was common among Roman wives. Whatever was the fact, the report alone testifies to a corrupt state of morals. Such crimes could not be imputed to wives and matrons, if their lives had not given some grounds for the accusation.

A few years later (169 B.C.), Q. Voconius Saxa, Tribune of the Plebs, brought forward a law, by which Burgesses of Rome were forbidden to leave more than a certain sum in inheritance to women. Cato advocated the law, and it was passed. This

enactment shows a jealousy of female influence, which perhaps was warranted by the condition of the sex.

§ 8. The state of parties in the Senate in the earlier part of this period is singular. When Scipio returned to Rome as the conqueror of Hannibal, he was saluted by the people as the saviour of Italy. He might then have put himself at the head of a popular party, and crushed the ascendancy lately gained by the Senate. He had been elected Consul against the will of the Senatorial majority; he had won his Triumph by setting their known opinion at defiance. He was the idol of the People. It was proposed to set up his statue in the Forum, in the Comitium, in the Senate-house, on the Capitol, in the very Temple of Jupiter. Nay, there was a general wish to make him Dictator for life, in the hope that by the same vigour and address which had marked his military career he might put an end to the social evils, the debt, the misery, the discontent which followed the dreadful Hannibalic War.

Scipio was still in the prime of life, not more than thirty-five years of age. But he had no taste for the cares and toils of a political chief. He put aside the honours offered him with the same calm disdain with which he had declined the crown offered him by the Celtiberians. It is always difficult for a soldier who from early years has held high command to acquire the tact necessary for managing the war of parties. Hannibal, indeed, had shown himself as able in statesmanship as in war; but it was by the despotic method of the camp. He was backed by his veterans; by their aid he made himself master of Carthage, and ruled it with imperial sway. Scipio might perhaps have done the same at Rome. But he was a very different man from Hannibal. Notwithstanding the time which he had passed in military command, he had not lost his love of leisure and peaceful pursuits. He used to say, that "he was never less alone than when alone," so fond was he of literature and art. Those who were intimate with him loved him dearly. But he never concealed a certain proud indifference for opinion, which soon dimmed his popularity. He preferred the society of the poet Ennius to the applause of the People or the favour of the Senate.

Yet for a time his name seems to have given law to the

elections. In the eleven years which followed his return to Rome, we count six Consuls and two Censors of the great Cornelian Gens, besides others who are recognised as his friends. In 199, he was Censor, and exercised his office with characteristic lenity. No Senator was degraded. His friendly colleague, Q. Ælius Pætus, named him Chief of the Senate, and he retained this high rank till the Censorship of Cato in 184 B.C., one year before his death. In 193 B.C. he held the Consulship for a second time, and his popularity received a mortal blow from his own hand. The Censors of that year proposed to appropriate the front places in the Theatre to the Senatorial Order, and Scipio supported the proposal.

The changed disposition of the people soon showed itself. During his Consulship Flamininus returned to Rome with the fresh glory of his Macedonian victory and his adroit management of Grecian politics. His worthless brother Lucius was elected to the Consulship, with Cn. Domitius, a man of no mark, although they were opposed by C. Lælius, the bosom-friend of Scipio, and his cousin Nasica, who had been judged the "best man" at Rome.

In the next year, however, his friends put forth all their strength, and it appeared that there was yet power in the name of Scipio. Nasica obtained the Consulship, in company with M' Acilius Glabrio, a New Man, who, as Tribune of the People in 202 B.C., had maintained the right of the great General to be continued in the command till the war was finished. In 190 B.C., the Scipios won a still greater triumph in the election of Lælius and L. Scipio. The ten Commissioners who were sent to settle the affairs of Asia Minor, after the conquest of Antiochus, were partisans of Scipio. This was the last occasion on which his influence prevailed either in the Senate or in the Comitia.

§ 9. During his absence in Asia, the old Senatorial party procured the election of M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso to the Consulship; and at the same time Flamininus and M. Marcellus, son of the antagonist of Hannibal, were chosen Censors, to the exclusion of Nasica and other adherents of Scipio.

On the return of the Consuls from their respective provinces,

the friends of Scipio determined to put forth their strength. Their cause was just. Fulvius had sacked Ambracia, in violation of his plighted faith;[e] and M. Æmilius Lepidus, who after two repulses had at length obtained the Consulship, stood up to accuse him in the Senate. The same fiery spirit which Lepidus had shown thirteen years before on his embassy to Philip, lent force to his speech. The Senate ordered the Ambraciots to be restored to independence, and to be indemnified for their losses. But Fulvius was allowed to triumph. A still stronger case was made out against his colleague Manlius by L. Furius Purpureo and L. Æmilius Paullus. He had engaged in the Galatian War, against the express orders of the Senate, and his rapacity could not be denied.[f] But before this accusation came to a hearing, the enemies of Scipio dexterously parried the blow by preferring accusations against the great man himself and his brother Lucius. There can be little doubt that the real authors of this scheme were the friends of Manlius and the old Senatorial party. But the person who led the assault bore the famous name of Cato.

§ 10. M. Porcius Cato was born at the provincial town of Tusculum in the same year with the great Scipio: they were both seventeen years of age when Hannibal crossed the Alps. His patrimony lay in the Sabine country, near the humble dwelling once occupied by the great Curius Dentatus. Young Cato looked with reverence on the hearth at which Curius had been roasting his radishes when he rejected the Samnite gold, and resolved to make the rustic hero his model. He used to work with his slaves, wearing the same coarse dress, and partaking of the same simple fare. His natural power of speaking he exercised by pleading in the law-courts of the neighbouring town. His shrewd remarks passed current in the country; and the fame of the young orator reached the ears of L. Valerius Flaccus, a young nobleman of the neighbourhood, himself a determined friend of the ancient Roman manners. Flaccus, who had discernment enough to see what was in Cato, became his friend and persuaded him to go to Rome, there to enter a public life. The honourable intimacy thus begun continued

[e] Chapt. xl. § 18.

[f] Chapt. xl. §§ 20 and 22.

throughout life. Flaccus and Cato were colleagues in almost every office of State.

Cato at once attached himself to the party of Fabius, who at that time dispensed all the honours of the Republic. He served under the old General at Capua and at Tarentum; and being elected Quæstor in 205 B.C., was sent with Scipio to Sicily. When Cato returned to Rome, the favour of the old Senatorial party, and the popularity he had won by unabashed self-confidence, blunt bearing, and caustic eloquence, enabled him to gain the highest honours with little difficulty. He was Prætor in Sardinia in 198 B.C., at the age of thirty-seven, and gained credit by the uprightness of his administration, though he was thought too severe against the practice of usury. He was Consul in his fortieth year; and we have already followed his able conduct of the Spanish war. Four years latter he returned to Rome as the bearer of the despatch announcing the victory of Thermopylæ, which he himself had mainly contributed to gain.

§ 11. Such was the man who, in the year 187 B.C., led the attack upon Scipio. From his first connection with Fabius, he had formed an inveterate hatred against his patron's rival; and as Scipio was the reputed leader of the new Hellenic manners, so Cato constituted himself as the protector of the old Roman life.

Cato seems to have thought, at that time, that all evil was due to the introduction of Greek customs. No doubt Greece was fast verging to that miserable state in which she still lies. At a later period than this, Polybius, in a passage already quoted, rated Roman morality much higher than that of his countrymen; but the corruption of Rome would have followed, if there had been no Greece to corrupt. The vices for which Romans became notorious were not Hellenic. It was not part of the nature of Greeks to spend large sums in gluttonous eating and coarse sensuality. Pericles boasted that his countrymen cultivated their taste for the beautiful without extravagance:[g] and the same might be said of their pleasures; they are and were a frugal race. No doubt the quick-witted and unscrupulous Greeks who, as slaves or freedmen, thronged the

[g] φιλοκαλοῦμεν μετ' εὐτελείας, Thuc. ii. 40.

houses of the Roman nobles, were more adroit ministers of vice than the duller natives of other lands; but they obeyed rather than guided the propensities of their masters; and it must not be forgotten that the philosophers, statesmen, and artists of Greece flocked to Rome, as well as her parasites and pandars. Those who cultivated Greek letters and art were the noblest sons of Rome,—Scipio himself, Lepidus, Paullus, and the like. The second Scipio was, as we shall see, trained by the precepts and friendship of a Greek statesman.

How far Cato was honest in his belief, and how far he was swayed by personal dislike for Scipio, cannot be determined. At all events there is a suspicious harmony between his principles and his feelings.

§ 12. The first attack upon Scipio was judiciously made through his brother. The Tribune Petillius rose in the Senate and called upon L. Scipio to produce an account of receipts and expenditure during his Asiatic command. Africanus bade his brother fetch the books, and then taking them from his hands tore them in fragments before the Senate, saying that "it was unworthy to call a man to account for a few thousands who had paid millions into the Treasury." This contemptuous disregard of opinion and law was immediately taken hold of and made the ground of an accusation against Scipio himself. On other occasions he had been guilty of similar acts of arrogance. When the Quæstors refused to pay him certain moneys without an order from the Senate, he had taken the keys by force, saying that "one who had closed the Treasury by his successes had the best right to open it." Scipio, therefore, was formally impeached before the People, by the Tribune Nævius; and all these instances of contempt were brought in evidence against him. Scipio rose to answer. He took no notice of the charges laid at his door, but gave a simple history of his life and services. The glory of the man revived; the memory of old times returned; all hearts yearned again towards him who had driven the fell African from the shores of Italy; the sun set before the Assembly had passed to a vote. Next day was the anniversary of the battle of Zama. In the morning, Scipio appeared in a festal robe before the Assembly, escorted by a

splendid retinue of friends and followers. "Romans," he said, "on this day I defeated Hannibal. I am on my way to the Capitol to render thanks to the great gods of the city. Follow me, Romans, and pray to those gods that you may always have leaders such as I am." The effect of these words was electrical. The multitude rose with one accord, and followed the hero through the Forum up the Sacred Ascent. The Tribune was left alone with his attendants.

§ 13. This was the last day of Scipio's greatness. The cool animosity of Cato pursued him with untiring zeal. The accusation of Manlius was dropped, and he enjoyed an ill-deserved triumph. Another Tribune was urged by Cato to renew the prosecution of Scipio. On the day appointed the great man did not appear: he had left Rome. His brother Asiaticus alleged sickness as the cause of absence, and prayed for an adjournment. After some question, the plea was allowed; but the accusers turned upon the advocate. This was politic. It is not likely that a vote of condemnation could have been obtained against Africanus, however great might be his arrogance: his character for integrity was unblemished, and late events had shown that the memory of the past was not dead. But Asiaticus was not above suspicion. It was said that of the Syrian spoils a large sum due to the Treasury had found its way into his private coffers, and the scene lately enacted in the Senate-house confirmed the belief. A bill was brought before the Tribes, directing Galba, Prætor of the city, a known enemy of the Scipios, to demand an account of all moneys received and expended by L. Scipio during his Asiatic command. Two Tribunes interposed, but were obliged to forego their right of intercession. L. Purpureo then proposed to include Manlius in the inquiry, but desisted at the instance of Asiaticus himself. A committee of inquiry was named, and they presently made a report, by which L. Scipio, his Legate A. Hostilius, and his Quæstor C. Furius, were declared severally to have taken money from the King of Syria. They were then called on by the Tribune, C. Minucius Augurinus, to give security for repayment to the treasury. The two minor culprits complied, but Asiaticus refused to do any act that might be construed into a confession

of guilt. On this, notwithstanding the entreaties of his kinsman Nasica, notwithstanding the opposition of eight among his colleagues, Minucius ordered him to be arrested.[h]

During these proceedings, Africanus had still been absent; but so soon as he heard of the active proceedings against his brother, he hastened to Rome, and reached the Forum in time to see his person seized by the officers of the Tribune. He was followed by an armed retinue, and rescued Lucius by force from their custody. It seemed as if now there was to be a beginning of those bloody frays which disgraced the city in later times; but this dire extremity was averted by the one Tribune who has as yet taken no part in the business. This was Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, whom we have already seen honourably distinguished for humanity in Spain. "He did not interfere," he said, "from any wish to thwart the action of law. He was still, as he had ever been, an enemy of the Scipios. The people had only themselves to thank for the insolence which they had that day witnessed; but rather than permit domestic war, he would himself bar the arrest of L. Scipio. It was better that the will of the people should be frustrated by one of their own Tribunes than by the arrogance of a private citizen." He then forbade all further attempts to seize the person of Asiaticus.

§ 14. The great Scipio felt that his name could no longer work like a spell upon the People. He withdrew to his villa at Liternum, where he lived some years longer in retirement. When he found his end approaching, he ordered himself to be buried at Liternum. "Ungrateful city!" he said, "thou shalt not have even my ashes." The three statues of himself, his brother, and the poet Ennius, which stood outside the Capuan Gate at Rome, were placed over a cenotaph erected by the heir of his name and fame, the younger Africanus. He died in the year 183 B.C., in the fifty-fourth year of his age, though

[h] It appears from the whole tenor of the proceedings that L. Scipio was not formally tried before the Centuries, but punished by a bill of pains and penalties passed in the Tribes. The mention of a *Tribune* as his accuser shows this. It may be added that the account here given differs much from Livy's narrative. Gellius (vii. 19) has preserved the words of the decree by which the eight Tribunes wished to prevent the arrest of L. Scipio, and the account in the text is an attempt to reconcile the conflicting statements.

the fine bust still preserved at Rome bears the appearance of an older man.[1] He was too lordly to be the useful citizen of a Republic, too careless of power to become her master. His later career threw a shadow over services greater than had been rendered to Rome by any other of her sons.

§ 15. In the self-same year Hannibal ended the changeful fortunes of his life. After the loss of his last hope by the destruction of the Syrian host at Magnesia, he wandered from land to land till he found a resting-place at the Court of Prusias of Bithynia. The Senate could not breathe while their great enemy lived; and Flamininus was sent to demand from Prusias the person of his illustrious guest. The King dared not say nay, and gave Hannibal to understand that he must be surrendered to Flamininus; but the great Carthaginian, to avoid falling into the hands of his implacable foes, swallowed a dose of poison, which, according to the common story, he carried with him constantly in the hollow of a ring. He was sixty-three years of age. Life had long ceased to be valuable to him, because opposition to Rome had become hopeless. He died, as he lived, faithful to the service of that avenging deity to whom he had been bound in boyhood by his father Hamilcar.

§ 16. The fall of Scipio threw all power into the hands of the old Senatorial party. The names of the great Cornelian Gens and other Houses friendly to Scipio nearly disappear, for a season, from the Fasti. The noble Æmilius Paullus, who had rendered signal services to the State in Liguria and in Spain, was unable to obtain the Consulship till a late age. But Cato no longer held by this party. His first connection with it arose from the fact that it represented his old patron, Fabius. These Senatorial chiefs, it must be observed, followed the new Hellenic fashions no less eagerly than Scipio and his friends; but they cared more for the parasites of Greece than for her poetry and arts and refinements; and the gilding laid on only brought into relief the coarseness of the material. They had supported Cato up to his Consulship in 195 B.C., because he

[1] It was discovered, with that of Ennius, in the Tomb of the Scipios, when this famous remnant of antiquity was discovered in 1780. See Piranesi's work on this Tomb, Canina's *Via Appia*, p. 46; and compare Liv. xxxviii. 56.

was a useful hound to run down Scipio;[k] but when he offered himself for the Censorship in 189 B.C., they used all their influence against him, as well as against the Scipionic candidates, and he was defeated. They knew well that he was a sworn friend of the old Roman rusticity, and would not tolerate their vulgar luxuries any more than the refined elegance of Scipio; and now that his personal animosity to that great enemy was gratified, they apprehended that he might turn and rend them. This was the period of Cato's greatness. The Forum rang with his voice; his bitter gibes and caustic sarcasms against the vices of the ruling oligarchy were repeated everywhere; the People began to recognise him as their champion. At the next election of Censors (185 B.C.), he again came forward, with his friend Flaccus by his side; and though they were opposed by seven distinguished candidates, the favour of the People prevailed, and the two friends were elected.

§ 17. Cato was now in full possession of the immense arbitrary powers wielded by the Censor, and determined not to act, as most Censors acted, merely as the minister of the Senate, but to put down luxury with a strong hand. He had thundered against the repeal of the Oppian law during his Consulship, but in vain,—the ladies were too strong for him. But now it was his turn. Hitherto no property had been included in the Censor's register, except land and houses. Cato ordered all valuable slaves to be rated at three times the amount of other property, and laid a heavy tax on the dress and equipages of the women, if they exceeded a certain sum. He struck seven Senators off the list, some for paltry causes. Manilius was degraded for kissing his wife in public; another for an unseasonable jest; but all honest men must have applauded when L. Flamininus was at length punished for his atrocious barbarity. It savoured of personal bitterness, when at the grand review of the Knights he deprived L. Scipio Asiaticus of his horse.

In the management of public works, Cato showed judgment equal to his vigour. He provided for the repair of the aqueducts and reservoirs, and took great pains to amend the drainage of the City. He encouraged a fair and open competition for the contracts of tax-collection, and so much offended the

[k] "*Allatrare* ejus [Scipionis] magnitudinem solitus est." Liv. *ib.* 54.

powerful companies of Publicani, that after he laid down his office he was prosecuted, and compelled to pay a fine of 12,000 ases.

§ 18. One man could do little in the space of eighteen months to check national misconduct. No doubt many of Cato's reforms fell with him. Yet his fearless severity seems to have produced some lasting effects. In 179 B.C. the noble Lepidus was Censor, in conjunction with M. Fulvius Nobilior: they expelled three Senators, and paid great attention to public works. Five years later (174 B.C.), Q. Fulvius Flaccus and A. Posthumius Albinus degraded nine Senators (among whom was the brother of Fulvius himself), and a great number of the Knights. The next Censorship (169 B.C.) of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus and C. Claudius Pulcher was much more severe. The abuses of the tax-collection had been every day gathering strength, and were now so great that the last-named Censors found it necessary to prohibit any contractor who had obtained a contract under the last Censors from making new offers. The Publicani induced Rutilius, a Tribune, to oppose the edict and to indict the Censors; but they stood their ground bravely, and were acquitted by the votes of the people. Here we discern the beginning of those financial corruptions which at length made the name of Publican a byeword in every nation.

§ 19. It is manifest also that Cato had given quite a new significance to the Censorial office. The fearless onslaught made by him on all abuses had stirred up a nest of hornets. Forty-four times he was accused before the people, yet except on the one occasion just mentioned he always came off free. Cato, however, was no demagogue. He was no doubt a great favourite with the People. More familiar to us than almost any of the great men of Rome, we see him with his keen gray eyes and red hair, his harsh features and spare athletic frame, strong by natural constitution and hardened by exercise, clad even at Rome in the coarsest rustic garb, attacking with plain but nervous eloquence the luxury and corruption of the nobles. It can be well imagined with what zest the People, long unused to popular harangues, heard him. Yet he spared not the People. Many of the sarcasms are preserved in which he assailed them. Wishing to prevent a gratuitous distribution of

corn—a practice which Cato foresaw would encourage the growth of a lazy mob in the metropolis—he began: "It is a hard thing, Romans, to speak to the belly; for it has no ears." Attacking their submission to the great Senatorial families, he said: "You are like a parcel of sheep, which follow their leader in a body, they care not whither." Speaking of the monopoly of honours by a few families: "Either," said he, "you think the Consulship of little worth, or ye think there are very few worthy of the Consulship." And again: "If by virtue and self-control, ye have risen to your present greatness, go on and prosper; but if vice and luxury have made you great, stop, for in these you are great enough." This is not the language of a flatterer or a demagogue. Indeed Cato, in his way, was as haughty as any noble in the land. His mind was of that hard and narrow kind, that when he had formed opinions or conceived prejudices, nothing could move him. In private business he was ruled by calculation solely. He was a great farmer: his book on agriculture is still in our hands, and contains a curious mixture of shrewd sense, calculating selfishness, and superstitious fancies. Though he was anxious, as a statesman, to maintain the breed of Italian yeomen, yet he encouraged pasturage as the most profitable employment of land. He condemned usury as a crime only less bad than murder, and yet evaded the law which forbade Senators to engage in trade by lending his money to the trading companies. He detested cruelty towards free men, but had no compunction in advising farmers to sell off all slaves who might become useless from age or infirmity. His self-sufficiency was intolerable. He was one of those men who, having done everything for themselves, have come to think themselves infallible. The Sabine farmer made himself a perpetual Censor, and would fain have laid down the law for every one. He excused bungling magistrates, because, said he, "they are not Catos." "New Men who missed the prizes which he had won, were," he said, "but left-handed Catos." He was "the pilot to whom the Senate looked to weather the storm." In domestic life, where there was no one to dispute his supremacy, his arrogance became ridiculous. He insisted on superintending the affairs of the nursery; he declared that all physicians were impostors,

and wrote an essay on medical treatment for the use of his family. His own iron constitution bade defiance alike to the physician and the quack; but, as Plutarch drily remarks, he paid dearly for his presumption, for both his wife and his only son died at an untimely age.

§ 20. Cato lived for some five-and-twenty years after his Censorship. Several facts indicate that in later life his asperities were somewhat softened. His son married the daughter of Æmilius Paullus, and this drew him into connexion with the family of the Scipios. He had always been fond of literature, so far as it bore upon practical pursuits. His Treatise on Farming has been mentioned; and the Ancients quote with applause a work he wrote on the origin of Rome and other famous cities of Italy.[1] He had brought the poet Ennius with him from Sardinia to Rome. In later days he found it almost necessary to learn Greek, and became an ardent admirer of the younger Scipio. On one or two occasions he stood between the Senate and oppressed nations. Yet it is clear that, with all his good qualities, Cato was not one who was likely to introduce humanity or even justice into the foreign policy of Rome. His charity not only began at home, but ended there. He was, above all Romans, a despiser of whatever was not Italian. Still, after all deductions, it must be allowed that Cato stands almost alone in the history of his time as a man who had clear principles of his own, and acted up to them. We cannot love him, we hardly esteem him, yet we cannot but look upon him with a sort of amused admiration. He was a true Roman of the old school, with singular force of character and remarkable talents for administration. This summary of his life and character will show this, and will also show how little the world had to hope from the domination of Rome.

[1] The *Origines*. To the antiquarian researches which gave name to the work he added a history of his own times.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR, OR WAR OF PERSEUS. (180—168 B.C.)

§ 1. Prudence and energy of Philip. § 2. Two Commissions sent to check Philip. § 3. His son Demetrius sent to Rome: Philip forgiven "for his son's sake." § 4. Imprudence of Demetrius: Perseus. § 5. Philip's preparations and plans. § 6. Murder of Demetrius and death of Philip: Perseus. § 7. Intrigues of Flamininus in Greece: bold resistance of Philopœmen: his death. § 8. Lycortas chief of the League: embassy to Rome: baseness of Callicrates. § 9. Measures of Perseus. § 10. Eumenes accuses him at Rome: attempt upon the life of Eumenes. § 11. War declared against Perseus: he is deceived by Philippus. § 12. Resources of Perseus. § 13. First campaign: ends in favour of Perseus. § 14. Discontent throughout Greece. § 15. Second Campaign, also ineffectual: risings in Ætolia and Epirus. § 16. Third Campaign: Q. Marcius Philippus opens Pass of Tempé, but is obliged to retreat: weakness of Perseus. § 17. Fourth Campaign: L. Æmilius Paullus, his energy: repeated folly of Perseus. § 18. Severe measures of Paullus in the army. § 19. Perseus falls back to Pydna: Eclipse of Moon. § 20. Battle of Pydna: total defeat of Perseus. § 21. Perseus flies to Samothrace: surrenders to Paullus. § 22. Tour of Paullus through Greece. § 23. Senatorial Commission: settlement of Macedonia. § 24. Greece. § 25. Massacre of the Epirotes. § 26. Triumph of Paullus. § 27. Death of his sons. § 28. Great increase of Revenue. § 29. Fate of Perseus.

§ 1. PHILIP had of late shown complete submission to Rome. Yet, when the States of Northern Thessaly, which Glabrio had allowed him to conquer, complained, the Senate encouraged their complaints. And when the Ætolians assisted Amynander in recovering his Athamanian valleys from Philip, the Senate declined to interfere. Their policy plainly was to prevent his recovering any portion of his power over Greece.

Philip, therefore, began silently and resolutely to improve the internal resources of Macedon itself. For a time his ungovernable temper was controlled by cautious prudence. He organised an improved system of taxation: he established a regular mode of working the gold-mines of Mount Pangæus, which had supplied treasure to his great predecessor Philip the

Second.[a] He replenished his wasted population by large draughts of brave barbarians from Thrace. He formed an alliance with Prusias of Bithynia, the enemy of Eumenes. He ventured to seize Ænos and Maroneia, two Thracian cities lately evacuated by Antiochus.

§ 2. Reports of this activity were soon transmitted to Rome by Eumenes, and the Senate sent a Commission of inquiry, to examine into the truth of these accounts. At the head of the Commission was that Metellus who had proposed to quit Italy after the battle of Cannæ.[b]

Philip was summoned to appear before them at Tempé, and the proud monarch complied. But when he found that he was to be stript of all his Thessalian possessions, his assumed calmness gave way, and he broke into an angry threat. "The sun," he said, "had not quite set yet." The Commissioners then passed on to Thessalonica, to hear the complaints preferred by Ænos and Maroneia, but in this case reserved judgment for the Senate. Philip, however, feeling very sure what that judgment would be, resolved at all events to gratify his vengeance, and ordered a general massacre of the wretched Maroneians. When a second Commission of Senators arrived, bearing the expected judgment, the King attempted to justify his savage act by referring the bloodshed at Maroneia to party-strife within the place; to which App. Claudius, the Chief Commissioner, coldly replied, that he would send the authors of the massacre to take their trial at Rome. The King now became alarmed, and despatched his younger son Demetrius, who had lived for four years as a hostage at Rome, and had been set free just before the Syrian campaign of the Scipios, to make intercession in his behalf.

§ 3. The mission of Demetrius was the beginning of great misery to his father. The young man was received by the Senate in a manner most flattering to himself, while, at the same time, they encouraged every complaint against Philip. Embassies from Thessaly, Athamania, Illyria, arrived at Rome, all with the same story. Eumenes repeated his charges. Fugitives detailed the horrors of the massacre at Maroneia. And

[a] See Dr. Smith's History of Greece, Chapt. xlii. § 7.

[b] Chapt. xxxi. § 32.

when Demetrius, after hearing these several complaints, stood forth in the Senate-house to offer a defence for his father, the Chief of the Senate cut him short on the pretence that he was too young to transact business of such importance, and asked whether he had no written instructions. The young prince incautiously produced papers, drawn up with the freedom which Philip was likely to use in a confidential memorandum. These papers were read, and the Senate at once gave judgment against the King; "but," it was added, "they would forgive him for the sake of Demetrius. They would require no more than they had already signified, namely, that he should withdraw from Thessaly and Thrace. A third Commission should be sent to assure him that he owed this forbearance entirely to the young prince his son." It is said, that Flamininus gave secret assurances to Demetrius, that, on his father's death, the Senate would support his claim to the succession, to the exclusion of his elder brother Perseus.

Demetrius returned home highly elated. He was closely followed by the new Commission, which was headed by Q. Marcius, a man who professed the most friendly intentions to the King, and thenceforth took the name of Philippus as a family name. At the same time, Flamininus passed over to the coast of Bithynia, for the purpose of ordering Prusias to suspend hostilities against Eumenes, and to demand the surrender of Hannibal's person. The success of this embassy we have already seen.

§ 4. Philip was obliged to obey in all things. The rest of his life was embittered by family intrigues. Demetrius was the favourite not only of the Senate, but also of the Macedonians; and even where there is no positive reason, suspicion is apt to grow up between an aged King and the popular heir to his crown. Such suspicion was, not without cause, aggravated by the honours paid to Demetrius at Rome, and by the foolish fondness shown by the young prince for everything Roman. There was, moreover, an eye watching the young prince with more of jealousy than even Philip was likely to feel. Perseus, the King's elder son, was born of a concubine. He was reserved in manner, and, far less popular than Demetrius, saw that his own succession was in danger. Under these appre-

hensions, he gained his father's ear, and led him to believe that Demetrius was endeavouring to anticipate the course of nature in gaining possession of the crown. The young prince was committed to the custody of Didas, Governor of Pæonia; and two confidential ministers were sent to Rome in order to ascertain the truth of the suspicions raised by Perseus.

§ 5. Meanwhile, the King silently continued his preparations. Every day, it is said, he had the treaties which he had signed with Rome read over to him, to remind him of the duty of revenge. Filled with jealousy and suspicion, he put many of his great nobles to death, and imprisoned their sons, quoting the epic line which says, that it is but foolish work to slay the father and spare the child.[c] He endeavoured to balance the suspected fidelity of the Macedonians by transporting whole families into Emathia, and replacing them by Thracians, who held their lands from the crown by military service. He formed a bold scheme for assailing the Romans at home, by inducing the Bastarnians, a people who inhabited the country afterwards called Mœsia, to exterminate the Dardanians and seize their territory, and then, leaving their families there, to pour into Italy by the northern end of the Adriatic. It was no doubt in connection with this great plan that he made a tour to the passes of Hæmus (the Balkan), of which Livy speaks in language that we might use of a person visiting the mountains of Siberia.[d]

§ 6. On his return gloomy news awaited him. Didas, under pretence of sympathy, had led Demetrius to form and to confess a scheme for flying to Italy and claiming the protection of the Senate. The envoys had come from Rome with evidence which seemed to confirm all that Philip or Perseus had suspected; they were the bearers of letters purporting to be written by Flamininus, and urging the young prince to the worst extremities of treason. The unhappy father, who had long wished to disbelieve, could not resist this weight of evidence, and signed an order for his son's death. Didas attempted to take him off by poison; but the unfortunate young man detected the attempt, and was suffocated with brutal violence.

[c] νήπιος, ὃς πατέρα κτείνας παῖδας κατάλιπεν. ap. Polyb. xxiv. 8, 10.
[d] Liv. xl. 21 and 22.

This event took place in 179 B.C. The old King did not long survive. It was discovered by his nephew Antigonus, that the letters of Flamininus were forged, and that all the charges against Demetrius were at least grossly exaggerated. It is said, that Philip now meditated disinheriting Perseus in favour of Antigonus. But mortal sickness overtook him at Amphipolis. Perseus, informed of his father's state, hastened to Pella, and was proclaimed King before others knew of Philip's death. The first act of his reign was to put Antigonus to death; the next was to renew professions of amity towards Rome.

The great abilities possessed by Philip were always shown on emergencies. But ordinarily his savage passions deprived him of the advantages he might have gained, and it was the popular belief that the misery of his latter days was a divine retribution for the crimes of his life. Perseus had neither the same abilities nor the same passions. In manner he was dignified and reserved; in government he was generally prudent and temperate. But he had two defects, which in his position were almost more fatal than his father's ferocity,—avarice and timidity.

§ 7. Before we speak of the outbreak of war, we must cast a glance upon the affairs of Greece.

We wished to believe that Flamininus, in his original settlement of that country, had a desire to maintain so much at least of liberty as was consistent with an acknowledgment of the supremacy of Rome. But, once at Rome, he seems to have become the too faithful minister of the Senate. At Thebes he encouraged the infamous Zeuxippus, in Messenia Dinocrates, in the Achæan League Callicrates, in Epirus, in Ætolia, everywhere, men of like unscrupulous character, who purchased power for themselves by placing the necks of their fellow-countrymen under the foot of Rome.

Perhaps this policy was in part due to the bold attitude and independent bearing of Philopœmen. This able and honest officer was now the Chief of the Achæan League. Under his conduct the army was raised to the number of 40,000 men, and brought into excellent discipline: the cavalry were especially good. On all occasions he rejected the proffered interference of the Senatorial Commissioners who were constantly passing to Macedonia or Asia, and thus gave offence to Metellus, to

App. Claudius, and to Flamininus himself. This last-named statesman revenged himself by instigating Dinocrates to raise Messenia in arms against the League. Philopœmen instantly ordered Lycortas to advance with the main army into Messenia, while he himself, though more than seventy years old, followed with the cavalry. He was surprised on his march by Dinocrates, his small force scattered, and himself carried in triumph to Messené, where he was thrown into a loathsome dungeon and ordered to drink poison. He drained the cup with the composure of Socrates, and died. But Lycortas was at hand, and exacted from the Messenians a fearful vengeance for the death of his illustrious friend. He then carried the remains of Philopœmen, and interred them with splendid but mournful solemnities at his native city of Megalopolis.

Thus died the last great man of Greece. He had fallen upon evil times, when a soldier's spirit was less needful than a statesman's craft. For the Achæan League to resist the power of Rome was hopeless; its only chance of independence was to avoid jealousy by observing a guarded tranquillity. Such a course might have conciliated Flamininus, but it suited not the soldierly character of Philopœmen. He might have played his part with glory at the time when Aratus laid the League at the foot of the Macedonian monarchs; as Aratus might have dealt with the diplomacy of Rome better than Philopœmen. Yet it is doubtful whether any policy could long have preserved Greece. It was time for her best and bravest sons to depart. Philopœmen died in the same year with Scipio and Hannibal.

§ 8. Lycortas was now Chief of the League. He would willingly have pursued the bold policy of Philopœmen. But his son Polybius, with Stratius, Archon, and other patriotic leaders, felt their real weakness; and an agreement was made with Aristænus and the leaders of the Roman party, to send an embassy to the Senate for the purpose of settling the position which Rome expected them to hold with regard to Messenia, Elis, Sparta, and other states. In this embassy was Callicrates, who at once sold himself to the Senate, and assured them that so long as Lycortas, Polybius, and the popular Chiefs were in power, the League would never act in the interests of Rome; that if they would lend the weight of their influence to place

him in power, he would undertake that the Achæans should give them no more trouble; and that similar policy might be pursued with advantage in every state of Greece. From the date of the embassy of Callicrates (180 B.C.) Greece was ruled by a number of petty tyrants, supported by Roman influence.

§ 9. It was in the following year that Perseus succeeded to the crown of Macedon. The first measures of his reign were marked by prudence and moderation. His avarice did not prevent him from remitting some heavy arrears of taxes, and for the future he established a better system. He recalled those who had fled from his father's tyranny, gave his sister in marriage to Prusias of Bithynia, and himself wedded the daughter of Seleucus, who had succeeded his father Antiochus as King of Syria. These alliances, indeed, were of little value; for Prusias was a weak and faithless prince; and Seleucus, dying soon after, was succeeded by his brother Antiochus Epiphanes (or, as he was more justly nicknamed, Epimanes), a wayward tyrant. More effective were the alliances he formed with Cotys, Chief of the Odrysians, a powerful Thracian tribe, and Genthius, who had succeeded Pleuratus as King of the Illyrians. He was guilty of an error in not supporting the Bastarnians in their attack upon the Dardanians. For want of such support the brave barbarians were almost exterminated. But Perseus had none of the adventurous spirit of his father.

In Greece, the patriotic party was everywhere inclined to join Perseus against the Romanising tyrants who were raised to power in every State, as formerly they had been fain to accept the aid of Rome against the tyranny of Philip. The King visited Greece and won golden opinions by his gracious manners. None, however, ventured to enter into open alliance with him except the Bœotians, always attached to the Macedonian interest.

§ 10. The Senate had their eye upon the movements of Perseus. The Dardanians had sent to implore assistance; Masinissa informed them that the King was intriguing with Carthage; and a triumviral Commission, as usual, was despatched to Pella: but he eluded an interview, and a new embassy of five was sent with a yet more imperious message.

In the year 172 B.C. incidents occurred which brought on immediate hostilities.

It had been the policy of the Senate in Asia to increase the power of Eumenes of Pergamus, as a balance to the power both of Macedonia and Syria. Eumenes was anxious to extend his possessions in Greece, where he still held the island of Ægina. But the Achæan League, supported by Perseus, baffled all his endeavours; and he appeared at Rome as the formal accuser of the King of Macedon. He was heard with favour; and, after a secret debate, the Senate called in Harpalus, who had been sent by Perseus to oppose the claims of Eumenes. Harpalus soon perceived that the matter had been prejudged, and lost his temper. "His master," he said, "was ready to explain. But if they were bent on war, for war he was also prepared." He then hastened home to warn Perseus that hostilities must soon begin.

At the same time envoys arrived from Rhodes, to complain that Eumenes was endeavouring to dispossess them of Lycia and Caria, which had been granted by the Senate to the brave islanders out of the spoils of Antiochus, in reward for their loyal service in the Syrian war. But the Senate was resolved to hear nothing to the prejudice of the King of Pergamus. The Rhodians were coldly dismissed without the usual signs of respect paid to ambassadors; while Eumenes was rewarded with the gift of a curule chair and an ivory staff, the highest honours which the Republic could bestow upon a foreigner.

Matters were precipitated by an attempt on the life of Eumenes. As the King was returning from Rome, he landed at Cirrha to pay a devotional visit at Delphi. He was ascending the steep and narrow road which led from the coast to the site of the Temple, when he was knocked down by some large stones thrown from a wall which skirted the road. He was taken up for dead; but was carried to Ægina, where he recovered. The assassins had escaped. But it was said that they bore letters of introduction from Perseus to Praxo, a noble Delphian lady; and L. Ramnius, a chief citizen of Brundusium, came forward to state that he also had been offered bribes from the King to poison some of the Roman Senators.

It is difficult to say how much of these accusations was true.

But the Senate gave ready credence to the informers, and immediate war was determined upon.

§ 11. On the very day on which the Consuls for 171 B.C. entered upon office, a Decree was framed for obtaining from the Centuries a declaration of war; and this time the vote passed in the affirmative without demur. The command fell to P. Licinius Crassus. Five Commissioners were at once despatched to Corcyra. At this place, the Commission divided itself into three. Decimius went to Lissus to intimidate Genthius of Illyria; two Lentuli passed into Peloponnesus to support Callicrates and the Roman party; while Q. Marcius Philippus and Au. Atilius had the more difficult task of repressing popular feeling in the countries bordering on Macedonia.

Philippus and his colleague passed through Ætolia, where they secured the election of Lyciscus, a partisan of Rome, to the office of Captain-General to Thessaly. Perseus was at Dium, and, remembering the old relations of Philippus to his father, he invited the Roman envoy to a conference, which was readily accepted, for Philippus knew that the Senate wished to gain time. They met upon the banks of the Peneüs, and some dispute arose as to the etiquette of crossing the river. The Roman decided it in his own favour by an indifferent jest. "It is meet," said he, "that the *son* should come to the *father*." The plausible manners of Philippus beguiled Perseus, who prayed for an armistice in order to send an embassy to the Senate; and Philippus granted a request which enabled Rome to complete her preparations for war, with apparent unwillingness. Meantime the other Commissioners had played their part well. The Roman interest was made paramount in Bœotia, and one hundred Achæan youths were deposited at Chalcis as guarantees for the good conduct of their countrymen.

The Commissioners now returned to Rome, where they found the ambassadors of Perseus. Philippus had the impudence to boast in open Senate of the successful fraud by which he had gained time; and the Senate, with the exception of a few honourable men, had the effrontery to approve conduct which much resembled swindling. The Macedonian ambassadors were dismissed, and Philippus was sent back to Greece as the diplomatic representative of Rome.

§ 12. It was with reason that the Romans were anxious to gain time. The resources of Macedon had been steadily increasing during a peace of nearly thirty years. The Treasury was full. Perseus had a well-appointed army of 40,000 foot and 4000 horse, besides the troops of Cotys and other Thracian allies. The Phalanx, raised to 20,000 men, was formed, as of old, in two divisions,—the Silver Shields and the Brass Shields. To oppose this force, Crassus landed in Epirus late in the season with 28,000 foot and 2000 horse, for the most part raw troops. Lucretius, the Prætor, had little trouble in blockading the coasts of Macedon; for by the treaty with Flamininus the Macedonians were forbidden to maintain a fleet.

§ 13. When Perseus discovered the fraud that had been practised upon him, he advanced at once into Thessaly, and formed an entrenched camp at Sycurium on the western slope of Ossa, favourably situated for foraging in the plain of the Peneüs, and for commanding his communications with Macedon by the Pass of Tempé. Meanwhile Crassus had threaded the passes of Western Thessaly without molestation and advanced to Larissa, where to his joy he found Eumenes, now recovered from his wounds, with his brother Attalus, at the head of 4000 foot and 1000 horse. These additions to his force, with Achæan and Ætolian auxiliaries, and some Numidian horse sent by Masinissa, made his army nearly equal in number to that of Perseus, though it was much inferior in quality.

The Consul felt this, and steadily declined battle, till Perseus advanced to the very gates of the Roman camp and drove the Romans in. He did not, however, venture to attack the entrenchments, and Crassus decamped across the Peneüs. The blame of the late defeat was laid upon the Ætolians; and five chiefs of that nation were sent to be tried before the Senate.

Perseus thought that his success gave him a favourable opportunity for renewing negociations, and offered to make peace on the terms of the treaty of Flamininus; but the Consul obstinately refused all terms short of absolute submission. Even this defiance failed to rouse the craven spirit of the King. He sent a second message, offering to increase the tribute paid by his father; but the same contemptuous reply met his advances. Crassus withdrew for the winter into Bœotia;

Perseus retired to Macedonia, leaving the Pass of Tempé strongly guarded.

§ 14. The success of the Macedonians in this campaign gave life to the smouldering discontent of Greece. The presence of Lucretius with the fleet at Chalcis alone prevented Bœotia from rising in a mass. This officer had behaved with brutal cruelty during his command. Haliartus was taken by storm: all living souls were massacred or sold as slaves; all statues and pictures were seized; the city itself was rased to the ground. Ceroneia capitulated, but was treated with equal barbarity. Roman soldiers roamed everywhere, pillaging at will. Epirus, hitherto devoted to Rome, reaped no benefit from her submissive conduct. Cephalus had long held the government; and though in his heart he hated Italian dominion, he had scrupulously observed every obligation laid upon him. But the ear of the Senatorial Commissioners was gained by Charops, grandson of that Charops who had assisted Flamininus to turn the Pass of Klissoura. Cephalus felt that his turn would come next; and he engaged with Perseus to raise Epirus against Rome.

§ 15. The new Consul Au. Hostilius Mancinus arrived early in the season to take the command (170 B.C.). If he had followed the usual route through Epirus, his person would have been seized; but he sailed direct for Anticyra, and entered Thessaly from the south. He made an attempt to force the Cambunian passes, but was repulsed at every point.

The new Prætor Hortensius more than emulated his predecessor Lucretius. Abdera, ordered to furnish an immense quantity of corn for the supply of the fleet, applied for time: he replied by assaulting the city. It was taken; the chief men were beheaded, the rest sold into slavery. These outrages began to excite attention at Rome. The Tribunes had brought Lucretius to trial for decorating his villa at Antium with the spoils of Haliartus, and he was heavily fined. Alarmed at this vigour, the Senate ordered the Consul to do what could be done to redress the wrongs of the Abderites. Livy, with just indignation, calls these rapacious officers "the terror of their friends and the scorn of their foes."

C. Popillius Lænas was sent to Greece, in the hope of sooth-

ing popular feeling; but in Ætolia men were so exasperated by the tyranny of Lyciscus that a tumult broke out in the very presence of the envoy. Popillius, a rude, overbearing man, found it necessary, here and elsewhere, to use fair words; but in spite of all precautions, Cephalus and the Epirotes had risen and driven App. Claudius Centho out of the country. He took refuge at Uscana, the capital of a friendly Illyrian tribe, near Lake Lychnidus, on the river now called the Drilo.

During the winter Perseus made an expedition into the territory of his troublesome neighbours, the Dardanians. Thence he crossed the mountains to Uscana, which he took, notwithstanding the presence of App. Claudius. Hence he sent an embassy to Genthius at Scodra; and the Illyrian chief promised his coöperation against Rome, if the King would pay him the sum of 300 talents. But the King of Macedon could not bear to part with his beloved gold, and remained without allies.

§ 16. The Consul who followed Hostilius was Q. Marcius Philippus, the cajoler of Perseus. Philippus, though he was past sixty and of unwieldy corpulence, displayed more vigour than his predecessors. Avoiding both the gorge of Tempé, which was strongly guarded, and the Cambunian Passes, where Hostilius had failed the year before, he carried his army by a steep and difficult path past Petra, over the north-western shoulder of Mount Olympus, and appeared within a few miles of Dium, where Perseus was lying in fancied security. The King, panic-stricken, ordered a precipitate retreat to Pydna, and sent off two of his confidential ministers,—one to Pella to throw his treasure into the sea, the other to Thessalonica to destroy his naval stores.

Philippus, astonished at his own success, pursued the King through Dium as far as the river Ascordus; but he could obtain no provisions, and was obliged to retreat first to Dium, and then to Heracleium, at the Macedonian end of the Vale of Tempé. On his retreat, Perseus returned to his old position at Dium. Ashamed of his own pusillanimity, he censured his officers for suffering the Romans to pass over Mount Olympus; and ordered the ministers whom he had commissioned to destroy his arsenal and sink his treasure to be put to death, in

the idle hope that the truth might be concealed. Luckily the former had delayed the execution of his orders; but the treasure was already at the bottom of the sea, and could only be recovered by the help of divers.

§ 17. The only substantial success gained by the Consul Philippus was the opening of the Pass of Tempé. Public feeling at Rome began to show signs of impatience. The Senate perceived that they must no longer dally with the war by committing it to incapable advisers, and resolved to promote the election of L. Æmilius Paullus to the Consulship. This eminent man, the son-in-law of Scipio, had lived in retirement since the fall of his great kinsman. He was now past sixty, and had always been rejected as a candidate for the Consulship; but being now elected, he was appointed to the Macedonian command by a special decree of the Senate.

He resolved, however, to make the present state of things fully known at Rome. He therefore insisted on sending Commissioners to report on the condition of both the armies. This report was not encouraging. Perseus was still at Dium with all his forces round him. The Consul could not stir from Heracleium for want of provisions; the men were ill-clothed, and greatly demoralised; many had deserted. Epirus was in full insurrection. The fleet was as ill off as the army. Eumenes had withdrawn. Both he and the Rhodians had shown symptoms of disaffection to Rome.

It might have been added that Perseus had at length consented to disburse the 300 talents demanded by Genthius, and that 20,000 Getæ from the Danube were preparing to join him. But again the avarice of the King was too strong for him. He sent ten talents as an earnest of payment, and despatched the residue to Scodra under the royal seal; but when Genthius, trusting to these pledges of good faith, took the irrevocable step of seizing the persons of the Roman envoys, Perseus sent orders to withhold payment. With the Getans he higgled till their indignant chief broke off the bargain and returned home.

§ 18. Paullus deemed the occasion worthy of all attention. No Legionary Tribunes were appointed but men of proved experience. The army was made up to more than 30,000 men. One Prætor, Cn. Octavius, took the command of the

fleet. L. Anicius, the Prætor Peregrinus, was despatched with 10,000 foot and 800 horse to relieve App. Claudius in Illyria, and employ Genthius at home. An army of reserve was formed in Italy.

The commanders left Rome early in April of the year 168 B.C. Paullus, accompanied by his two sons, and by young Scipio Nasica, son of the "best man,"[e] travelled post-haste to Brundusium, crossed to Dyrrhachium in one day; in five days more reached Delphi, where he stayed to offer sacrifice to Apollo; and in five days more joined the army at Heracleium. The men, disorganised as they were, found that they had a soldier to command them. A few severe examples checked disorder, and strict regulations restored discipline. The fame of the new Consul alarmed the feeble Perseus. Nor was his alarm lessened by hearing that the Prætor Anicius had pursued Genthius from Lissus to Scodra, and had compelled the chief to surrender at discretion.

§ 19. Yet the defensive measures taken by Perseus were good. He had drawn entrenchments along the deep bed of the Enipeus from the base of Mount Olympus to the sea; and Paullus thought the Macedonian position too strong to be assailed in front. He therefore directed his eldest son with Nasica to lead a legion round the mountain, while he amused the enemy by a feigned attack upon his lines. Nasica, after an arduous march, turned the right flank of the Macedonian lines; and Perseus fell back to the plain of Pydna, which was well adapted for the movements of the Phalanxes. Paullus followed close, but resolved not to risk a battle till he had secured his camp. On the evening of his arrival, C. Sulpicius Gallus, one of the Legionary Tribunes, gave out that there would be an eclipse of the moon that night, and thus prevented the alarm which this supposed portent would have caused to the Romans. The Macedonians, on the other hand, were horror-struck: the eclipse seemed to threaten the fall of the Monarchy.[f]

[e] See Chapt. xxxiv. § 16.

[f] Modern calculations have fixed this eclipse to the 21st of June of our calendar; but according to the Romans it was late in August or early in September. So far was their calendar from the true time.

§ 20. The next day a decisive conflict was brought on by accident, as at Cynoscephalæ. About three in the afternoon a Roman horse broke loose, and was followed by a few soldiers into the bed of the small stream which separated the two armies. The horse was seized by an outpost of Thracians; a scuffle ensued, and so many men came up on both sides to take part in the fray, that both King and Consul drew out their whole armies in battle order. The Macedonians attacked. The two Phalanxes, the Brass and Silver Shields, formed the main body, flanked by the light troops and cavalry, with a formidable body of Thracian auxiliaries. Paullus rode, unhelmeted, with his gray hair loose, along their line, and looked, as he afterwards said, with alarm at the formidable mass of bristling pikes which was bearing down upon his less compact array. The battle began. In vain the Italian soldiers showed more than their accustomed bravery. The weight of the Phalanxes was irresistible; and the Legions fell back, but so as to draw the enemy to the base of the hills which skirted the plain. As the ground became less even, the compact masses of the Phalanxes began to show gaps here and there. Into every chink that opened, Roman soldiers threw themselves with brave alacrity. Once more the Phalanx was tried against the Legions, and once more it failed. It was soon irretrievably broken. The Sacred Band, with the cavalry and Thracians, fled. The heavy infantry, encumbered by their long pikes, were cut down man by man; not less than 20,000 fell, and 11,000 were made prisoners. The Macedonian army was annihilated.

§ 21. After the disastrous day of Pydna, Perseus fled to Pella, his capital, which he reached at midnight. Next day, he continued his flight to Amphipolis, where he stayed only to see his beloved treasures put on board ship. Thence, with his children, he made straight for the sacred asylum of Samothrace. His only followers were Evander, a Cretan, and two Greek exiles.

Paullus followed the King to Amphipolis, but was too late to catch him, and despatched Octavius with the fleet to Samothrace. On his march he treated the people with lenity, but all deserters were trampled to death by elephants.

Octavius, unwilling to violate the sanctity of Samothrace,

demanded the surrender of Evander, who was one of the reputed assassins of Eumenes; and Perseus, to avoid unpleasant disclosures, slew his wretched confidant with his own hand. He then ordered one of his Greek followers to ship the treasure and wait for him; but when he reached the shore he saw the ships under all sail, with the gold which he loved more than life on board. The miserable monarch concealed himself in a temple till he found that his children had been given up to Octavius. Then, deserted by every one, he surrendered, and was conveyed to the Consul's quarters at Amphipolis. He was received by Paullus with distant courtesy, but he was given to understand that the Macedonian monarchy had ceased to exist.

§ 22. Great was the joy at Rome at news of the decisive victories won by Anicius in Illyria, and by Paullus in Macedonia. Ten Commissioners were nominated for the latter country, and five for the former, to bear skeleton decrees for regulating the future government of their country. They were to be filled up by Paullus, in conjunction with the respective Commissioners.

These Commissioners, however, did not arrive till the following summer (167 B.C.); and in the spring before their arrival, Paullus, now Proconsul, occupied himself with making a tour through Greece. He was accompanied by young Scipio, his second son, and by Athenæus the youngest brother of King Eumenes. With the religious feeling of a Roman augur (for he had long been a member of the Sacred College), he halted to make a thank-offering to Apollo at Delphi. Here he found pedestals prepared to receive statues of Perseus, and ordered his own to be placed there instead. At Lebadeia, in Bœotia, he visited the oracular cave of Trophonius; and passing over the bridge which already joined Eubœa to the mainland, he contemplated the ever-changing current of Euripus, and the harbour where the windbound fleet of Agamemnon was set free by the immolation of his virgin daughter. After another halt at the antique shrine of Oropus, he passed on to Athens, and viewed the temples, statues, and pictures which still adorned the metropolis of art and letters. Here he sacrificed to Athené Polias; and then, passing onward to Corinth, he gazed on the two seas from the rock of her towering citadel. Hence he

pursued his way through Peloponnesus to Sicyon, Argos, Epidaurus, Sparta, Megalopolis, and ended his tour by worshipping at Olympia. On entering the temple he paused in admiration. "Expectation," said he, "for once has been surpassed by reality. Phidias alone of men has expressed the Jove of Homer."

It is pleasing to imagine the austere Proconsul, with his youthful son, the future conqueror of Carthage and Numantia, turning from scenes of bloodshed to find delight in these guileless pleasures. Romans, even in the Augustan age, seldom travelled either for amusement or instruction.

§ 23. While Paullus was thus engaged he could not but observe the misery which prevailed throughout Greece. He relieved immediate needs by donations from the stores of grain which he found in Macedonia. But when a crowd of Ætolian suppliants, clad in deep mourning, met him and complained passionately that a Roman officer, Au. Bæbius, had lent a body of Roman soldiers to aid the bloody Lyciscus in massacring five hundred of their chief men, he could only refer them to the Commissioners who were to meet him at Amphipolis.

Here, on an appointed day, the Proconsul was to announce publicly the will of the Senate with regard to Macedonia. The people crowded eagerly round him, as on a former occasion the Greeks had crowded round Flamininus, but with hopes and feelings widely different. In the midst of a dead silence, Paullus recited the ordinances in Latin; Octavius repeated them in Greek. "The whole country was to be divided into four districts:—one between the Nestus and the Strymon, the second between the Strymon and Axius, the third between the Axius and Mount Olympus, while the fourth included the inland districts bordering on Epirus and Illyria. The capital cities of each respectively were to be Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, Pelagonia. Each district was to constitute a separate Republic, but the citizens of each were forbidden to enter any connubial or commercial relations with those of another. The tribute paid to Rome was to be only half what they had hitherto paid to the King. They were prohibited from working their gold and silver mines, or to make salt in the country."

The isolation of Macedonia was thus effectually provided for,

while the people were amused with a show of liberty, and the taxes were lightened. The last prohibition is said to have been the work of Paullus himself, to prevent the extortion of the Roman contractors, who would have been brought into the country by the principle which assigned all mines and salt-works in property to the State. Paullus drew up, for the government of the four Republics, a clear and impartial code of laws. The administration of each was placed in the hands of a Senate; but as all those who had hitherto taken part in the government were transported to Italy, the persons who held rule were helpless and ignorant, and the country fell into utter disorganisation.

§ 24. The Commissioners now gave audience to the wretched Ætolians; but, so far from redressing their wrongs, these righteous judges confirmed all the acts of Lyciscus, contenting themselves with a gentle reprimand to Bæbius. This decision encouraged Lyciscus, with Charops of Epirus and similar miscreants in each part of Greece, to denounce their opponents as the enemies of Rome; and the best men of each state were carried off for trial in Italy. Achæa only was spared for the present.

That Paullus was not a consenting party to these oppressions appears from the fact that, when Charops visited Rome soon after, he closed his doors against him. Before he quitted Amphipolis he celebrated splendid games, and distributed grain with unstinted hand. He left Greece amid the blessings of the people.

§ 25. But a shocking work still remained to be done. The Epirotes were to be punished for their insurrection, which had been quelled by Anicius, after the capture of Scodra. Cephalus and the ringleaders had sought a voluntary death; but this did not satisfy the Senate. By their express orders, Paullus met Anicius in Epirus. Here he announced the will of the Senate, that all Epirotes should hereafter be free and independent, and that all their gold and silver should, by a given day, be deposited in the treasury of seventy towns specified by name. On that day seventy detachments of his army entered each of the seventy towns, seized the precious metals and the persons of all free inhabitants. The walls of every town were demo-

lished; the wretched captives, to the number of 150,000, were sold as slaves; the money distributed to the soldiery. It is grievous to have to relate such an act of Æmilius Paullus. It may be imagined what must have been the public feeling of a nation when the Government could deliberately issue such an order, when the best of its citizens thought himself bound to execute it without hesitation or reserve, when no historian speaks of it with so much as a word of censure.

§ 26. The close of the year 167 B.C. witnessed the return of the conquerors. Paullus sailed from Oricum in a splendid galley of seventeen banks of oars, laden with trophies. He passed up the Tiber amid the acclamations of the multitude who lined the banks, followed by Anicius and Octavius.

The Senate decreed a Triumph to all three commanders, and called upon the Tribes to confirm their decree. But Sergius Galba, who had served as a Tribune under Paullus, endeavoured to prevent it in the case of his own General. He was the mouthpiece of the soldiery, who, though gorged with the spoils of Epirus, were dissatisfied at seeing the rich booty of Macedon reserved for the Treasury. The first Tribes voted against the Triumph; but the Tribunes perceived how great a scandal it would be to refuse a Triumph to Paullus. The votes were taken again, and the Triumph passed without a dissentient voice.

It took place in the last days of November. It was the most gorgeous spectacle which had yet feasted the eyes of the Roman populace. The Forum was fitted out with rising seats like a theatre, that all might see the processions as they passed. On the first day the statues and paintings taken were exhibited on two hundred and fifty waggons; on the second, the splendid arms and accoutrements of the Macedonian officers, suspended from the long pikes of the phalanx-men, passed along the Sacred Way: then followed three thousand men, walking four abreast, each of whom carried a vase full of silver coin; and the procession closed with another set, who bore the silver plate used at the tables of Perseus and his nobles. On the third and great day the procession began with a body of trumpeters, followed by twenty youths, each leading a milk-white bull, with his horns gilded, garlanded with ribands and flowers. Then

came men carrying gold coin in vases, and the gold plate and the precious stones. Next followed the royal car of Perseus, laden with his armour and surmounted by the diadem of Macedon. After the car came Bithys son of the Thracian chief Cotys, the children of Perseus—two boys and a girl, with their attendants,—and Perseus himself, with his queen, stupefied with grief. Last of all was seen the triumphal car of the Proconsul, preceded by men bearing four hundred crowns of gold, the gifts of the cities of Greece, followed by his two eldest sons on horseback, together with all his army in its order.

§ 27. But Paullus, amid all this glory, was reminded that he was mortal. The two sons, who shared his triumph, had been adopted into other families; the elder by Q. Fabius Maximus, son of the old Dictator, the second by the son of the great Africanus. But he had two younger boys still left to brighten his home, when he returned to the City. Of these, one died five days before his triumph, the other three days after. The grave father was moved as such men are wont to be moved by heavy calamities; but with the true feeling of a Roman he lightened his private woe by considering it as a public good. In a speech which he made to the people, according to custom, on surrendering his command, he recounted his successes; "but," he said, "after every new success, he had dreaded the wrath of Nemesis, and he thanked the gods that the blow had fallen upon himself, and not upon his country. No one was left to bear the name of Paullus. But he repined not at this domestic sorrow: he rejoiced that Rome was happy, though he was miserable."

§ 28. The treasure taken in the Macedonian War paid all debts contracted in its progress; and the tribute annually exacted from Macedon, added to the revenues of other Provinces, enabled the Government to dispense with all direct taxes upon Roman citizens in future wars.[g]

§ 29. The captive monarchs were kept in durance in different towns of Italy; Genthius of Illyria at Spoletum first, and afterwards at Iguvium; Perseus, with his eldest son, at Alba: his

[g] See Chapt. xxxvi. § 10. The war-tax was once imposed anew,—at a disastrous crisis, Chapt. lxix. § 12.

two other children died soon after the triumph. It is gratifying to know that Paullus interfered to procure the liberation of Perseus from a loathsome dungeon to which he had at first been consigned. The unhappy King did not long survive his degradation. His surviving son, Alexander, was set free after a while, and lived long at Rome in the condition of a public clerk. Such was the destiny of the last heir of the monarchy of Macedon.

CHAPTER XLIV.

GENERAL HISTORY BETWEEN THE WAR WITH PERSEUS AND THE LAST WARS WITH GREECE AND CARTHAGE. (166—150 B.C.)

§ 1. Imperious bearing of Rome in the East: Athens: Achæan League. § 2. Antiochus Epiphanes invades Egypt: "Circle" of Popillius. § 3. One Thousand Achæans detained prisoners in Italy. § 4. Base treatment of the Rhodians. § 5. Attempts to get up complaints against Eumenes: he is succeeded by Attalus II. § 6. Meanness of Prusias. § 7. War of Antiochus Epiphanes with the Jews: the Maccabees: his nephew Demetrius obtains the crown. § 8. Physcon succeeds in Egypt. § 9. Wars in Southern Gaul and Dalmatia. § 10. Freedmen confined to one Tribe. § 11. Death of Æmilius Paullus: his frugality emulated by Lepidus and others. § 12. Cato's softened temper: Embassy of Carneades. § 13. Complaints of the Spaniards: trial and exile of two Governors: Calpurnian Law. § 14. Outbreak of war in Spain: patriotism of Scipio the son of Paullus. § 15. Base treachery of Galba to the Lusitanians: his trial and acquittal. § 16. Early life and character of Scipio the son of Paullus.

§ 1. The years which followed the fall of Macedon present little to interest the reader; yet in that time the seeds were sown for future conquests. The reduction of Carthage, Greece, and Macedon to the condition of Roman Provinces was the consequence of the diplomatic art, which Senators learned every day to practise with more unscrupulousness.

In the East the Senate assumed a more imperious tone: Kings bowed down before them and became their vassals.

In Greece, every state was subject to Tyrants who ruled under the patronage of Rome. Athens alone was left untortured, for she had ever been the submissive servant of the Senate. In the Achæan League the spirit of the patriotic leaders had prevented Callicrates from venturing so far as Lyciscus in Ætolia, or Charops in Epirus; yet the caution of the Achæans was so great that it was difficult for the Senate to find cause against them. But any attempt at independence was summarily checked. In the war with Perseus, they had offered the services of their army to the Consul Philippus; but

he declined the offer. Just after this, Antiochus Epiphanes, the half-mad King of Syria, took advantage of a disputed succession in Egypt between the brothers Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Physcon, and invaded the country. The rival brothers made common cause against the invader, and sent for aid to their old ally the Achæan League. Even the prudent Polybius advised that this request should be granted, when Callicrates rose in the Assembly and produced a letter from Philippus, in which the Consul forbade them to interfere. Nothing can more strongly mark the abject condition of Greece than the fact that it was thought necessary to obey.

§ 2. Meantime, the invasion of Egypt had been arrested in a still more summary fashion. On hearing of the movement of Antiochus, C. Popillius Lænas had been despatched to stop him. He found the King on the borders of Egypt; he demanded and obtained an immediate audience. Antiochus advanced graciously with extended hand, but the Roman Envoy returned the proffered greeting by holding out a written decree of the Senate, by which the King was required to leave Egypt at peace. The King demanded time for deliberation, upon which the insolent Roman drew a circle round him with his staff, and told him that before he stepped out of that circle an answer must be given. Confounded by this abruptness, Antiochus submitted, and withdrew his troops from Egypt, Cœlé-Syria, and Cyprus. An Achæan embassy, which had been sent to intercede with the Senate in favour of Egypt, only gave new offence as an officious interference.

§ 3. After the battle of Pydna, Commissioners were despatched to the Assembly of the League, to declare that the Senate had received information that certain leading Achæan statesmen had supported Perseus; they now demanded that the Assembly should pass a vote of condemnation on all such persons;—the names should be made known when the vote was passed. The President refused to put this iniquitous question to the vote, insisting that the names of the accused should first be stated. After some hesitation the Commissioners named all who had held the office of Captain-General for some years. Xenon, one of the number, rose and indignantly offered to prove his innocence before the Senate. With this incautious

offer the Commissioners eagerly closed, and Callicrates drew up a list of one thousand suspected persons, including Polybius (his father, Lycortas, was dead), Archon, Stratius, and every man of note in the cities of the League. But the Senate had no intention of bringing these unhappy men to trial. They were distributed among the cities of Etruria, to be kept in close custody, all except Polybius, who was allowed to reside in the house of Æmilius Paullus. In vain these hapless victims prayed for a trial. They were left to languish in captivity; and all who could by possibility oppose him being removed, Callicrates was absolute in Achæa. It must be said in his favour that his tyranny was less brutal than the rule of Lyciscus and of Charops.

§ 4. The treatment of the Rhodians was still more dishonourable to Rome. Since the complaints of Eumenes above mentioned, the Rhodians had taken matters into their own hands, and reduced the Lycians and Carians to subjection.[a] The Senate now encouraged these people to appeal to Rome, declaring with shameless effrontery that they had never intended to make them subjects, but only allies, of Rhodes. The Islanders submitted quietly. But during the war with Perseus, the wily Philippus suggested to them to offer their mediation. The ambassadors charged with this business arrived in Italy about the time that Paullus was setting forth. They were not admitted to an audience till the news of the victory of Pydna arrived, when they were dismissed with a contemptuous reproof. The Prætor, Juventius Thalna, went so far as to propose a declaration of war; but this iniquity was prevented by old Cato, who was struck with the flagrant wrong of punishing a free people for offering to act as mediators. Soon after, however, they were deprived not only of Lycia and Caria, the gift of the Senate, but of Stratoniceia and Caunus, cities which they had purchased with their own money; and a fatal blow was aimed at their commerce by declaring Delos a free port under Roman protection. By this single act their custom-dues fell from 1,000,000 drachmæ per annum to 150,000. Hitherto the Islanders had shunned alliance with Rome; now they found

[a] See Chapt. xliii. § 10.

that such alliance, or rather subjection, was the only way to avoid war, and they sued for the specious honour.

§ 5. Nor did the Kings fare better than the free States. Eumenes of Pergamus, so long the favourite of the Senate, had shown some coolness to Rome in the war with Perseus. His brother Attalus, however, had remained in the Roman camp, and was sent to Rome with congratulations after the battle of Pydna. The leaders of the Senate now insidiously advised him to demand a portion of his brother's dominions for himself. But Attalus, a vain but not ill-disposed prince, contented himself with requesting the Senate to use their influence in repelling the inroads of the Galatians; for himself he only asked the often-disputed towns of Ænos and Maroneia. The Senate was disappointed. They sent envoys into Asia, not so much to check the Galatians as to encourage Prusias in bringing complaints against Eumenes; and when the King of Pergamus set off to plead his own cause, they passed a hasty decree forbidding any King to appear at Rome. Eumenes was obliged to return to Brundusium in disgrace. In 165 B.C., Gracchus was sent at the head of a Commission to inquire generally into the state of Asia; and he, with his usual equity, made a good report of the conduct of Eumenes. Notwithstanding this, the Senate sent a new Commission specially to get up a report against the King, and for ten whole days they sate at Sardis, hearing complaints from every profligate miscreant that chose to appear. But even so they failed to procure evidence that could be used, and Eumenes died on the throne four years after. He left an infant son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne; but his immediate successor was his brother, who took the name of Attalus Philadelphus. Polybius gives a high character of Eumenes; it is to the credit of all concerned that his brothers, notwithstanding all temptations, continued to act as his faithful ministers.

§ 6. Prusias of Bithynia was among the first to offer congratulations after the battle of Pydna. This mean-spirited Prince appeared at Rome with his head shaven, and dressed like a slave who had just received his liberty. The Senate were not displeased with this abject flattery, and showed some disposition to enrich him at the expense of Eumenes. But when he

made war upon Attalus, and was at the gates of Pergamus; they imperiously compelled him to make peace.

The diplomacy of the Senate penetrated yet further. Ariarathes, the young King of Cappadocia, added his congratulations to those of the other chiefs of Asia Minor. But he was the friend of Eumenes; and at a convenient season, not long after, the Senate compelled him to cede part of his dominions to one Nophernes, who pretended to be his brother. This was the first appearance of the Romans in the regions afterwards famous as the scene of the Mithridatic Wars.

§ 7. The mad King of Syria, prevented from his attempts on Egypt by the famous circle of Popillius, found employment nearer home. He had before this time conquered Judæa, and had insulted the religious feelings of the people by offering swine's flesh on the altar of Jehovah. His gross and outrageous tyranny at length roused the shrinking energies of the Jews. Mattathias and his seven heroic sons raised the standard of the Maccabees about the year 168 B.C., and unaccustomed lustre was shed upon the arms of Israel. Antiochus Epiphanes died in 164 B.C., just after the embassy of Tib. Gracchus, and left the heritage of this war to his infant son Antiochus Eupator. But there was a competitor for the throne, whose claims were in every way superior to the claims of this child. This was Demetrius, son of Seleucus the elder brother and predecessor of Epiphanes. He was at that time a youth of twenty-five years, and had been long detained at Rome as a hostage. On the death of his uncle, he applied to the Senate for his rightful inheritance. That astute Council preferred to have an infant on the throne of Syria, and sent Octavius to assume the guardianship of the child Antiochus. But Lysias, a kinsman of the royal family, suspected the Senate, and hired an assassin to murder Octavius on his landing. At that moment Demetrius appeared in Syria, and was proclaimed King. The soldiery acknowledged him, and murdered both the infant King and his guardian Lysias; and the Senate thought it best to confirm Demetrius in possession of the throne. He endeavoured to propitiate their favour by every means. But the Senate secretly encouraged the efforts of Judas Maccabæus, who was now the leader of the Jews, and in the year 161 B.C. concluded a formal

covenant with him. They did not, however, lend him any open assistance; and the Jews finally sunk under the power of the Syrian monarchy.

§ 8. In Egypt, also, the Senate endeavoured to profit by promoting the dissensions between Philometor and Physcon, which had first led Antiochus Epiphanes to his attempt upon Egypt. But in no long time, Philometor died, and Physcon (Fat-paunch) succeeded to the monarchy. The low state to which Egypt had now sunk is aptly typified by the name of its King.

Thus, without using actual force, the Senate weakened every government in the East. It was needless to employ the Legions and to spend money in crushing governments which were so weak and so divided. When "the pear was ripe," it was sure to fall into the ready hand of Rome. Her emblem at this time ought to have been the Serpent rather than the Eagle.

§ 9. Neither were the Roman arms much more actively employed in Western conquest. In 166 B.C. the Consuls C. Sulpicius Gallus, the predictor of the eclipse, and M. Marcellus pushed the Legions for the first time across the Maritime Alps, and obtained a double triumph over the Gauls and Ligurians, who peopled the western slopes of the range. And twelve years later (154 B.C.) the Consul Q. Opimius was sent to drive back the Oxybians, a Ligurian tribe, who had descended to the coasts of the Mediterranean and assaulted Antipolis and Nicæa (Antibes and Nice), two cities subject to Massilia, then and always a faithful ally of Rome. Such were the first steps towards the conquest of Gaul.

Two years before this last campaign, the Dalmatians, an Illyrian tribe, who occupied the coast-land between Istria and Illyria Proper, incurred the anger of Rome by making inroads into the country about Scodra. Scipio Nasica, the friend of Æmilius Paullus, brought this petty war to a triumphant conclusion in 155 B.C. The whole coast of the Adriatic was now subject to Roman power.

§ 10. The same period is not marked by any remarkable incidents at home. The increase of Slaves is shown by the increase of Freedmen. So much had their influence risen,

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that when Ti. Gracchus was Censor in 169 B.C., he no longer allowed them their choice of the Four City Tribes, to which they had been confined about a century before by the famous ordinance of Fabius and Decius, but left only one Tribe open to them.

§ 11. Æmilius Paullus held the office of Censor three years after his Triumph; but he was coupled with one every way his antagonist, the unscrupulous and plausible Philippus. Five years later, he was gathered to his fathers, having completed his three score years and ten. His funeral was honoured with splendid games, and by the first performance of the Adelphi of Terence, in which it is said that the poet was assisted by the son of the deceased, young Scipio, who was then in his twenty-fifth year. Paullus left behind him a name unspotted, except by the devastation of Epirus. He professed the austere philosophy of the Stoics, which he applied to maintain the simplicity of the old Roman manners,—so far was it from true that in all cases corruption flowed from Hellenic sources. At his death, it appeared that his whole property amounted to no more than sixty talents, little more than the great Scipio had bestowed upon each of his two daughters.

A like example of frugality was shown by another eminent member of the Æmilian Gens, M. Lepidus, Pontifex Maximus, Chief of the Senate during six successive lustra. This upright nobleman followed the example of Paullus in closing his doors against the infamous Charops, and marked the value he set upon the old Roman simplicity by ordering that his sons should bury him at an expense not exceeding ten pieces of money, without purple and fine linen, and with no other decoration than the images of his distinguished ancestors.

Further attempts to restrain expensive luxuries by C. Fannius Strabo, the Consul for 161 B.C., who introduced a Sumptuary Law, forbidding any citizen to spend more than 120 ases on a common entertainment, nor more than 100 silver denaries on a festal banquet. A previous law—the Orchian, passed five years after the Asiatic triumph—had limited the number of guests. Cato, it is needless to say, was a strenuous supporter of those well-meant but useless laws. A little afterwards, Scipio Nasica defeated an attempt of the Censors to make a

Theatre of stone, with seats rising after the Greek fashion. The Senate, at his instance, decreed that no Theatre should be erected in the city; "relaxation of mind was to be tempered by the manly habit of standing, according to the old Roman custom."

§ 12. That old Cato should favour such attempts was to be expected. In the funeral of his son he emulated the austerity of Lepidus. That son had married the daughter of Æmilius Paullus, and thus the old man had been drawn into connexion with the Scipios. This connexion, together with age, seems to have exerted a softening influence upon the old Censor. We have already seen him interfere in behalf of the Rhodians; presently we shall find him protecting the Celtiberians, and advocating the cause of the Achæan exiles. In his latter days he had extended the love which he had always shown for Roman literature to that of Greece. The language of Homer and Demosthenes could boast no more signal triumph than that it conquered the stubborn pride of Cato.

Yet the old Censor continued to wage war against the fashionable Greek learning. His notion of education was, that the youth should engage as early as possible in the active struggles of the Forum: all speculative studies were, in his belief, calculated to unfit men for practical life. In 161 B.C., the Senate, at his advice, authorised the Prætor Pomponius to banish all philosophers and rhetoricians from Rome; and six years later (155 B.C.), a notable occasion offered itself for enforcing his principles. In that year the Athenians sent an embassy to Rome to pray for the remission of a fine imposed upon their city by the Senate for certain depredations committed in the Oropian territory. To add weight to their prayers, they named as the envoys the chiefs of the three great schools which then divided the philosophic world,—Diogenes the Stoic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Carneades, the famous founder of the New Academy. These ingenious reasoners were welcomed by the younger members of the Roman nobility. C. Acilius, a Senator, himself acted as their interpreter. Crowds of young Romans came to hear the acute logic of Diogenes, the persuasive rhetoric of Critolaus, and the subtle speculation of Carneades, whose philosophy was so unbiassed that he was ready not only to

maintain either side in any argument, but was never known to betray an opinion of his own.[b] Old Cato, though he cared little for justice when the questions lay between Rome and foreigners, could not brook to see the principles of right and wrong treated as indifferent questions, and was alarmed lest the practical principles and habits of Roman youth might give way to a taste for sophistical trifling. The Senate remitted the fine; but, at Cato's instance, ordered the ingenious strangers to quit Rome immediately.

§ 13. After the uneventful period of which we have been speaking, war broke out in Spain; and this was speedily followed by other conflicts in the Carthaginian territory, in Macedonia, and in Greece. These last we will reserve for separate chapters; but of the first it will be convenient to speak here.

The treaty of Ti. Gracchus in 179 B.C. had been followed by a long tranquillity: yet there was much reason for discontent. The oppression of the Prætors and the extortion of the Tax-collectors were constant; and, eight years after, envoys from both Provinces appeared with formal complaints before the Senate. At that time the war with Perseus was just beginning, and, therefore, there was no disposition to provoke the hostility of the Spaniards. Five Senators were named as Judges, and the Spanish envoys were left to name their own advocates. Those of the Hither Province chose Cato and Nasica; those of Further Spain chose Æmilius Paullus and Sulpicius Gallus. With the exception of Gracchus (and it is strange that he was not among the advocates), no abler or more upright men could have been found. The first Governor indicted before this Court was acquitted. So were the next two. But the advocates declared that they would apply for fresh trials, and the accused sought safety in voluntary exile. It is evident that the Senate looked with disfavour on these proceedings; and the very advocates of the Spaniards advised their clients to be satisfied. In this Senatorial Court we may recognise the germ of the famous Law of L. Calpurnius Piso *de rebus repetundis*,

[b] Posthumius Albinus, a good Greek scholar, was Prætor for the year, and seeing Carneades at the bar of the Senate, said laughingly, "I suppose you think I am not Prætor because I am not a philosopher." "Diogenes the Stoic thinks so," replied Carneades.

that is, the Law for the recovery of undue exactions on the part of Provincial Governors. It was passed about twenty years later (149 B.C.).

§ 14. About eighteen years after this imperfect attempt at redress, the smouldering fire of war broke out. A Celtiberian city named Segeda, in the upper valley of the Tagus, began to rebuild their walls, contrary to an article in the treaty of Gracchus. To resist the Consul M. Fulvius Nobilior,[c] the Segedians formed an alliance with the Arevacians of Numantia, a brave tribe which occupied the mountainous country in which the Douro takes its rise. Fulvius obtained reïnforcements from Masinissa, but handed over his command to Marcellus after an inglorious campaign. The new Commander, who was grandson of the famous Marcellus, and Consul for the third time—a rare distinction in those days—assumed the offensive with so much vigour that the enemy sued for a renewal of the treaty of Gracchus. The Consul, a humane and equitable man, granted a truce till the Senate could be consulted. But the Senate, though they dallied with the Spaniards, sent private orders to Marcellus to resume hostilities, and ordered Lucullus, the new Consul, to make fresh levies for the war. A scene now followed, which might have shown the Senate that their power was not destined to be perpetual. When Lucullus was about to enlist men from the census-roll, all held back from giving in their names; no candidates appeared even for the office of Legionary Tribunes; and the Tribunes of the Plebs committed both Consuls to prison for using violence to compel enlistment. In this difficulty, young Scipio, the second son of Paullus, who had lived up to the age of thirty-three in retirement, came forward as a mediator. He had just been offered a lucrative mission to Macedonia; but he declined it, and said that he would serve however and wherever the Senate thought fit. This patriotic conduct had its effect. Scipio was elected one of the Legionary Tribunes, and the levies were concluded.

When Lucullus arrived in Spain, he found that Marcellus had on his own judgment concluded an advantageous peace.

[c] Consul for the year 152 B.C. In this year the Consuls first entered office in the Calends of January, instead of the Calends of March, which had hitherto been the first day of the official year.

But, loth to be baulked of his expected triumph, he made an unprovoked inroad into the country of the Vaccæans, who bordered on the Arevacians of Numantia to the west. The town of Cauca capitulated; but Lucullus, with scandalous ill-faith, put all the inhabitants to the sword. He then attacked a strong fortress named Invercatia, not far from Valladolid. Here a tall Spaniard, splendidly armed, rode forth and challenged any Roman to single combat. Scipio accepted the challenge, and slew his gigantic adversary. He then offered his name as a security, and on this pledge the Invercatians submitted. After this, Lucullus made an abortive attempt upon Palencia.

§ 15. Meanwhile, the Lusitanian shepherds had resumed their inroads into the Further Province. So bold had they become, that they crossed the Straits and plundered the opposite coast of Africa. While Lucullus was wantonly assailing the Vaccæans, the Prætor Sergius Galba invaded Lusitania. The mountaineers dispersed before the Legions, but fell upon the Prætor at a disadvantage, and so effectually routed him, that he escaped only with a few horse over the mountains into Bætica, and passed the winter meditating vengeance. This was the Galba who had enviously opposed the triumph of Æmilius Paullus,—with how much justice his own conduct now proved.

Early in the spring of 150 B.C. he entered Lusitania from the south, while Lucullus advanced from the north, wasting the country with fire and sword. The people offered submission. Galba answered with apparent kindness. "He was grieved," he said, "to see the poverty of the country. If the inhabitants would meet him in three divisions, at places specified, he would assign lands and cities to each, as Gracchus had done." The simple people believed him. But Galba fell on each body separately with his whole force, and cut it to pieces. This infamous piece of treachery, together with the severity of Lucullus in the north, for a time crushed the spirit of the Lusitanians. But retributive justice waited her time. Among those who escaped the sword of Galba was a young shepherd, named Viriathus, of whom we shall hear another time.

Galba was brought to trial by the Tribune Scribonius, not so

much for treachery to the enemy, as because he divided so small a portion of the booty among his men, and kept back the larger share for himself. Old Cato spoke with honest indignation against the un-Roman perfidy of the Governor. But Galba was extremely eloquent and extremely rich. The Centuries made themselves partakers in his infamy by a vote of acquittal, and six years after he was elected Consul by their votes. Corruption was descending to all orders and degrees of men.

§ 16. We will here add, by way of contrast to Galba's baseness, some account of the man who in the next few years played the most important part among the generals of Rome.

P. Scipio, sometimes called Æmilianus to distinguish him from his great namesake, has already been mentioned more than once. His youth is remarkable for his intimacy with an Achæan exile, Polybius, a soldier and a statesman, the future historian of Roman conquest. The Greek had become acquainted with Paullus and his sons during the Macedonian War; it was at the request of the young man, that he was allowed to reside in the house of Paullus, while his fellow-exiles were buried in Etrurian prisons. Polybius was at this time not less than forty years of age; Scipio was but eighteen. The youth's habits were reserved and shy. He was fonder of field sports than of the Forum. When the Achæan exile first came to Rome, he attached himself chiefly to Fabius, the elder brother, whose manners were more frank and cordial. But one day, when Fabius had gone (as usual) to the Forum, Scipio, with an ingenuous blush, complained of the neglect shown to himself. "And yet," said he, "I am myself to blame. Men think me indolent, because I love not the strife of the Forum, and deem me unworthy of the great name I bear." Polybius perceived that he had mistaken the character of the young man (it is from himself that we learn the facts), and offered his best services in advancing his education. "Book-learning you and your brother may get from any of my countrymen. But for the lessons of practical life, my experience may enable me to serve you." Young Scipio seized the hand of his new friend, and passionately exclaimed: "If you will but make me your chief care, I feel sure I shall prove unworthy neither of my

great father, nor of him whose adopted name I bear." Polybius undertook his work not without fear, for he saw the temptations which would beset a young man so noble and so wealthy. But the seed was sown on no ungrateful soil. Young Scipio followed his father in adopting the practical philosophy of the Stoics, and resisted the besetting sins of the day,—selfishness and sensuality. If he seldom set foot in the Forum, he shunned no laborious exercises: many hours he spent in hunting the boar or the deer on the Alban Hills, accompanied by Polybius, who shared his ardour for the chase. The wife of the great Scipio, his aunt by blood and grandmother by adoption, had used a costly equipage and large retinue. At her death, Scipio, with thoughtful generosity, made a present of these luxuries to his mother Æmilia. At the same time, he was called on (as heir to the great Scipio) to make up half the dowry of his two daughters, which had been left unpaid. The law allowed him three years for payment; but he paid down the whole fifty talents at once, to the surprise of Nasica and Gracchus, husbands of the ladies. At the death of his natural father, he inherited a moiety of his fortune, which he at once relinquished in favour of his less wealthy brother Fabius, and undertook of his own accord to bear the expense of the gladiatorial show, which Fabius, as the eldest son, was called on to exhibit. "These things," says Polybius, "would be excellent anywhere; but at Rome, where no one gives anything without need, nor pays a talent before the time prescribed by law, they were perfect miracles."

CHAPTER XLV.

THE LAST WARS WITH MACEDON AND GREECE: FALL OF CORINTH (151—146 B.C.).

§ 1. Liberation of the Achæan Captives. § 2. Violent counsels of these men. § 3. Appearance of a Pretender in Macedonia. § 4. The Achæans revolt: Q. Metellus recovers Macedonia. § 5. War declared against the Achæans. § 6. Metellus defeats Critolaus and advances towards the Isthmus. § 7. Superseded by L. Mummius, who defeats Diæus before Corinth: Sack of Corinth. § 8. Mummius sends home the Statues and works of Art: heavy fines levied. § 9. Greece formed into the Roman Province of Achaia: good offices of Polybius. § 10. Macedonia and Epirus formed into another Province: also Illyria. § 11. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.

§ 1. IN the same year in which Lucullus and Galba took their commands in Spain, the Senate was induced to perform an act of tardy justice in the release of the Achæan captives. The abduction of the best men in every state of Greece gave free scope, as has been said, to the oppressions of the Tyrants favoured by Rome. The complaints against Charops at length became so loud that he deemed it necessary to repair to Rome, and by golden arguments to procure an approval of his acts. This was the occasion on which Paullus and Lepidus refused to accept his visits. He died not long after, and was followed by Lyciscus. In the Achæan Assembly there was still spirit enough to check Callicrates, who never ventured to assail the persons and property of his fellow-citizens. Meantime years rolled on; the captives still languished in Etruscan prisons; hope deferred and sickness were fast thinning their numbers; all applications for their release were rejected. The Assembly asked that only Polybius and Stratius might return, but the request was met by a peremptory negative. At last, when Scipio returned from Spain, he induced Cato to intercede for these unhappy men. The manner of the old Censor's intercession is characteristic both of himself and the Senate. The debate had lasted long and the issue was doubtful, when Cato

rose, and, without a word about justice or humanity, simply said: "Have we really nothing to do but to sit here all day, debating whether a parcel of old Greeks are to have their coffins made here or at home?" The question was decided by this unfeeling argument, and the prisoners, who in sixteen years had dwindled from one thousand to three hundred, were set free. But when Polybius asked Cato whether it would not be possible to obtain restoration to their former rank and honours, the old Senator smiled, and told him "he was acting like Ulysses, when he ventured back into the cave of the Cyclops to recover his cap and belt."

§ 2. The men released in this ungracious way had passed the best part of their lives in captivity. Most of the elder and more experienced among them were dead. The survivors returned with feelings embittered against Rome; but they were rash and ignorant, and, what was worse, they had lost all sense of honour and all principle, and were ready to expose their country to any danger in order to gratify their own passions. The chief name that has reached us is that of Diæus. Polybius did not return at first, and when he reached Greece he found his countrymen acting with such reckless violence that he gladly accepted Scipio's invitation to accompany him to the siege of Carthage. Callicrates, by a strange reverse, had become leader of the party which had the best right to the name of patriots. Diæus advocated every violent and unprincipled measure. On an embassy to Rome, of which they both were members, Callicrates died, and Diæus returned as chief of the Achæan League.

§ 3. Not long after (in 148 B.C.) a pretender to the throne of Macedon appeared. He was a young man named Andriscus, a native of Adramyttium, who took advantage of some resemblance to Perseus, and gave himself out as Philip, a younger son of that luckless monarch. The state of Macedonia, divided into four Republics, each in a state of compulsory excommunication, was so distracted, that, in the year 151 B.C., the people had sent an embassy to Rome, praying that Scipio might be sent to settle their affairs, and he had only been prevented from undertaking the task by the self-imposed duty of accompanying the army of Lucullus into Spain. The Pretender,

however, though he was not without abilities, and had a handsome person and gracious manners, met with so little success in his first attempt that he fled to the court of Demetrius at Antioch, and this Prince sent him to Rome. The war with Carthage was then at its height. The Senate treated the matter lightly, and the adventurer was allowed to escape. Some Thracian chiefs received him, and with troops furnished by them he overran Macedonia and penetrated into Thessaly. Nasica, who had been sent after him, put himself at the head of the Achæan army. But the Prætor, Juventius Thalna, arrived at that moment with a Roman force and took the command. He was defeated and slain, and the Pretender again advanced into Thessaly. In the next year (147 B.C.) Q. Metellus, son of the Metellus who had been sent as ambassador to Philip, arrived with a strong force.

§ 4. The temporary success of Andriscus, or Pseudo-Philippus (as the Romans called him), encouraged Diæus and the exiles to drive the Achæans into a rupture with Rome. The haughty Republic, they said, was at war with Carthage and with Macedon; now was the time to break their bonds. Metellus gave them a friendly warning; but, disregardful of consequences, they invaded Laconia and assumed the air of conquerors.

Metellus soon finished the Macedonian war. At the approach of the Romans the Pretender hastily retired from Thessaly. At Pydna his cavalry gained a slight advantage, but he allowed his army to be separated and beaten in detail. He fled into Thrace, and after one more abortive effort he was given up to the Roman Prætor by a Thracian chief whose protection he had sought.

Presently after another Pretender started up, who called himself Alexander, the eldest son of Perseus. But his tumultuary army fled before Metellus, and Macedonia lay at the feet of the conqueror.

§ 5. It was now time for the Achæans to tremble. A Commission had already arrived at Corinth, headed by M. Aurelius Orestes, who summoned the chiefs of the League to hear the sentence of the Senate upon their recent conduct. He informed them that they must relinquish all claims of sovereignty over Corinth, Argos, Lacedæmon, and other places,—a doom which

reduced the Achæan League nearly to the condition from which Aratus first raised it. The chiefs answered not a word, but reported what they had heard to the Assembly. A furious burst of passion rose, which Diæus and his friends did not attempt to restrain. The people massacred every Lacedæmonian they could find. Orestes and the Roman envoys hardly escaped personal violence.

Orestes instantly returned to Rome, and the Senate, still preferring diplomacy to force, sent a second Commission, headed by Sext. Julius Cæsar, with instructions to use gentle language, and merely to demand the surrender of those who had instigated the violent scenes lately enacted at Corinth. Diæus knew that he was the person aimed at; and his friend Critolaus, who was Captain-General for the year, informed the Roman envoys that their demand should be taken into consideration at the next regular meeting of the Assembly, that is, in six months' time. With this answer Cæsar returned to Rome, and the Senate declared war against the Achæans.

§ 6. Metellus hoped to win the glory of pacifying Greece, as well as of conquering Macedonia. He sent some of his chief officers to endeavour to bring the Achæans to their senses. But their leaders were too far committed; and at the beginning of 146 B.C. Critolaus, now invested with dictatorial authority, laid siege to Heracleia on the Maliac Gulf, which had just thrown off allegiance to the League. Here the Thebans, always detesting the Romans, joined him, and the people of Chalcis sent a body of their citizens to support him. Metellus, who had wintered in Macedonia, had already heard that the Achæan war was to be conducted by L. Mummius, one of the new Consuls, and was more than ever anxious to bring it to a close before he was superseded. Once more he tried persuasion; but Critolaus sent back his messenger with scorn, and Metellus advanced rapidly with his army. On this the braggart retreated in all haste, not endeavouring to make a stand even at Thermopylæ. At Scarpheia, in Locris, Metellus came up with him. The Achæan army dispersed almost without a blow; Critolaus himself was never heard of more. Metellus pushed on straight towards the Isthmus. Thebes he found deserted by her inhabitants: misery and desolation appeared everywhere.

§ 7. Diæus prepared to defend Corinth. But popular terror had succeeded to popular passion; few citizens would enlist under his banner: though he emancipated a number of slaves, he could not muster more than 15,000 men.

When Metellus was almost within sight of Corinth, Mummius landed upon the Isthmus with his legions, and sent the Prætor back to Macedonia. He then presented himself before the city in company with Orestes, who came to see the insults offered to himself avenged. The Romans treated the enemy with so much contempt that one of their outposts was surprised; and Diæus, flushed with this small success, drew out his forces before the city. Mummius eagerly accepted the challenge, and the battle began. The Achæan cavalry, who were mostly of the party opposed to Diæus, turned and fled at the first onset; the infantry, thus left with its flanks exposed, was soon broken, and Diæus fled into one gate of Corinth and out of another without attempting further resistance. The Romans might have entered the city that same day; but seeing the strength of the Acropolis, and suspecting treachery, Mummius held back, and twenty-four hours elapsed before he took possession of his unresisting prey. But though no defence was attempted, the city was treated as if it had been taken by assault; all the men found there were put to the sword, the women and children reserved to be sold by auction. All treasures, all pictures, all the works of the famous artists who had moulded Corinthian brass into effigies of living force and symmetry, were seized by the Consul on behalf of the State; then, at a given signal, fire was applied, and Corinth was reduced to a heap of ashes.

§ 8. Diæus had fled to Megalopolis, his native city, where he put an end to himself. Mummius, a New Man, was distinguished by the rudeness rather than by the simplicity of an Italian boor. He was not greedy, for he reserved little for himself; and when he died his daughter found not enough left for her dowry; but his abstinence seems to have proceeded from indifference rather than self-denial.[a] He cared not for the works

[a] He is said to have been *abstinentissimus vitæ*, Liv. *Epit.* lii. Compare Cicer. *de Offic.* ii. 22. But Valerius Maximus (vi. 4, 2) calls him *enervis vitæ*; and Scipio, who was afterwards his colleague in the Censorship, complained loudly of his lazy indifference.

of Grecian art. He suffered his soldiers to use one of the choicest works of the painter Aristides as a draft-board; but when Attalus offered him a large sum for the painting, he imagined it must be a talisman, and ordered it to be sent to Rome. Every one knows his speech to the seamen who contracted to carry the statues and pictures of Corinth to Rome. "If they lost or damaged them," he said, "they should make the loss or damage good."

After the destruction of Corinth, Mummius made a tour of Greece, not, like Paullus, to gratify an intelligent curiosity, but to inflict summary punishment on all who had connived at the doings of Diæus. All his personal adherents were condemned to death or exile, and their property confiscated. The Achæans were sentenced to pay a heavy fine to Lacedæmon. Thebes and Chalcis were rased to the ground, and their lands given to the Heracleans. The lands of Corinth, with the presidency of the Isthmian Games, were transferred to Sicyon.

§ 9. In the autumn ten Commissioners arrived, as usual, with draughts of Decrees for settling the future condition of Macedon and Greece. Polybius, who had returned from witnessing the conflagration of Carthage just in time to behold the ruin of Corinth, had the melancholy satisfaction of being called to their counsels,—a favour which he owed to the influence of Scipio. A wretched sycophant proposed to the Commissioners to destroy the statues of Aratus and Philopœmen, and to prohibit the honours paid them at their native cities of Sicyon and Megalopolis. Polybius prevented this dishonour by showing that these eminent men had always endeavoured to keep peace with Rome. At the same time he declined to accept any part of the confiscated property of Diæus. Politically he was in a position to render important services to his countrymen. All Greece south of Macedonia and Epirus was formed into a Roman province under the name of Achaia. The old republican governments of the various communities were abolished, and the constitution of each assimilated to that of the municipal cities of Italy. Polybius was left in Greece to settle these new constitutions, and to adjust them to the circumstances and wants of each place. In many cases he was able to procure relief, such as in the impoverished condition of the country was estimated

at its full worth. His grateful countrymen raised a statue to his honour by the side of their old heroes, and placed an inscription on the pedestal, which declared that, if Greece had followed his advice, she would not have fallen.

Such was the issue of the last struggle for Grecian liberty. It was conducted by unworthy men, and was unworthy of the name it bore. Polybius, whose friendship for Scipio evidently softened his feelings towards Rome, had always opposed attempts at useless and destructive insurrection. He considered it happy for Greece that one battle and the ruin of one city consummated her fall. Indeed it was a proverb of the day that "Greece was saved by her speedy fall."

§ 10. The ten Commissioners passed northwards into Macedonia, and formed that country, in conjunction with Epirus, into another Province, with institutions for municipal government much the same as those which had been established in Greece.

It is probable that Illyria also was constituted as a Province at the same time.

§ 11. Metellus and Mummius both returned to Rome before the close of 146 B.C., and were honoured with triumphs not long after Scipio had carried the spoils of Carthage in procession to the Capitol. In memory of their respective services, Metellus was afterwards known by the name of Macedonicus, while Mummius, who appears to have had no third name of his own, was not ashamed to assume the title of Achaïcus.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THIRD PUNIC WAR: FALL OF CARTHAGE. (150—146 B.C.)

§ 1. Flourishing trade of Carthage: the Senate encourages Masinissa to attack her. § 2. The popular party prevails at Carthage: Commission headed by Cato: *delenda est Carthago*. § 3. Masinissa restores the Oligarchy at Carthage: Scipio. § 4. The Senate declares War against Carthage, but holds out promises. § 5. The Consuls land in Africa: treachery by which Carthage is induced to strip herself of all means of defence. § 6. Popular indignation: preparations for a desperate defence. § 7. Policy of Masinissa. § 8. Description and Plan of Carthage. § 9. Ill success of Manilius and Censorinus. § 10. Death of Masinissa: distribution of his kingdom. § 11. Hamilcar Phamæas deserts to Romans. § 12. Second Campaign: continued ill success of Romans. § 13. Scipio elected Consul. § 14. Third Campaign: Scipio takes the command: he carries the suburb of Megara. § 15. Great siege-works. § 16. Negociations with Hasdrubal: fail. § 17. Supplies cut off. § 18. Fourth Campaign: Sack of Carthage. § 19. Surrender of Hasdrubal and the Citadel: Scipio's reflexions. § 20. Future condition of Carthage.

§ 1. Before Corinth had fallen Carthage also had ceased to exist; but we must not proceed to the history of the last war between the old rivals till we have cast a glance backwards.

We saw that Hannibal reformed the corrupt administration of his native city, and put her in the way of recovering even from the heavy blow which she had suffered after the defeat of Zama. We saw him compelled to leave Africa by a jealous or timid faction of his fellow citizens, at the instance of the Roman Senate, though the great Scipio endeavoured to protect him. But though he was gone, his acts lived after him. The trade of Carthage revived rapidly, and the disturbed condition of the East threw a large commerce into the hands of her merchants.

The Senate could not look with equanimity on this state of affairs; and Masinissa was given to understand that he would not be prevented from enriching himself at the expense of his neighbours. The unscrupulous Numidian did not require a

second hint. Taking advantage of a moment when Hannibal was soliciting the Carthaginian Government to join Antiochus in a general war against Rome, he overran and occupied the fertile district of Emporia on the Lesser Syrtis, of which the capital city, Leptis, is said to have paid a tribute of one talent a-day to Carthage. The Carthaginians appealed against this conduct to the Senate, who sent Scipio at the head of a Commission to inquire (193 B.C.); but the Commissioners returned without deciding anything. Masinissa continued his aggressions with impunity; and another complaint was laid before the Senate about twenty years later, stating that he had appropriated another large district to the north of Carthage, containing no less than seventy towns. The language put into the mouth of the envoys shows the bitterness of feeling that prevailed at Carthage. They prayed to be allowed to plead their cause before some fair tribunal, or, if not, to use arms in self-defence. "The Carthaginians," they said, "had rather be the slaves of Rome than subject to the depredations of Masinissa. Better die at once than live at the mercy of that Numidian robber!" Nevertheless they were again put off with promises and delays.

§ 2. It appears that at this time parties ran high at Carthage. The old oligarchical party, which had expelled Hannibal, was disposed to maintain peace at any price. Since his departure they had kept possession of the government; but about the year 151 B.C., the popular party got the upper hand, and the chiefs of the oligarchy were driven out of the city. The new Government resolved openly to oppose all further encroachments of Masinissa. The old chief had lately claimed another piece of territory adjoining his last acquisitions; and the Senate, being for the third time appealed to, sent a new Commission, which again left every question undecided. It was at this time that Cato, now eighty-four years of age, was seized by a sort of fanatic desire for the destruction of Carthage. So long as the hateful rival flourished, he contended there could be no safety for Rome. Scipio Nasica, who for his prudence and sagacity had received the name of Corculum, opposed this opinion with all his eloquence, and so far prevailed that before declaring war a third Commission was sent to

Africa, headed by Cato himself, with full powers to settle all disputes between Carthage and Masinissa. The Commissioners began by requiring that both parties should enter into a bond to submit absolutely to their decisions. Masinissa of course consented; but the Carthaginians naturally demurred to throw themselves on the mercy of a court the president of which was their open enemy; and the Commissioners returned to Rome. Once more Cato rose in the Senate, and gave a glowing description of the power and wealth of Carthage. Unfolding his gown, he produced some giant figs, which he held up, and said, "These figs grow but three days' sail from Rome." Then he repeated his conviction that there could be no safety for Rome while Carthage survived. "Every speech," said he, "which I make in this house shall finish with the words,—'my opinion is, that *Carthage must be destroyed—delenda est Carthago.*'" Nasica still endeavoured to stem the course of this fanaticism, representing that a rival like Carthage, too weak to be formidable, and yet strong enough to keep Rome upon her guard, would be rather serviceable than hurtful: if the Republic were freed from all external fears, she would become a prey to intestine commotion. But the Senate was made greedy by the speech of Cato. From that day the doom of Carthage was fixed.

§ 3. An opportunity soon offered for interference (150 B.C.). The banished Oligarchy sought the aid of Masinissa, and the old Chief promptly led a large army into the territory of Carthage. The new Government had levied a considerable force, which they put under the command of an officer named Hasdrubal. It was not long before a battle was fought, in which the Numidians won the day. It happened that young Scipio had just then been sent by Lucullus from Spain to obtain a supply of elephants from Masinissa; and he was a spectator of the battle from a neighbouring eminence,—"a sight," as he told Polybius, "that no one had enjoyed since the time when Jupiter looked down from Ida upon the battle of the Greeks and Trojans." It must have been a remarkable sight to behold old Masinissa, then past ninety years of age, charge like a boy of nineteen at the head of his wild Numidian horse.

Scipio offered his mediation, but the Carthaginians refused

to comply with the demands of the Numidian King, and the war continued. Masinissa soon reduced the army of the enemy to such straits that the Government of Carthage was compelled to yield. The disputed territory was given up, an annual tribute of one hundred talents was to be paid for fifty years, and the oligarchical party was restored. It is worth noticing that envoys from the Senate arrived during the campaign, with instructions to put an end to the war if Masinissa were getting the worst of it, but to encourage him if he were prevailing.

§ 4. The popular party was once more deprived of power; and the wealthy merchants, who now recovered the government, prepared to make submission to the Senate. They proclaimed Hasdrubal and the leaders of the war party guilty of high treason, and sent envoys to Rome with humble apologies; but they were too late. The Senate had been debating on the affairs of Carthage with closed doors, when envoys arrived from Utica, a city always jealous of Carthage, which now wished to secure the advantage of timely submission. The Senate accepted the submission of the Uticans, and after a brief debate in the Capitol, declared for war. The People ratified this Decree; and the Consuls-elect for the year 149 B.C., L. Censorinus and M. Manilius, had begun to hold their levies before the Carthaginian ambassadors arrived. In this emergency, the envoys knew not well how to act, but at length resolved to place Carthage and all her possessions at the absolute disposal of the Senate. It was answered that they had done well. The Fathers pledged their word that Carthage should be left free, if three hundred of her noblest youths were sent as hostages to meet the Consuls at Lilybæum; from them the Government should learn the further commands of the Senate.

§ 5. The Carthaginian Government complied with the demand, not without secret alarm as to what these "further commands" might be. A heartrending scene ensued when the three hundred hostages were torn from their parents' arms. At Lilybæum the consuls received these pledges of submission, coldly signifying that they should land their army in Africa within a few days, and would then declare the will of the Senate. Accordingly the poor boys were sent to Rome, and the fleet anchored in the harbour of Utica, while the legions

took up their quarters in the old Camp of Scipio at the mouth of the Bagradas. Here another deputation from the trembling Government of Carthage appeared before the Consuls, who received them sitting on their chairs of state, with their officers around them, and the army drawn out in order, in number 80,000 foot and 4000 horse. The deputies recapitulated the acts of submission which Carthage had made, and humbly asked what more could be required. Censorinus replied, that "as Carthage was now under the protection of Rome, they would no longer have occasion to engage in war: they must therefore give up all their arms and engines without reserve." This hard condition was accepted. The force of the City may be in some measure estimated from the fact that 200,000 stand of arms and 2000 catapults were delivered up to Scipio Nasica, who conveyed them to the Roman camp, followed by the chiefs of the Government, who imagined that they had drained the cup of humiliation to the dregs. They were grievously mistaken. The Consuls thought that the City was now wholly disabled, and they let drop the mask. Censorinus calmly informed the unhappy men, that "so long as they possessed a fortified city near the sea, Rome could not feel sure of their submission: therefore it was the will of the Senate that they must remove to some point ten miles distant from the coast: *Carthage must be destroyed.*" On hearing their final doom, the wretched Carthaginians fell stupefied to the ground; and when they found utterance, broke into passionate exclamations against the perjured Senate. The Consuls waited in stern silence till these paroxysms were past; and when the miserable men represented, in terms of penitent humility, "that the Senate had guaranteed the freedom of Carthage, and that such a measure must destroy this freedom by destroying her commerce and her means of subsistence," Censorinus replied, with the same cold brevity as before, that "the guarantee of the Senate referred to the people of Carthage, not to her houses. In short, the will of the Senate was as he had declared it: it must be done, and done quickly."

§ 6. The deputies, being also the chiefs of the Government, feared to carry back these ill-omened commands. Some of them absconded, and remained in the Roman camp; the rest

approached the city, and found every avenue lined with people eager to learn their destiny. They spoke no word, but their downcast looks and gloomy silence proclaimed them messengers of evil. The crowd followed to the Council-chamber, where they delivered their report with closed doors. A cry of horror burst from the assembled Councillors when they learned its import; and the crowd, impatient of delay, broke open the doors, and demanded to know what fatal news was signified by that cry. It was impossible to conceal the truth. The popular fury knew no bounds. The members of the Government who had made submission to Rome, given up the hostages, surrendered all means of defence, were obliged to flee for their lives. All Italians found within the city were massacred. Once more the popular party seized the government; and the residue of the Council voted to defend themselves to the uttermost, rather than die the lingering death to which the Romans had condemned them. Hasdrubal, lately proclaimed a traitor, had levied a force of 20,000 men, with which he was plundering the territory of Carthage on his own account: he was now invited to become the General of the Republic. Another Hasdrubal, a kinsman of Masinissa, was invested with command within the city. A message was sent to the Consuls, requesting an armistice of thirty days, in order to send an embassy to Rome: this was refused. Despair gave unnatural courage. The temples and public buildings were converted into workshops; men and women worked day and night manufacturing arms; every day 100 shields were turned out, 300 swords, 500 pikes and javelins, 1000 catapult-bolts. The women cut off their long hair to be twisted into strings for the new catapults. Corn was assiduously collected from every quarter.

§ 7. The Consuls, who were men of the Forum rather than the Camp, were not a little disappointed at this turn of affairs. They dallied for a time, hoping that on reflection the Carthaginians would give up all thoughts of an armed defence. The conduct of Masinissa contributed to their irresolution. The wily old chief had no mind that, after Carthage had been weakened by his arms, Rome should come in at the last moment and take the lion's share. At first the Consuls had not thought it necessary to ask for his coöperation: it is plain that they

expected to take the city without stroke of sword. But now the case was altered; and when they applied to Masinissa, he hung back.

§ 8. When it became clear that Carthage must be formally besieged, the Consuls still no doubt expected an easy triumph; but the defence that followed was one of the most heroïc that the world has seen. In order to understand its details it will be necessary to describe briefly the site of Carthage.

Tyrian Carthage (as it may be called, to distinguish it from the later Roman Colony) stood on a peninsula which was joined to the mainland of Tunis by an isthmus. The city itself measured about twenty-three miles round, but did not occupy the whole peninsula. The portion occupied by the city seems to have been the northern end;[a] the southern part being a

[a] This is inferred from the fact that the Roman remains, near the Arabic village of El Mersa, prove that the Roman Colony certainly occupied the southern part. But, as Scipio pronounced a curse on the site of Tyrian Carthage, it is no less certain that the Roman Colonists avoided this site: indeed Appian expressly asserts it, *Punic.* 136. The annexed plan (borrowed from Spruner's Atlas) goes upon this hypothesis. Most writers suppose that Tyrian and Roman Carthage were identical. For details in support of the hypothesis here adopted, see Ritter's *Afrika*, p. 519, sq.

suburb, called Megara, chiefly occupied by gardens. The city itself was divided into two quarters,—the Citadel, which was called Bosra,[b] and Cothon, or the harbour-quarter. It appears almost certain that the harbours, two in number, lay on the north side of the isthmus, and are to be identified not with the shallow lake now called the Bay of Tunis, but with the salt-pits still existing on the northern side. The outermost was the merchants' harbour, protected from the sea by a broad pier or mole,[c] and furnished with a spacious quay along the city wall. Inside this, and so much in the heart of the city as to be concealed from the view of the outer haven, lay the harbour of the navy. In its centre was a small island. Both island and harbour were surrounded by docks for the reception of two hundred and twenty ships, all furnished with Ionic columns, so as to give the whole the appearance of stately colonnades. The admiral resided in the island. The entrance of this basin was only seventy feet broad, and was kept closed by strong chains drawn across it. The citadel was of course the highest and strongest part of the city. It measured about two miles round; and on the side towards the isthmus was defended by three walls, each thirty cubits high and consisting of two stories, flanked at intervals by towers rising two stories above the wall. Along these walls were stalls for 300 elephants and 4000 horse, with barracks for 20,000 men. The suburb of Megara was defended by a comparatively feeble wall; for it was edged by a low cliff, naturally defensible.

§ 9. The Consuls divided their army; Manilius assaulting the triple wall abutting on the isthmus, Censorinus directing his attack at the end of the pier, where the city wall seemed least strong. But all their assaults were gallantly repelled. Hasdrubal had fixed his head-quarters at Nepheris, a place about ten miles along the coast southward, where he collected grain, and threw supplies into the city as opportunity offered; and Hamilcar Phamæas, an enterprising officer, who commanded the cavalry, constantly harassed the foraging parties of the Romans. The season was passing, and the hot weather caused

[b] See Chapt. xxviii. § 4.

[c] *ταινία* or *γλῶσσα*, as Appian calls it, Punic. 121: it was about 300 feet broad, *ἡμισταδίου μάλιστα*. Ibid. 95.

the army to suffer greatly. Censorinus returned home to hold the Comitia, and Manilius determined to beat up Hasdrubal's quarters at Nepheris, and thus cut off the supplies of the city. But his march was ill-conducted: he neglected the advice of Scipio, who was serving as a Tribune in his army, but was regarded with jealousy by his superior officers; and he was obliged to retreat, while Scipio, with 300 horse, kept Hasdrubal at bay. He was saluted by the Consul himself as the saviour of the army.

§ 10. The Senate began to repent of having neglected Masinissa, and sent ambassadors to beg for his assistance. But the old chief was dead before they arrived. To show the vigour of his constitution, it is recorded that, though ninety-five years of age, he left a son only four years old. His character will have shown itself sufficiently from the facts already mentioned. He showed no scruples in acquiring territory; but it must be added to his credit, that he did much towards humanising the wild tribes who owned his sway, and turned many uncultivated tracts into fruitful fields. From his reign may be dated the flourishing era of African agriculture. In following years Italy imported much of her corn from these coasts.

Of his numerous offspring only three were legitimate. On his death-bed he sent for Scipio, to whom he was attached as the heir of the great Africanus, and left the settlement of the succession to his judgment. Scipio gave the sceptre to Micipsa, the eldest son; Golossa, the second, was to be First Minister and General; the administration of justice was committed to the youngest, Mastanarbal. Golossa joined the Romans at the head of a body of troops; and thus freed the Consul from the fear of seeing the Numidians take part with Carthage.

§ 11. Before the winter set in, Manilius resolved to make another attempt upon Nepheris. He conducted his march with more caution, but with no better success than before. But one advantage was gained. Hamilcar Phamæas, the terror of the Roman foraging parties, finding that the Numidians had joined Rome, and seeing that sooner or later Carthage must fall, determined to make a merit of timely submission. Accordingly he made secret overtures to Scipio; and Manilius, as he was returning baffled from Nepheris, was overjoyed to see this

redoubted foe ride into camp in company with Scipio, followed by a squadron of African horse. Tidings now came that L. Calpurnius Piso, Consul for the next year, was on his way to supersede him; and Manilius sent off Scipio, with Phamæas as a trophy of success, to Rome. The army escorted their favourite Tribune to the coast, and prayed him to come back as Consul; for all were persuaded that none but a Scipio was destined to take Carthage. The Senate received Scipio with high distinction, and rewarded the traitor Phamæas with splendid presents. His desertion was the only piece of success which two Consuls and a great army had won in a whole campaign.

§ 12. The next year (148 B.C.) passed still less prosperously. Piso did not attempt to assault the city, but employed his fleet and army in buccaneering expeditions along the coast. Discontent and disorder spread amongst the soldiery; and the Consul went early into winter-quarters at Utica. Meantime the spirits of the Carthaginians rose. Their bitter enemy, old Cato, had just died, at the age of eighty-five. Bithyas, a Numidian chief, deserted from Golossa with a large body of cavalry. The Numidian Hasdrubal, who commanded the garrison, being suspected of intriguing with his cousin Golossa, was put to death, and the other Hasdrubal took command of the city, leaving Nepheris in charge of a subordinate officer. News also came that a war had broken out in Macedonia; it was hoped that the Roman force, being divided, might be altogether baffled.

§ 13. Meanwhile discontent rose high at Rome. Both Senate and People had expected to reap a rich booty at Carthage with little trouble, and the fainéans who had disappointed them could hardly appear in public. It was well known that Scipio was the darling of the army. Old Cato had said of him, in a line of Homer, that

> "Only he has living force, the rest are fleeting shades."[d]

The people clamoured for his election as Consul, though by the Lex Annalis he was not eligible, for he was but thirty-eight years of age, and was now a candidate for the Ædileship. He

[d] οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀΐσσουσι, Hom. Od. xi. 10; a quotation which shows that the old man had made progress in his late lore.

was, however, elected Consul instead of Ædile; the Tribunes claimed for the People a right to suspend their own laws; and the Senate yielded.

§ 14. Early in the season of 147 B.C. Scipio set sail for Utica with new levies, attended by Polybius. C. Lælius, son of that Lælius who had enjoyed the confidence of Africanus, had the command of the fleet. When the Consul landed, he found that the Prætor Mancinus, with the fleet, was attempting to take the sea-wall by assault. A messenger had just arrived to say that he had carried the wall, but was in momentary danger of being cut off. Scipio instantly put to sea and rescued the Prætor from his ill-advised attempt. He then fixed his head-quarters in a camp commanding the Isthmus of Carthage.

His first business was to restore discipline in the disorganised army. He ordered the crowd of idlers and hucksters, who were following the camp for plunder or petty traffic, to leave it immediately; and enforced strict discipline.

He then directed an attack against the suburb of Megara. Planks were laid from a detached tower to the wall; and thus a party of soldiers descended into the place, and threw the gate open to their comrades. Ti. Gracchus, the younger, destined to become famous in Roman history, was the first who mounted the wall. The General had married his sister, and here the young man learnt his first lessons in the art of war. The loss of this suburb of gardens must have been of great moment to the Carthaginians; for they were thus deprived of their chief supplies of fresh provisions. Hasdrubal showed his vexation by putting his prisoners to death in sight of the Romans. In vain the Council endeavoured to restrain him: the savage soldier was now lord of Carthage, and determined to commit himself and his men to a desperate defence. He was a greedy tyrant, who fed his gross corpulence by luxurious living, while others were starving; and affected the pompous demeanour of an Oriental despot, rather than the simplicity of a patriot soldier. His men alone shared the provisions, which now began to come scantily into the city. The unhappy townsmen began to feel the miseries of want.

§ 15. For not only had Scipio taken Megara; he had drawn strong lines across the isthmus so as to cut off the city from all

land supplies; and the fleet blockaded the harbour, so as to make it difficult to send in provisions by sea. Still light vessels from Nepheris contrived to press into the harbour under full sail, when the wind blew strong landwards and prevented the Roman ships from keeping the sea. Scipio determined to cut off even these precarious supplies by throwing an embankment across the mouth of the harbour.[e] The work was one of infinite labour, and made but slow progress. The Carthaginians, however, saw that it must ultimately succeed, and began to cut a canal from the inside, so as to open a new passage from their harbour to the sea. Before the end of the year this work was completed, and, moreover, a fleet of fifty ships had been secretly built in the inner port. By the time that Scipio's embankment was finished, the Romans had the mortification to see this new fleet sail out by the new passage. It seemed as if all their labour had been thrown away. For two days they allowed the Carthaginian fleet to insult them with impunity. But on the third they attacked it with all their ships. The battle lasted till evening, with some advantage to the Carthaginians. But as the latter fell back to the new entrance, they found the passage impeded by small craft; and in the confusion which ensued, the Romans succeeded in destroying the greater part of the new fleet.

The very next day Scipio effected a lodgment on an esplanade outside the harbour, on which the merchants had been accustomed to land their wares. Here he raised a tower, and established a garrison of 4000 men.

§ 16. The season was now far advanced, and Golossa, who had before this held some conferences with Hasdrubal, the desperado who commanded in Carthage, advised Scipio to offer terms of surrender, lest he should be superseded in his command. With some reluctance the General allowed the Numidian Prince to propose that Hasdrubal should be spared, with his wife, children, and any ten families he chose to select, with ten talents in money, and as many slaves as he pleased. But the Commandant rejected these terms with an affectation of patriotism. "Never," he said, "should the day come when

[e] This embankment no doubt assisted in choking up the harbour, and reducing it to its present condition.

Hasdrubal would survive the ruin of his country; her smoking ruins would be the best funeral-pile of a brave man." Probably he counted on better terms being offered; for the rest of his conduct forbids us to believe in the sincerity of his heroism. But he was disappointed. The Senate thought not of superseding the General; and Scipio retained the command as Proconsul.

§ 17. During the depth of winter the active operations of the siege were suspended. But the General was not idle. He detached Lælius and Golossa to assault Nepheris, and so cut off the last hope of supplies from Carthage, while he himself moved rapidly from one camp to the other. They took the place by assault; and this success made the fall of Carthage certain within a very limited time.

§ 18. At the beginning of the next spring (146 B.C.), Scipio resumed the offensive. While he made a feigned attack upon the walls of Cothon, Lælius succeeded in forcing an entrance on the other side of the city, and at evening the Roman legions bivouacked in the Marketplace of Carthage. But a long and terrible struggle was still before them. From the Marketplace three streets converged towards the Citadel. These streets were all strongly barricaded; and the houses on each side, rising to the height of six stories, were occupied by the Carthaginians. A series of street-fights ensued, which lasted several days. The Romans were obliged to carry the first houses in each street by assault, and then to force their way by breaking through from house to house, and driving the enemy along the flat roofs. The cross streets or lanes were passed by bridges of planks. Thus they slowly advanced to the wall of Bosra When they had reached this point, the city behind them was found to be on fire. Six days and nights the flames continued to rage; and as they slackened, the Roman legionaries were employed as pioneers to clear thoroughfares for the free passage of men and horses.

§ 19. The great labour of the last days had been made lighter to the soldiers by dividing them into relief-parties. Scipio alone sought no rest. At length, worn out by anxiety and fatigue, he lay down to repose on an eminence commanding a view of the Temple of Esculapius, which, with its gilded roof,

crowned the heights of Bosra. He had not long been here, when the Carthaginian garrison, seeing no longer any hope, offered to surrender the Citadel, on condition of their lives being spared. Scipio consented for all, except Roman deserters; and 50,000 men defiled out of the gates of Bosra as prisoners of war. Then Hasdrubal and his family, with 900 deserters and other desperadoes, retired into the Temple of Esculapius, as if to make a brave defence. But the commandant's heart failed him; and, slipping out alone, he threw himself at the feet of Scipio, and craved for pardon. His wife, standing on the base of the temple, was near enough to witness the sight, and, reproaching her husband with cowardice, cast herself with her children into the flames, which were now wrapping the Citadel round on all sides. Hasdrubal's life was spared to grace the triumph of the conqueror; most of the deserters perished in the flames; those who escaped, or were taken elsewhere, were trampled to death by elephants.

It was during these scenes of horror that Scipio, with Polybius at his side, gazed upon the burning city, and involuntarily vented his high-wrought feeling in two well-known verses of Homer:[f]

> "The day shall come, when sacred Troy shall be levelled with the plain,
> And Priam and the people of that good warrior slain."

"Assyria," he said, "had fallen, and Persia and Macedon. Carthage was burning. Rome's day might come next!"

For five days the soldiery were allowed to range the ruined city, glutting their wild passions. Yet enough of statues and valuables of all sorts fell into the hands of the Proconsul, to adorn a triumph little less magnificent than that in which he had followed his father Paullus one-and-twenty years before. Before he left Africa, he celebrated magnificent games, in which all the spoil was displayed to the army, as had been done by Paullus in Macedonia.

§ 20. Scipio had written laconically to the Senate, that "Carthage was taken, and the army waited for further orders." Amid the exultation of all classes, a decree was passed that

[f] Il. iv. 164: ἔσσεται ἦμαρ, ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ,
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.

the walls should be destroyed, and every house within them levelled to the ground. A solemn curse was pronounced by Scipio on any one who should rebuild a town on the same site. Not many years after, C. Gracchus was sent to found a Colony on the site of Carthage,—a design which failed; and its failure was attributed to the curse of Scipio. But the same design was renewed by the great Julius, and accomplished by Augustus. This Colony, which rose to be a noble city, and in the second century of the Christian era might be regarded as the metropolis of Western Christendom, stood (as stated above) at the southern end of the peninsula, where the Moorish fortress of Goletta now commands the entrance of the Bay of Tunis.

§ 21. Utica, for her timely submission, was not only left independent, but rewarded with a portion of the dominions of Carthage. Several disaffected cities were destroyed. The remaining territory was formed into a province under the name of Libya, and placed under the government of a Roman Magistrate, being the fourth Province added to the empire in this one year.

Such was the end of Carthage, after an existence of more than seven centuries.

CHAPTER XLVII.

SPANISH WARS: FALL OF NUMANTIA. (149—133 B.C.)

§ 1. War with the Lusitanians: Viriathus. § 2. Also with the Celtiberians of Numantia. § 3. Celtiberian War: Metellus Macedonicus: Treaty of Q. Pompeius. § 4. Popillius Lænas: Treaty of Mancinus. § 5. Lusitanian War: Treaty of Q. Fabius Servilianus, broken by Q. Servilius Cæpio: Murder of Viriathus. § 6. End of the Lusitanian War. § 7. Discussion in the Senate on the Treaty of Mancinus: he is given up to the Numantians: their conduct. § 8. Lepidus attacks the Vaccæans: Dec. Brutus carries Roman arms into Gallæcia: surnamed Callaïcus. § 9. Scipio: his life since the Fall of Carthage. § 10. His popularity: elected Consul for the Numantian War. § 11. Scipio's measures for raising troops and restoring discipline. § 12. He appears before Numantia: lines of investment. § 13. Misery of the Numantians. § 14. Surrender and destruction of Numantia. § 15. Condition of the Roman Empire.

§ 1. WHILE Rome was engaged in war both with Macedon and Carthage, the Lusitanians resumed their inroads under the conduct of their brave chief Viriathus, who had escaped from the massacre of Galba. The first feat of arms which we have is his deliverance of a party of his countrymen from the Prætor Vetilius. The latter pursued him into the valley of the Tagus, when Viriathus attacked the Romans in a defile, and compelled them to surrender. All serviceable men he sold as slaves: but the Prætor was old and fat, and he was put to death as a piece of useless lumber. This happened about 149 B.C. And then began a war which severely tried the strength of Rome.

In the next three years the Roman Commanders were uniformly unsuccessful: one of them, C. Plautius Hypsæus, was so disgracefully beaten that he was banished from Italy by a special vote of the people. But when Carthage and Corinth had fallen, the Senate ordered one of the Consuls for the next year (145 B.C.) to crush the insurrection. This Consul was Q. Fabius, the elder brother of Scipio, and he was supported in Hither Spain by C. Lælius. Fabius remained in Spain for two years; but though his measures were well taken, and though

he was ably seconded by Lælius, he could gain no positive advantage over his indefatigable enemy. He returned home without being able to say more than that he had prevented Viriathus from plundering his Province.

§ 2. In the year after his departure (143 B.C.), the war assumed a much more serious aspect. The brave Celtiberian tribes of Numantia and its adjacent districts, who seem to have remained quiet since their treaty with Marcellus,[a] again appeared in the field. For several years we find two Roman commanders engaged in Spain, as before the Treaty of Gracchus: one opposed to the Numantians and their Celtiberian allies in the North, the other carrying on an irregular warfare against Viriathus and the Lusitanians in the South.

§ 3. The conduct of the Celtiberian War was committed to Q. Metellus Macedonicus, who had been elected Consul for the year 143 B.C. He remained in command for two years, and was so successful in his measures that by the close of the second campaign he had compelled the enemy to shut themselves up in their two strongest cities, Termantia and Numantia. But he was disappointed, as in Greece, by finding anticipated triumph snatched from his grasp by Q. Pompeius, Consul for the year 141 B.C.

Pompeius was a New Man, the son of a flute-player, who had hitherto been attached to Scipio. But he had defeated Lælius in a late contest for the Consulship by the unscrupulous use of money, and all political connexion ceased between Scipio's party and himself. He conducted the war with a vacillation that betrays his unskilfulness, assaulting first Numantia, then Termantia, then Numantia again. Yet he also continued in command for two years. At the close of the second he found his army so reduced by cold, disease, and two harassing campaigns, that he gladly listened to overtures of peace, which was concluded on condition that the Numantians should deliver up all prisoners and deserters, and pay the small sum of thirty talents. But on the arrival of M. Popillius Lænas, Consul for 139 B.C., he repudiated the treaty; and the new Consul continued the war, after referring the Numantians to the Senate.

[a] Chapt. xliv. § 17.

Pompeius excused his ill success to the Senate by alleging that Metellus had purposely disbanded a portion of his army, so as to cripple the operations of his successor. The treaty he declared had never been concluded, though the evidence of all his officers went the other way. The Senate cut the knot by declaring it null and void, and a bill was brought before the People for delivering up the person of Pompeius to the Numantians. But his money was again freely used, and the bill was rejected by the Tribes.

§ 4. Popillius concluded another command of two years with as little credit as Pompeius, and resigned his unenviable post to C. Hostilius Mancinus, Consul for the year 137 B.C. Mancinus set out for his Province amid general alarm, excited by the unfavourable omens at his inaugural sacrifices. He was attended as Quæstor by young Ti. Gracchus, the inheritor of a name dear to the Celtiberians, who had already distinguished himself at the siege of Carthage. Mancinus found the army in a state of complete disorganisation, and was beaten by the Numantians in several sallies. Hearing a report that the Vaccæans and Cantabrians from the North and West were marching to the relief of Numantia, he deemed it prudent to retreat from his position before that city. The Numantians pursued him, and pressed him so hard that he was obliged to entrench himself in an old camp only three miles distant, and send a herald with offers to treat on condition that his army should be spared. The enemy consented, but only on the understanding that young Gracchus was to make himself responsible for the execution of the treaty. Articles of peace were accordingly signed by Mancinus himself, with Gracchus and all the chief officers of the army. The good feeling that prevailed between the honest Numantians and the young Quæstor was such that, when Gracchus found that he had left his account-books in his tent (the whole camp and baggage had become the booty of the enemy), he rode back with one or two companions and asked to have the books restored, that he might be able to give an account of his office. The Numantians made him come into their city, and offered him all that he chose to take out of their booty. But the young man contented himself with his accounts and some frankincense for public sacrifice.

Before we notice the sequel of the famous Treaty of Mancinus, it will be well to follow the Lusitanian War to its conclusion.

§ 5. Q. Fabius Æmilianus was succeeded by Q. Fabius Servilianus, who also had been adopted into the family of Fabius Maximus from that of Servilius Cæpio. In the second year of his command (141 B.C.) he was surprised by Viriathus in a narrow defile, and so shut up that escape was impossible. The Lusitanian captain listened to applications for peace as readily as the Numantians, and offered liberal terms, which were gladly accepted by the Proconsul. This peace was approved by the Senate, and Viriathus was acknowledged as the ally of Rome.

But Q. Servilius Cæpio, colleague of Lælius in the Consulship for the year 140 B.C., and brother by blood of Servilianus, had obtained the command in Further Spain, and was little satisfied by the prospect of an inactive year. By importunity he wrung from the Senate permission to break the peace so lately concluded by his brother, and ratified by themselves,—a permission basely given and more basely used. Cæpio assailed Viriathus, when he little expected an attack, with so much vigour that the chief was fain to seek refuge in Gallæcia, and sent envoys to ask Cæpio on what ground the late treaty was no longer observed. Cæpio sent back the messengers with fair words, but he had privily bribed them to assassinate their master. They were too successful in their purpose, and returned to claim their blood-money from the Consul. But he, with double treachery, disowned the act, and referred them to the Senate for their reward.

§ 6. The death of Viriathus was the real end of the Lusitanian War. He was (as even the Roman writers allow) brave, generous, active, vigilant, patient, faithful to his word; and the manner in which he baffled all fair and open assault of the disciplined armies of Rome gives a high conception of his qualities as a guerilla chief. His countrymen, sensible of their loss, honoured him with a splendid military funeral. One Tantalus took his place, a man not deficient in boldness, for he led his irregular troops to the very walls of Saguntum. But at the approach of Cæpio he retired as rapidly as he had advanced, and soon after surrendered at discretion. The Senate, with a

wise moderation which might have been adopted years before, assigned lands to a portion of the mountaineers within the Province, thus at length making good the broken promises of Galba.

§ 7. Such was the discreditable termination of the Lusitanian War. We must now return to Mancinus and his Treaty.

He handed over his army to Lepidus, his late colleague in the Consulship, and returned to defend his conduct before the Senate. Like Pompeius, but probably with more truth, he pleaded that the army was so demoralised that no man could wield it with effect. Unlike Pompeius, he admitted that he had concluded a treaty with Numantia without the authority of the Senate and People; and as that treaty was not approved, he declared himself ready to support a bill for delivering up the persons of himself and all who had signed it to the Numantians. Such a bill was accordingly brought before the Tribes. But young Gracchus protested that the treaty was valid, and ought not to be repudiated; and Scipiô, his brother-in-law, made an eloquent speech in his behalf. The result was that the People voted for delivering up Mancinus alone as an expiatory offering. Accordingly a person, consecrated for this special purpose, carried him to Numantia. But the Spaniards, like the Samnites of old, refused to accept such a compensation; one man's body, they said, was no equivalent for the advantage they had lost. Mancinus, therefore, returned to Rome. But when he took his place in the Senate, the Tribune Rutilius ordered him to leave the Curia, because, he said, one who had been delivered over to the enemy with religious ceremony was no longer a citizen of Rome, and could not recover his rights by simply returning to his country.[b] This legal question was warmly debated. But it was not settled, for a special law was introduced to restore Mancinus to his former position.

The rights of the question have already been discussed in speaking of the similar transaction at the Furculæ Caudinæ.[c] Here it need only be added that Cicero highly commends the honourable conduct of Mancinus, nor does it seem to cross his

[b] Such a recovery of rights was called *Postliminium*. For the legal opinions on both sides see Cicero *de Orat.* i. 40, *de Off.* iii. 30, *pro Cæcinâ*, 34.

[c] Chapt. xxii. § 8.

mind that the offer to surrender his person was an unworthy evasion. The whole affair shows how much the religion of Rome was a matter of formality.

§ 8. Meanwhile Lepidus, waiting the decision of the Senate in regard to the Treaty with Numantia, assailed the Vaccæans (near Salamanca) on pretence that they had lent aid to the Numantians, although he had been positively prohibited from moving till he had received further orders.

Dec. Junius Brutus, Consul for 138 B.C., an able officer, and a near kinsman of Lepidus, had been entrusted with the pacification of Lusitania: the town of Valentia owes its origin to a colony of this people planted there by him. After this, he carried his arms northward across the Tagus, the Douro, and the Minho, and received homage from the Tribes of the Western Pyrenees. He was the first Roman who reached the shores of the Bay of Biscay, and saw the sun set in the waters of the Atlantic. When he was in these parts he was summoned by Lepidus to his relief. The latter commander had laid siege to the Vaccæan town of Palentia, but had been foiled at every point, and before Brutus could relieve him, as it seems, he was obliged to retreat with great loss. He was deprived of his Proconsular office, and fined, more (we may suppose) for ill success than for disobedience.

Brutus continued in command for five years in all, and was honoured with the name of Callaïcus[d] for his successes. But Q. Calpurnius Piso, who succeeded Lepidus in the northern province (135 B.C.), did not venture to attack Numantia, and continued the Vaccæan War with indifferent success.

§ 9. These continued wars with their constant losses, their treaties made and unmade, had long excited discontent among the people. It is probable that the elections of the Consuls in the command were rather due to party exertions, than to any zeal for the public service. Men began to clamour for a Consul fit to command; and all eyes fell upon Scipio. His qualities as a general had been tested by success at Carthage, and circumstances had since occurred which raised him to great popularity.

[d] From Callæcia or Gallæcia, the ancient name of the district in the N. W. of Spain, still called Gallicia.

After his Triumph in 146 B.C., Scipio had continued to lead the simple life in which he had been bred, and which not all the wealth he inherited from his adoptive father induced him to abandon. He affected an austerity of manners, which almost emulated that of Cato, though he was free from the censorious dogmatism and rude eccentricities of that celebrated man. In 142 B.C. he was elected Censor in conjunction with Mummius, who so thwarted all the efforts of his colleague to promote reforms that the latter publicly exclaimed, "I should have been able to do my duty, either with a colleague, or without one." Scipio had gained a clear conception of the unsound state of things, which long-continued wars and Senatorial government had produced. In the prayer, which he offered on entering upon the Censor's office, he altered the usual form; and instead of asking that "the gods would *increase and magnify* the power of Rome," he said, "I pray that they may *preserve* it: it is great enough already." A little before this he had been sent upon a special mission to Egypt in company with Metellus and Mummius, and showed his disapprobation of the prevailing luxury by taking only five slaves with him instead of the immense retinue which was thought necessary for a travelling Senator. Besides his intimacy with Polybius he had formed a close friendship with the celebrated Panætius, at that time chief of the Stoic sect. This philosopher attended him to Egypt; and by his lessons he was confirmed in the severe rule of living which he had before followed.

§ 10. His frugal life carried with it a guarantee of honesty and devotion to public interests, which would alone have secured him public favour. But several of his acts gained him more direct popularity. The son of his kinsman Nasica, nicknamed Serapio, had joined the high oligarchical party: in his Consulship (138 B.C.) the Tribunes arrested him for the severity with which he enforced the conscription; a famine was raging at the same time, and he bade the people hold their peace, "for he knew what was good for them better than themselves." But the son of Æmilius Paullus, on the few occasions on which he appeared in public, took the popular side. In 137 B.C., the Tribune Cassius proposed the first law for taking votes by secret

ballot,[e] with the intention of neutralising the undue influence of the Senators. Scipio came forward and addressed the People in favour of this law. But if his popularity was thus increased, his favour with the Senate proportionably fell. Indeed six years before, when he was canvassing for the Censorship, App. Claudius, seeing the motley crowd which followed him, exclaimed:—"Ah, Æmilius, it would trouble thy spirit to see thy son followed by such a crew." Yet he courted no popularity. Seldom, as has been said, did he visit the Forum, though he spoke with force and eloquence when he chose. When the same Appius who had reproached him boasted that *he* knew all who frequented the Forum by name, Scipio replied:—"True, I do not know many of my fellow-citizens by name, but I have taken care that all should know me." Popularity came unasked, and he refused it not. No doubt he sympathised with the general indignation felt and expressed at the conduct of the Spanish Wars. It is not astonishing that in the year 135 B.C. the People should have cast their eyes upon him. Legally he could not hold the Consulship, for a law had been lately passed forbidding a second election in any case. But Scipio received the votes of every Century, though he was not a candidate. And the Senate agreed that now also, as in his former Consulship, the law should be suspended in his favour.

§ 11. He was now fifty-one years of age, and he proceeded to execute his commission with the same steady vigour which distinguished him on other occasions. The free population of Italy was so reduced by continued wars that a conscription was impossible, and Scipio raised 4000 men to recruit the army by his personal influence, as the great Africanus had done seventy years before. The treasury also was so exhausted, notwithstanding the large sums that had been paid in a few years before, that the Senate proposed to raise a loan from the Publicani on the credit of the next year's taxes. But Scipio

[e] These *Leges Tabellariæ* (as the Romans called them, *tabella* being their word for *a ballot*) were four in number: 1. *The Gabinian* (139 B.C.), introducing the use of the Ballot at Elections. 2. *The Cassian* (137), introducing it in all state-trials, except in the case of high-treason (perduellio). 3. *The Papirian* (131), introducing it into the Legislative Assembly. 4. *The Cælian* (107), which cancelled the single exception made by the Cassian Law.

declined the offer, and advanced the sums required from his own resources.

He found the demoralisation of the army not less than it had been described, and he applied himself to correct it with the same severity that his father had used in Macedonia, and that he had used himself before Carthage. All courtesans and hucksters, together with the fortune-tellers who drove a lucrative trade in the dispirited army, he commanded to quit the camp. All carriages, horses, and mules he ordered to be sold, except those that were needed for actual service. No cooking utensils were allowed except a spit, a camp-bottle, and a drinking-cup. Down beds were forbidden: the general himself slept upon a straw pallet.

§ 12. After some time spent in training his army by employing them in laborious marches, by throwing up entrenchments and making palisades, he led it to Numantia by a difficult and circuitous route, in order to avoid a battle. On his way he made a detour into the Vaccæan country, and wasted the lands of that district, to prevent supplies being sent from thence to the devoted city. He repelled an attack of the Palentians, and encouraged the men of Cauca to repeople their city, which had lain desolate ever since it had been sacked by Lucullus. As he approached Numantia he was joined by young Jugurtha, bastard son of Micipsa, who came from Numidia with twelve elephants and a large body of light cavalry. By this time the season for war was nearly over, and he ordered two strong camps to be formed for winter-quarters. In one of these he fixed himself; the other he put under the command of his brother Fabius.

With the beginning of spring (133 B.C.) he began to draw lines of circumvallation round the city, and declined all attempts made by the Numantians to provoke a general action,—a circumstance which is rather surprising, if it be true that the available troops of the Spanish city amounted to no more than 8000.

§ 13. Numantia lay on both sides of the Douro, not far from its source. The blockade was so strict, and the inhabitants were so ill supplied with provisions, that in no long time they were reduced to feed on boiled leather, and at length (horrible

to tell) on the bodies of the dead. In vain was it that those who retained sufficient strength attempted sallies by day and night; Scipio had established so complete a system, that additional troops were always ready to strengthen any weak point which might be assailed. In vain did the young men of Lutia endeavour to relieve their brave neighbours. Scipio promptly marched to that place with a division of light troops, and, having compelled the government to surrender 400 of the most active sympathisers, he cut off their right hands and returned. Such was the cruelty which the most enlightened men of Rome permitted themselves to use towards barbarians. Nor does any ancient historian whisper a word of reproach.

§ 14. The wretched Numantians now inquired on what terms they might be admitted to surrender. The reply was, that on that very day they must lay down their arms, and on the next appear at a given place. They prayed for time to deliberate. In the interval a certain number of brave men, resolved not to submit on any terms, put themselves to death; the remnant came forth from the gates. Their matted hair, squalid apparel, and wasted forms made even the Romans turn away in horror from their own work. Scipio selected fifty to walk in his triumphal procession, and sold the rest into slavery. The town was so effectually destroyed that its very site cannot be discovered.

Such was the destructive, but not glorious work, which earned for Scipio the name of Numantinus, as the ruin of Carthage had given him a better title than adoption to that of Africanus.

§ 15. Ten commissioners were sent, according to custom, to re-organise the Spanish Provinces. The conquests of Scipio and of Dec. Brutus were comprehended in the limits of the Hither Province, and for some years Spain remained in tranquillity.

There was no enemy now left on the coast-lands of the Mediterranean to dispute the Sovereignty of Rome. Nine Provinces, each fit to be a kingdom, owned her sway, and poured large sums into her Treasury. The Kings of Asia Minor, of Syria, of Egypt were her obedient vassals.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

FIRST SLAVE WAR IN SICILY (133—131 B.C.).

§ 1. Increase of Slaves. § 2. Fondness of the Romans for Agriculture: Cato, &c. § 3. Decline of Agriculture after the Second Punic War: causes. § 4. Immense numbers of Slaves brought to market after the wars. § 5. The Slaves of Apulia become banditti. § 6. Similar state of things in Sicily: Insurrection breaks out near Enna. § 7. King Eunus. § 8. Enna taken by the Slaves: dreadful scenes. § 9. Cleon heads another rising near Agrigentum. § 10. Defeat of a Roman Prætor: spread of the Insurrection. § 11. The War concluded by Rupilius: fate of the Slave-chiefs. § 12. Propitiation of Ceres. § 13. Laws of Rupilius for improving the state of Sicily.

§ 1. WHILE Numantia was yet defying the Roman Generals, a war broke out near home of a more dreadful kind than any distant contest with foreigners could be,—the Insurrection of the Slaves in Sicily. Some remarks have already been made on the rapid increase in the number of Slaves which attended the career of Roman conquest; and it was observed that while domestic Slaves usually were well treated, nay, sometimes regarded almost as confidential friends, the agricultural Slaves were thrust down to a condition worse than that of the oxen which laboured on the land.[a] The evils which such oppression might engender were now proved by terrible experience.

§ 2. Every one knows that in the early times of Rome the work of the farm was the only kind of manual labour deemed worthy of a free citizen. This feeling long survived, as may be seen from the praise bestowed on agriculture by Cicero,[b]—praise which was chiefly reflected from other minds, for he himself loved the city better than the country, till civil strife drove him to retirement. His enthusiasm was no doubt caught

[a] Chapt. xxvii. § 5.

[b] "Omnium autem rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur nihil est agri culturâ melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine libero dignius."—*De Off.* i. 42, fin. The whole chapter is illustrative of Roman feeling on the subject of mercantile business.

from one of his favourite heroes, old Cato the Censor. This remarkable person has left us a Treatise on Agriculture, which exhibits the practice of an Italian farmer at the period which follows the Hannibalic War. The native shrewdness of the man, his habits of close inquiry, strict economy, and methodical conduct of business, appear in every page, mingled characteristically with superstitious fancies and strange pedantry. The taste for books of farming continued. Varro the antiquarian, a friend of Cicero, has left an excellent treatise on the subject. A little later came the famous Georgics of Virgil, followed at no long interval by Pliny's notices, and then by the elaborate compilation of Columella, who refers to a great number of Roman writers on the same subject. It is manifest that the subject of Agriculture possessed a strong and enduring charm for the Roman mind.

§ 3. It is, however, certain that from the times of the Hannibalic War, Agriculture lost ground in Italy. In Magna Græcia the wheat crops had once been so famous, as to be mentioned by Sophocles;[c] and the coins of Metapontum, stamped with the head of Demeter, bear witness to her plentiful harvests. But Pliny expressly tells us that so early as the time of Alexander the wheat of Magna Græcia had lost its credit. When Cato was asked what was the most profitable kind of farming, he said, "Good grazing." What next? "Tolerable grazing." What next? "Bad grazing." What next? "Corn-growing."[d] Later writers, with one accord, deplore the diminished productiveness of land in Italy.

This was due in part, no doubt, to war. Long-continued wars strip a country of its labouring population, and its tillage must suffer. Such was the case with Lower Italy, where, before the Roman conquest, the Greek cities gradually declined before the inroad of the Lucanians and Samnites. But the districts of which Cato and his successors speak were less exposed to such depopulation. Other causes existed for the declining condition of the farmer.

[c] In his Triptolemus. Pliny (*Hist. Natur.* xviii. c. 12, § 1) gives a translation of the line:—

"Et fortunatam Italiam frumento canere candido."

[d] Cicero *de Offic.* ii. 25, 5.

This result seems to have been due partly to the Roman practice of cropping their land continually, with little attempt to improve it by artificial means,[e] and partly to the facility with which corn could be imported from the southern districts of Sicily, from Egypt, and from Numidia,[f] while a great part of Italy was little suited for the production of grain-crops.[g] But these causes found a powerful assistant in the growth of large estates, and the profitable employment of Slaves as shepherds and herdsmen.[h]

§ 4. A few examples will show the prodigious number of Slaves that must have been thrown into the market after the career of conquest on which the Republic entered after the Hannibalic War. To punish the Bruttians for the fidelity with which they adhered to the cause of the great Carthaginian, the whole nation were made Slaves; no less than 150,000 Epirotes were sold by Æmilius Paullus; 50,000 were sent home by Scipio from Carthage. These numbers are accidentally preserved; and if, according to this scale, we calculate the hosts of unhappy men sold in slavery during the Syrian, Macedonian, Illyrian, Grecian, and Spanish Wars, we shall be prepared to hear that Slaves fit only for unskilled labour were plentiful and cheap.

There was also a Slave-trade regularly carried on in the East. The barbarous tribes on the coasts of the Black Sea—a practice not yet extinct[i]—were always ready to sell their own flesh and blood; Thrace and Sarmatia were the Guinea Coast of the Romans. The entrepôt of this trade was Delos, which had been made a free port by Rome after the conquest of Macedonia.[k] Strabo tells us that in one day 10,000 slaves were sold there in open market. Such were the vile uses to which was put the Sacred Island, once the treasury of Greece,

[e] See Gisborne's *Essays on Agriculture*, p. 187, *sqq.*

[f] See Chapt. xlvi. § 10.

[g] Introduction, Sect. i. §§ 16 and 20.

[h] Chapt. xlix. § 9.

[i] While these words are being written (1854), the Newspapers announce that the British Ambassador at Constantinople has induced the Sultan absolutely to prohibit the trade in Circassian women.

[k] Chapt. xliv. § 4.

when her states were banded together to secure their freedom against the Persian.

§ 5. It is evident that hosts of Slaves lately free men, and many of them soldiers, must become dangerous to the owners. Nor was their treatment such as to conciliate. They were turned out upon the hills, made responsible for the safety of the cattle put under their charge, and compelled to provide themselves with the common necessaries of life. A body of these wretched men asked their master for clothing: "What," he asked, "are there no travellers with clothes on?" The atrocious hint was soon taken: the shepherd slaves of Lower Italy became banditti, and to travel through Apulia without an armed retinue was a perilous adventure. From assailing travellers, the marauders began to plunder the smaller country-houses; and all but the rich were obliged to desert the country and flock into the towns.[1] So early as the year 185 B.C., 7000 slaves in Apulia were condemned for brigandage by a Prætor sent specially to restore order in that land of pasturage.[m] When they were not employed upon the hills they were shut up in large prison-like buildings (*ergastula*), where they talked over their wrongs, and formed schemes of vengeance.

§ 6. The Sicilian landowners emulated their Italian brethren; and it was their tyrannical conduct that led to the frightful Insurrection, which reveals to us somewhat of the real state of society which existed under the rule of Rome.

In Sicily, as in Lower Italy, the herds are driven up into the mountain pastures during the summer months, and about October return towards the plains. The same causes which were at work in Italy were at work, on a smaller scale, in Sicily; and the city of Enna, once famous for the worship of

[1] These statements and almost all the History of the Slave-War are taken from Diodorus, xxxiv.

[m] Liv. xxxix. 29. The great droves that pass from the plains of Apulia to the mountain-pastures in spring, and return to the plains in autumn, now, as in the days of Horace (*Epod.* i. 28), are noticed by all writers who give any account of these countries. See, for instance, Murray's *Handbook for Southern Italy*, p. xl., *seq.* The Neapolitan Government are the owners of the pasture-land, and every one who sends up his cattle pays a certain sum, and the payment is registered at an office in the town of Foggia. Here we recognise the remains of the Roman *Scriptura*.

Demeter, had become the centre of a pastoral district. Of the neighbouring landowners, Damophilus was the wealthiest. He was famous for his pomp and luxury, for the multitude of his Slave-herdsmen, and for his cruel treatment of them. His wife Megallis emulated her lord in the barbarities which she practised on the female slaves. At length the cup was full, and four hundred of his bondmen, meeting at Enna, took counsels of vengeance against Damophilus.

§ 7. At Enna there lived another rich proprietor, named Antigenes; and among his Slaves was a Syrian of Apameia, known by the Greek name of Eunus (Εὔνους). This man was a kind of wizard, who pretended to have revelations of the future, and practised a mode of breathing fire, which passed for a supernatural power. At length he gave out that his Syrian gods had declared to him that he should be king hereafter. His master treated him as a jester, and at banquets used to call him in to make sport for his guests; and they, entering into his humour, used to beg him to remember them when he gained his sceptre.

But to the confederate slaves of Damophilus, Eunus seemed in truth a Prophet and a King sent to deliver them. The four hundred came to him as suppliants, and prayed him to become their leader. He accepted their offer; and the whole body entered the city of Enna, with Eunus at their head breathing fire.

§ 8. The wretched city now felt the vengeance of men brutalised by oppression. Clad in skins, armed with stakes burnt at the end, with reaping-hooks, spits, or whatever arms rage supplied,[n] they broke into the houses, and massacred all persons of free condition, from the old man and matron to the infant at the breast. Crowds of Slaves joined them; every man's foes were those of his own household. Damophilus was dragged to the Theatre and slain. Megallis was given over to the female Slaves, who first tortured her, and then cast her down the crag on which the city stands. But the daughter of Damophilus and Megallis had always shown kindness to the Slaves, and had at her own peril sent them food and clothing in their misery. In the midst of the massacre she was pro-

[n] "Furor arma ministrat."—Virg. *Aen.* i. 150.

tected, and soon after was sent off under safe escort to Catana,—a proof that these men were not animated by blind ferocity, but retained their human sympathies and observed certain rules of justice in executing their wild vengeance.

Eunus thus saw the wildest of his dreams fulfilled. He assumed the diadem, took the royal name of Antiochus, and called his followers Syrians. The ergastula were broken open, and numbers of Slaves sallied out to join him. Very soon he was at the head of 10,000 men. He showed no little discretion in the choice of officers. Achæus, a Greek, who like many others had been a man of repute in his own country, till by the horrid practice of ancient warfare he was reduced to the condition of a slave, was made General of the army, and he exerted himself to preserve order and moderate excesses.

§ 9. A few days after the massacre at Enna, Cleon, a Cilician slave, raised a similar insurrection near Agrigentum. He also was soon at the head of several thousand men.

The Romans and other wealthy proprietors in Sicily, who had looked on in blank dismay, now formed hopes that the two leaders might quarrel,—hopes soon disappointed by the tidings that Cleon had acknowledged the sovereign authority of King Antiochus.

§ 10. There had been no Roman magistrate present in Sicily when the insurrection broke out. The Prætor of the last year had returned to Italy; and his successor, L. Hypsæus, now first arrived, ignorant of all that was passing. He brought no troops with him, but contrived to collect 8000 men in the island, and took the field against the Slaves, who by this time numbered 20,000. He was utterly defeated, and the insurrection spread over the whole island. The cities of Messana and Tauromenium, distinguished as the allies of Rome, fell into the hands of the insurgents.

The consternation at Rome was great. No one could tell where the evil would stop. Similar movements broke out in Italy and in various parts of the empire; but the magistrates were on the alert, and all these attempts were nipped in the bud. At Rome itself one hundred and fifty slaves, detected in organising an outbreak, were put to death without mercy.

§ 11. The Insurrection seemed to the Senate so serious that

they despatched the Consul, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, colleague of Scipio in the year 133 B.C., with an army to crush it. But Flaccus was unskilful, or his soldiers were bad, and he obtained no advantage over the insurgents. In the next year L. Calpurnius Piso introduced a sterner rule of discipline, and succeeded in wresting Messana from the enemy, who suffered a loss of 8000 men. From Messana he advanced to Enna, a place strongly defended by nature, which he was unable to take, and left the war unfinished to his successor in the Consulship, P. Rupilius. The new Consul, a friend of Scipio, began his campaign with the siege of Tauromenium. The Slaves offered a desperate resistance. Reduced to straits for want of food, they devoured the children, the women, and at length began to prey upon each other. Even then the place was only taken by the treachery of one Serapion, a Syrian, who admitted the Romans into the citadel. All the Slaves taken alive were put to the torture and thrown down a precipice. Rupilius now advanced to Enna, the last stronghold of Eunus and his followers. As their fate was inevitable, Cleon of Agrigentum chose a soldier's death, and, sallying forth with all who breathed the same spirit as himself, he died fighting valiantly. Of the end of Achæus we are not informed. Eunus, with a bodyguard of 600 men, escaped into the neighbouring hills; but, despairing of escape, the greater part of the wretched men slew one another. The mock king himself was taken in a cave, with his cook, baker, bathing-man, and jester. He showed a pusillanimity far unlike the desperate courage of the rest, and died in a dungeon at Murgantia eaten by vermin.

§ 12. Thus was crushed for a time this perilous insurrection, the result of the Slave-system established by Roman conquest. Some years after it broke out again in Sicily, and at a later period in Italy itself so fiercely as to threaten the existence of society. The wellbeing of Sicily had even now been so seriously impaired that extraordinary measures were deemed necessary for restoring order. The Sibylline Books were consulted, and the oracular page ordered them "to propitiate Ceres the most ancient." Accordingly a solemn deputation of priests was ordered to proceed to the august Temple of the Goddess in the city of Enna. This circumstance, seemingly unimportant,

becomes significant, when it is considered that the war really originated in the neglect of agricultural labours, and was at its height during the notable year in which Ti. Gracchus was bringing to all men's knowledge the reduced condition of the yeomen and farmers of Italy.

§ 13. Ten Commissioners were sent to assist Rupilius in drawing up laws for the better regulation of the agricultural districts. The code formerly established by Hiero at Syracuse was taken as the basis of their legislation, a measure which gave great satisfaction to all the Greek communities.[o] The whole land was required to pay a tithe of its produce to the Romans except the five free cities before mentioned,[p] and some others which were allowed to pay a fixed annual sum. The collection of these tithes was to be let to Roman contractors, whom Rupilius, having been himself a member of their body, favoured.[q] But to prevent extortion, Courts of Appeal were provided. All disputes between citizens of the same town were left to be decided in the town courts; those between citizens of different towns, by judges drawn by lot under the eye of the Prætor; those between a town-community and an individual, by the Senate of some other city; those between a Roman citizen and a Sicilian, by a judge belonging to the same nation as the defendant.

This system continued in force till the time of Cicero, who extols its justice and its good effects probably beyond the exact truth, for this view of the case exaggerated the crimes of Verres, whom he was prosecuting. But there can be no doubt that the general condition of the Sicilian landholders was considerably improved; and Agriculture again flourished in Sicily as had been in former times. We may suppose also that, as a consequence, the condition of the Slaves was somewhat amended.

[o] Chapt. xxxvi. § 3.

[p] Ibid.

[q] "Ex Publicano dictus Consul." Pseudo-Ascon. *ad Cicer. Verr.* ii. c. 13, p. 212, ed. Orelli.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE CONDITION OF ROME AND HER PEOPLE AT THE CLOSE OF THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST.

§ 1. Rise of a New Nobility. § 2. Absolute control of the Public Purse by the Senate. § 3. Precariousness of Senatorial power. § 4. Growth of a wealthy Class, not noble. § 5. Knights equo publico et privato: new Equestrian Order created by C. Gracchus. § 6. The free citizens consumed by the wars. § 7. Those who returned migrated to the towns. § 8. Increase of large Estates. § 9. How these Estates were furnished with labour: Métayers. § 10. Colonies planted in the years after the Hannibalic War, but not lately. § 11. Growing division between the City and the Rural Tribes: what was meant by "Men of the People" at Rome. § 12. Influence of the Nobility in the Comitia. § 13. Claims of the Latin and Italian Allies.

§ 1. AN attempt was made to review the condition of Rome and her subjects at the point of time when she had just passed through the terrible ordeal of the Hannibalic War. Since that we have followed her, for more than a century and a half, in her rapid ascent to absolute dominion. And here again we may pause to note the changes that had taken place in her political and social system. For though no great reforms and no organic changes are recorded, yet silently and surely great alterations had been wrought in almost all sorts and conditions of Roman citizens.

We have had continually to notice the increasing power of the Senate, and to recognise the growth of a New Nobility, as compact as the old Patrician Oligarchy, and wielding a mightier power. To this Nobility belonged all that remained of the Patrician Families, together with those great Plebeian houses, which with their Patrician congeners had obtained almost a monopoly of the honours of the State. The mark of Nobility was not now, as of old, birth within the pale of the Patriciate, but birth within the number of those families who could count up successive honours for generations. Those were held most

noble who possessed the longest file of Images, that is those whose ancestors had held the greatest number of Curule offices. The past acquisition of these honours made their future acquisition easier. With office came the means of getting money, and with money the means of getting office. Honourable poverty is attributed to some few families, as to the Paulli and the Tuberos. But the Senators and the great Senatorial families who formed this New Nobility, were as a rule very wealthy.

§ 2. That which secured political supremacy to the Senate was what is familiarly called the power of the Purse. No people can be free unless they have some control over the expenditure of public money; and at Rome all financial matters were, as we have seen, wholly in the hands of the Senate. The vote of the People indeed was required for undertaking a war, and we have seen with what difficulty the Romans were persuaded to engage in a contest with Macedon at a moment when they had but just been relieved from the pressure of Hannibal's heavy hand. At that time a tax was required to support their armies. But the large sums which poured into the Treasury for the next few years made this tax lighter every year, till with the conquest of Macedon it ceased altogether. Henceforth, therefore, there was not even an indirect control over the public purse, and no hindrance was ever again offered to a vote for declaring war. Tribunes from time to time made attempts to rouse the People, but with little success. Cato himself became a Senator, and in his determination to destroy Carthage lent himself to the policy of his Order. All commands and lucrative employments belonged to the members of the great Senatorial families, who alone could win their way to the honours of the State. It was only when difficult services were required, such as the conquest of Macedon, or the reduction of Carthage and Numantia, that the Senate were obliged to resort to the services of independent men like Æmilius Paullus or his son Scipio.

§ 3. But while the Senate and the Nobility seemed to be in secure possession of nearly all honours, and the greatest share of wealth in the Republic, there were not wanting signs to show that this possession was precarious. In the first place, there had grown up of late years a large body of wealthy families

who, from the exclusive system established by the Senate, were debarred from political honours; and in the second place, the condition of the Rustic Population, both in the Roman Territory and in Italy at large, was every day becoming so bad as to excite the sympathies of the generous, and to alarm the fears of the selfish.

§ 4. The wealthy class of which we speak was chiefly composed of the tax-collectors, public contractors, and other persons engaged in commercial pursuits. Just before the Second Punic War a law had been passed to make it illegal for Senators to engage in any kind of commercial adventure;[a] and to supply the constant demand caused by the wars that follow, Companies were formed of persons who united their means to form a sufficient capital to undertake contracts for supplying the army and navy.[b] As one Province after another was conquered, new Companies were formed, which contracted to collect the imposts laid upon the new subjects of Rome; and this business soon became a large and profitable employment of capital. The provincial imposts, as has been before stated, were put up to competition by public auction; the Company which offered the largest sum, if they could give proper security, received the contract; they paid into the Treasury the sum which they had offered, and all that they collected over and above this sum they divided among themselves. The system was contrived to encourage extortion; for the more the farmers of the revenue could exact, the larger were their dividends. Too often the Senatorial governors of the Provinces countenanced these men in illegal exactions, on condition of sharing the profits; and so notorious had the extortionate practices of the revenue Companies become within forty years of the Hannibalic War that Æmilius Paullus, after the battle of Pydna, shut up the gold-mines of Macedonia, for the very purpose of excluding these men from any part in the administration of that country.[c]

It was from this wealthy class of contractors and commercial men that C. Gracchus (as we shall see) created a new order of citizens to balance the Senators. This was the Equestrian

[a] Lex Claudia: see Chapt. xxxi. § 14. [b] Chapt. xxxiii. § 5.

[c] For all mines were State property, and let out to be worked by contractors. Chapt. xxxvi. § 7.

Order, the members of which were called Equites or Knights, —a new application of an old name which demands explanation.

§ 5. It has been noticed that by the institutions attributed to King Servius the Equites were raised to the number of 3600. They were the wealthiest men at Rome, and formed a reál body of Knights or Chivalry, who served on horseback in the army of the City, as all the other Centuries served on foot. They were furnished with a horse at the public expense, or rather by a special tax laid on the property of widows and orphans, who were exempt from all other dues.

As the City increased in power there were many citizens who were as wealthy as the Equites,[d] and yet were not of their number; and at the siege of Veii many of these citizens came forward and offered to serve as Horse-soldiers at their own expense. Hence arose the distinction of Knights with a public, and Knights with a private horse.[e] After this time, the Cavalry seem to have been regularly furnished by families of a certain amount of property; and the horse bestowed by the State became a badge of honour, which was retained by Senators and Consulars, though they were no longer liable to serve in the army. The whole system was remodelled, as it appears, in the Censorship of Fabius and Decius, who were commissioned to counteract the measures of Appius Claudius. It was then ordained that, on the day of the battle of Regillus, the Knights who had a public horse, clad in purple and wreathed with olive, should ride in procession from the Temple of Mars outside the city to the portico of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum, and there dismounting should lead their horses past the Censors, who had power to deprive them of their rank by taking away the horse given by the State. Such a punishment was inflicted on Livius and Nero, the conquerors of Metaurus, each upon the other, and upon L. Scipio by Cato. In process of time the distinction between the titular Equites and the

[d] The Census of the Equites in earlier times is not known, but was (it may be presumed) larger than that of the First Class. Augustus fixed it at 400,000 sesterces (about 3500*l.*), as Horace says (1 *Epist.* i. 58):—

> "Sed quadringentis sex septem millia desint,—
> Plebs eris."

[e] Equites publico or privato equo.

troopers of the army became more and more pronounced, and the possession of a public horse became a sort of honorary distinction held in high esteem. The Cavaliers became distinct from the Cavalry.

But a great and complete change took place when C. Gracchus, in a law of which we shall speak hereafter, raised to the Equestrian Order all who possessed a certain amount of property, and thus created a sort of Lesser Nobility to counterbalance the Senate. After this, as it seems, a man lost his place in the Equestrian Order by becoming a Senator; and the Equites were either wealthy contractors and merchants, or young men of Senatorial families, who had not themselves reached Senatorial dignity. The antagonism of the Equites and the Senate forms one of the most striking points in the internal history of Rome for the next fifty years. And in the growth of this new class we find one of the perils by which the dominion of the Senate was threatened.

§ 6. More immediate danger was to be apprehended from the state of the Rural Population, not only in the Roman territory itself, but throughout the allied cities of Italy.

In the early times of Rome military service had been a privilege, confined to persons of a certain property. Persons with a fixed yearly income of smaller amount than gave a position in the Classes had been employed on board the ships; but those who had no appreciable property at all were only used as slingers and archers to skirmish in front of the regular battalions of the Legion. And the same practice seems to have prevailed in the Italian Communities, who always furnished more than half the Roman armies. In the great defeats of the Hannibalic War, therefore, the losses fell not on mercenary armies, but on the substantial burgesses of the towns and the stout yeomen of the country. There can be no doubt that in that dreadful war the rural inhabitants of the Roman Territory, and of Italy generally, must have been more than decimated. And it was probably due to this cause that, from the time of Flamininus, persons who had hitherto served in the fleets only began to be enrolled in the legions along with the wealthier citizens.[f] But

[f] That Flamininus originated the practice appears probable from Plutarch, *Vit. Flamin.* c. 18.

even this alteration was not sufficient to fill the gaps made by the wars which followed in fatal succession from the first campaign against Philip to the fall of Numantia. Italy was drained of her best blood, and many a farm lost the stout limbs of its proprietors.

§ 7. To this it must be added that the wars, being now carried on beyond seas, drew off the legionaries from their country work much more completely than the Italian wars. The men could no longer return home when the campaign was over, but were kept for several years in foreign lands; and even if they returned to their country they had often contracted licentious tastes and formed irregular habits which ill suited the frugal life of an Italian husbandman. And so it happened, that many of those who had small estates were eager to turn them into money, that they might enjoy the irregular pleasures of the City; while others who had nothing to sell migrated without hindrance. Thus the Rural Population was more and more thinned, while the towns, and Rome of course most of all, swarmed with needy and reckless men, ready for outrage.

§ 8. The small proprietors found it extremely easy to part with their estates and holdings. For the great Senatorial families were every day growing richer by the commands and governments which were multiplied by every successive war; and, being prohibited from commerce, they were glad to invest their gains in buying up all the land they could in the neighbourhood of their own estates. With these estates they also gained, or at least asserted, extensive rights of pasturage on the adjacent Public Lands; and as there was no one to question these claims, they appropriated large tracts by agreement with their wealthy neighbours. From this time forth began those Latifundia or Great Estates which Pliny believed to be the real cause of the depopulation and decay of Italy.[6]

§ 9. It might appear, indeed, that these estates, being stript of their labourers, would not be very valuable. But there was a circumstance arising also from the wars which made them so. This was the great abundance and cheapness of Slaves,—a point which has been sufficiently illustrated in our account of

[6] "Verum confitentibus, Latifundia perdidere Italiam, jam vero et Provincias."—Plin. *Hist. Natur.* xviii. c. 7, § 3.

the Sicilian slave-war. Whole districts were thrown into pasturage, because the free agricultural labourers had been consumed in war or had migrated to the towns; and their place was supplied by wretched captives, who, though unequal to the labours of the plough or spade, were able to watch flocks and tend herds. Changes thus suggested by the interest of great Landholders were further stimulated by the unfitness of a large portion of Italy for grain-crops, and by the ready supplies of corn obtained from foreign countries.[h] Even when tillage was still found profitable in Italy it changed its character. It was then, probably, that what is called the métayer system, which prevails so largely there at the present day, first took its rise; the system, that is, in which the tenant and landlord are partners in the crops,[i] the landlord furnishing the seed, the tenant supplying the farm implements and the labour. In consequence of this arrangement, even in parts of the country well suited for corn, there is a tendency to prefer the cultivation of the vine, because it requires less labour and less capital than grain, and therefore the tenant can better afford to give up a large portion of his crop.[k]

§ 10. Some attempt was made, after the Hannibalic War, to renovate the Rural Population by planting Colonies on the Public Lands in different parts of Italy. Between the years 194 and 177 B.C. fourteen Roman Colonies were planted for purposes of military defence, and six Latin Colonies, which probably had a more extensive object. But from the last named year to the Tribunate of C. Gracchus—a period of forty-six years—not one Colony was sent out, and it is probable that many of the new colonists suffered the same fate as the old yeomen of Italy. Employed in war like them, alienated from home and the quiet routine of country life, many of the new owners also sold their small holdings, and became the inmates of some great city.

Here, then, was a second cause of discontent, which rendered the established order of things insecure, and might at any time cause peril to the government of the Senate.

[h] See Chapt. xlviii. § 3.

[i] *Métayer* properly means *Partner*. The Latin term was *Partiarius*.

[k] Of the olive-crop, at the present day, the tenant only keeps one-fifth part.

§ 11. Meantime, with the decline of the Rural Population, the Population of the City, as we have already noticed, had constantly been increasing. Even in the time of the Samnite Wars the Censor Appius had found the Freedmen and petty tradesmen sufficiently numerous to form a powerful support of the Patricians against the Plebeians. So we shall find them in the next half century generally taking part with the Nobility against the champions of the Rural Population,—a fact of great importance in estimating the relation of parties at Rome. The people of the city, contemptuously called the Forensic Mob, were mostly confined to four votes out of thirty-five, and therefore in a general way they had little weight against the country people, who had thirty-one votes out of thirty-five. It is, therefore, the Country Tribes which in Roman history are commonly known by the name of "the People," and it was this part of the nation which supported the patriotic statesmen who endeavoured to restore the old yeomanry of Italy; while the haughtiest of the aristocracy were allied with the people of the city. It was Appius, the proud Patrician, who endeavoured to spread the latter over all the Tribes; it was by the popular Censors, Fabius and Decius, that they were thrown back into the Four City Tribes. When they had again broken these bonds, the rule of Fabius and Decius was renewed by a man branded by Livy with the name and character of demagogue, namely C. Flaminius, who fell at the Lake Trasimene; and it was the father of the Gracchi who confined them even to a single Tribe. Cato, the most popular man of his day, was all in favour of the Rural Population;[1] and it was their sufferings, as we have said, that first awakened the sympathies of Ti. Gracchus. We must not, then, import our modern notions of "popular men" into this portion of Roman history. By "popular men" we mean those who favour the People of the Towns; at Rome it meant those who supported the People of the Country. There was at Rome, properly speaking, no large and independent Middle Class, consisting of shopkeepers and small traders of all kinds, such as are found in all parts of Western Europe; for these crafts were filled by the Freedmen

[1] Colonies were planted between 184 and 181 B.C., when Cato's authority was high, by which many poor families were relieved.

and dependents of the rich. The conflict lay, therefore, at first between the Nobility and the country voters; and in a few years the Equestrian Order stepped in as a New Nobility to embroil the strife.

§ 12. An important consequence of this relation of parties was that by dexterous management the Nobility were able to obtain great influence in the Comitia. Popular choice was already much limited by the fact that wealth was required for the discharge of public office.[m] It was further limited by the fact that at many seasons of the year the country people of the more distant Tribes could not leave their harvesting to give their votes at Rome. In this case the great Landowners, and all who were not obliged personally to labour on their estates, represented the Country Tribes. Thus we may understand why, at some seasons, the Nobility carried elections against the will of the popular party, while at other times this party obtained easy victories over the Nobility.

§ 13. A third and still more serious difficulty for the government appeared looming in the distance,—namely the claims of the Latin and Italian Allies to be admitted to equality of condition with the burgesses of Rome. The empire of the world had been won by their swords and by their blood even more than by the swords and blood of Romans. The Marsian infantry became famous as the best soldiers in the armies that achieved this empire. But as the contest hence arising did not actually begin till some years later, we will not here anticipate matters by considering the claims of the Italians.

Nor need we here enter on any further consideration of the Provincial government. The following pages will more than sufficiently prove that Roman Proconsuls and Prætors thought more of enriching themselves than of promoting the well-being of those they governed; and our concluding chapters will supply abundant material for estimating the general amount of weal and woe resulting from the imperial authority established by Rome over the fairest portions of the known world.

[m] Chapt. xxxv. § 6.

CHAPTER L.

MANNERS AND MORALS: LITERATURE AND ART.

§ 1. Recapitulation. § 2. Vain attempts to check immorality by the Censorship, and by Law. § 3. Religion. § 4. Public opinion: Literature. § 5. Ennius. § 6. Comedy. § 7. Plautus and Terence. § 8. Characteristics of their Plays. § 9. Cæcilius and Afranius. § 10. Tragedy: Pacuvius and Attius. § 11. Reasons why the Drama had little success at Rome. § 12. Satire: Lucilius. § 13. Prose Writers. § 14. Study of Law and Oratory. § 15. Art.

§ 1. ENOUGH has been said in more than one chapter of the foregoing Book to prove the rapid decline in morality which followed the Punic Wars. It has been shown that the evil arose not, as some supposed, from the general fondness for Greek Literature, Greek manners, and Greek culture, but from the fact that the simple people of Italy became corrupted by nearly a century of war; and that the Nobility, who, with some exceptions, were as uneducated as the People, were brought into sudden possession of enormous wealth and almost unlimited power. All classes had lost the rude but thrifty habits of their fathers without losing their ignorance and their prejudices. They had gained the corruption of civilisation, without gaining its refining power.

§ 2. The rankness of vice was felt by all Romans of better feeling and truer patriotism. In consequence of the growing corruption of the age, an attempt was made to check the evil in a manner characteristic of the Roman mind, namely, by the moral superintendence of the Censors. Cato, the very type of a Roman, wielded this enormous power, which the Censors had hitherto sparingly put forth, without flinching or compromise; and if penal Edicts could have arrested social changes, or could have enforced those moral obligations which lie outside the pale of human law, the Censorial power in the hands of such a man as Cato must have done it. But though his spirit descended, in some measure, upon succeeding Censors, and hardly

a Lustrum is recorded without the degradation of several Senators and Knights, the undertaking proved vain.

Sumptuary Laws, Laws against Bribery, and other means of enforcing social or moral duties by outward ordinances, were also tried by those who still clung to the hope of reviving the old Roman simplicity. The history of all nations, or rather the history of human nature, would teach us the vanity of such endeavours.[a] Such preventive Laws become rather the evidence of the evil, than its cure. They were not more successful at Rome than they have since been in other lands.

§ 3. It must, however, not be imagined that there were no exceptions to the rule of corrupt and licentious living, which began to prevail at Rome in this period. In the foregoing chapters many such have been specified, and if the records of the time were more complete, many other names now forgotten might be added to the list. But in the most upright Romans, such as Cato, there is something harsh and repulsive; and now, more remarkably than ever, was their acknowledgment of social rights and duties confined to the circle of their own countrymen. Nothing can be more detestable than the public morality of Rome throughout her career of conquest. No arts were too base to be used by her statesmen and generals. In the fulfilment of positive contracts, indeed, their good faith and punctuality was much greater than the Greeks were accustomed to; and Polybius, in a passage already cited, gives them high praise in this particular.[b] But the religious feelings which he attributes to them were fast decaying. Those who lived in open profligacy could know nothing of religion but its formalities, which it was necessary for every Roman to observe, because they were inextricably entangled with the business of the Great Centuriate Assembly and with all military enterprises. Men of education sought a substitute in Greek Philosophy; and here it may be noticed that the best Romans, such as Æmilius Paullus and the younger Scipio, professed the stern and practical doctrines of the Stoic school.

§ 4. Nor was the progress of corruption checked by the

[a] "Quid Leges sine Moribus
Vanæ proficiunt?"—Horat. *Od.* iii. 24, 35.

[b] Chapt. xxxvii. § 9.

great Censor of modern times, Public Opinion. This force can never fully operate in large Communities except through the Press. Whatever be the abuses of the Press, and they are great, its uses are greater far. Without doubt, the purer morality of modern times may, in principle, be attributed to Christianity: but it is to be feared that, in practice, it is chiefly maintained by the prompt expression of Public Opinion through the Press. At Athens, indeed, the place of this potent instrument was in some measure supplied by the free and vigorous satire of the Comic Poets. But at Rome even this was wanting. The rude Roman took little pleasure in exquisite poetry and keen wit, such as that with which Aristophanes or Eupolis enchained the ear of an Athenian audience; nay, the wild buffoonery with which even Attic poets were obliged to amuse the multitude, failed to please those whose youth had been spent in the camp and on the battle field. Yet there was a Literature at Rome, and we will here resume the account of it from the point at which we before broke off.[c]

§ 5. It was said that the native poetry of Rome suddenly gave way to an invasion from Greece; and that Nævius, though he made a brave stand against the prevailing taste, yet lived to see the triumph of Ennius, an avowed Hellenist. The vigour and force with which the new Poet used the heroic metre of Homer may be seen from one or two specimens among the many, which Virgil borrowed and incorporated with slight alteration in his great Epic.[d] Ennius, like Livius and Nævius, wrote Tragedies and Comedies, which he translated from the Greek. But the work on which his fame rested, was his great

[c] Chapt. xxxvii. § 12–17.

[d] As, —— "Postquam Discordia tetra
Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit."—Ennius.
"*Impulit ipse manu portas, et cardine verso*
Belli ferratos rupit Saturnia postes." —Virgil.

"Qui cœlum versat stellis fulgentibus aptum."—Ennius.
"*Axem humero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.*" —Virgil.

"Quæ neque Dardaniis campis potuere perire,
Nec quum capta capi, nec quum combusta cremari."—Ennius.
—— "*Num Sigeïs occumbere campis,*
Num capti potuere capi? num incensa cremavit
Troja viros?" —Virgil.

Epic poem entitled the Annals of Rome, in eighteen books. The first six contained a rapid narrative of the early History: the seventh began with the Second Punic War, so that to this great theme the bulk of the Poem was devoted. He boasts that he was the first who abandoned the rude metre used "by Fauns and Bards," and studied the elegancies of style; and he is acknowledged by Lucretius as the poet,

> Who first from lovely Helicon brought down
> The leaves of an imperishable crown,
> For all Italia's sons to hold in high renown.[e]

Nor was his boast empty. It is manifest that Ennius, by his Poem on the Punic Wars, formed and settled the Latin language much as Shakspere and the Translators of the Bible formed and settled English. No doubt Virgil culled the fairest flowers; but even the fastidious taste of Horace could recognise true poetic spirit in some lines of Ennius, though, at a later period of his life, he sneered at the old bard's pretensions to a high place in the list of Epic Poets.[f] But Cicero, a generation before, had few more finished poems to compare with the work of Ennius, and his devotion to the old bard is absolute. So long did his popularity last, that Seneca, writing in the time of Nero, calls the Roman People Populus Enniauus; and portions of his poems were commonly recited in the theatres down to the time of the Emperor Aurelius.

§ 6. Meantime, besides Tragedy, of which we have spoken, there had arisen at Rome a Comic Drama, of high excellence. Comic entertainments of a rude kind had prevailed from early times. But the Fescennine Dialogues and the Atellane Plays, of which we spoke in a former page, had no relation to what was called Comedy at Rome. Roman Comedy, like Roman Tragedy, was merely transplanted from Greece. Probably all the old poets from Livius Andronicus to Ennius, who translated Greek Tragedies for the Roman stage, also translated Greek Comedies. Nævius, as we have seen, tried a more independent

[e] "—— Qui primus amoeno
Detulit ex Helicone perenni fronde coronam,
Per gentes Italas hominum quae clara clueret."—Lucret. i. 117.

[f] He recognises the poetic spirit in 1 Serm. iv. 60 *sq.*; he adopts a depreciatory tone in 2 Epist. i. 50 *sq.*

course, and was persecuted for his pains. The Comedies, in which he attacked the Metelli and others, must have rather resembled the Old Comedy of Athens, in which it was usual to indulge in the most open personalities; while the Roman Comic Dramas known to us are borrowed from the New Comedy of Menander and Diphilus, in which the characters represent not particular persons, but whole classes of society. It is evident, at once, that such dramas would have little effect upon public sentiment. And this will appear still more plainly when we have given some account of the chief Comic Poets and the general nature of their works.

§ 7. T. Maccius Plautus[g] was a native Italian, having been born at Sarsina, a petty town of Umbria, near the close of the First Punic War. His father was a Freedman: he led a careless, jovial life, frequenting taverns, and entering into the humours of the people, rather than seeking the patronage of the great. His plays were not without reward; but he was sometimes obliged to labour like a slave for his daily bread. He died in 184 B.C. at a good old age. Twenty of his comedies still remain.

P. Terentius Afer appears to have been born at Carthage about the year 195 B.C., and was therefore some half century younger than Plautus. In his youth he was the slave of a wealthy Roman, named P. Terentius Lucanus, whose first names he adopted (according to custom) on obtaining his freedom. His first play was the Andria, which he finished in his twenty-seventh year, and it won him the acquaintance and patronage of Scipio Æmilianus and Lælius, who were then young men, studying Greek under Polybius. His Adelphi was acted (by a strange abuse) at the funeral games of Æmilius Paullus, and the charge that he was assisted in translating from Diphilus by his young patrons is at least not discountenanced by the Poet.[h] He died at the early age of thirty-four;

[g] This was his true name, and not *M. Accius*, as has been proved by Ritschl, the last and best editor of his works.

[h] For he says in the Prologue:—

> "Nam quod isti dicunt malevoli, *homines nobiles*
> *Eum adjutare adsidueque una scribere*,
> Quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existimant,
> Eam laudem hic maximam ducit," &c.

and probably the six Comedies which we still possess entire were all that he ever wrote.

§ 8. The characteristic excellences of the two Poets correspond with the manners of their lives. As far as the plots go, there is little to praise. The same generic characters appear and reappear in every play. Both Plautus and Terence content themselves with giving us, at second hand, weak fathers who leave their sons to the care of roguish slaves; and represent the sons as determined to woo and win a penniless girl, in which aim they were aided by the clever knavery of the slaves. In the end, a reconciliation is brought about by the discovery that the dreaded mistress is the lost daughter of a brother or some particular friend of the father; so that the young man gains his point, and the slave, instead of being punished for his trickery, is rewarded for his adroitness. Sometimes a Captain Bobadil, such as in Greece were common after the Macedonian Wars, stupid, braggart, and rich with plunder, is made a butt for all kinds of jokes, verbal and practical, and he is attended by a Parasite, who flatters him extravagantly, and is rewarded (as his name shows) by a place at the Captain's table.

But the tone and manner in which these unpromising characters were employed by the two writers are extremely different. Plautus, coarser and more free-spoken, admits much of broad Roman humour, and introduces many Roman customs into his scenes. Terence, veiling even immoral thoughts in a style polished almost to coldness, keeps closer to his Attic original, and seldom ventures to mar its unity by foreign admixture. The Parasite in Plautus tickles his master's vanity by a coarseness of flattery that would have put Falstaff to the blush: the Parasite of Terence falls into his lord's vein with such easy assentation, that a less stupid man might be deceived by it.[1]

[1] In the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus, the Parasite flatters Pyrgopolinices thus:—

—— "You broke," he says,
"In India with your fist an elephant's arm."

And again:—

"I do remember—let me see—an *hundred*
Cryphiolathronians, and *thirty* Sardians,
And *threescore* Macedonians—that's the number
Of men you slaughtered in a single day. *Pyrgop.*

The Son of Plautus, thwarted in his desires, prays for his father's death, that he may bestow the inheritance on his mistress:[k] the Son of Terence, grieved for the deceit he has practised upon his father, breaks into passionate self-reproach.[l] There is a racy freshness in the style of Plautus which well deserves the praise bestowed by Cicero, and was so admired by some Roman critics, as to draw from them the extravagant praise, that "if the Muses spoke Latin, they would use the tongue of Plautus:" and if Horace speaks slightingly of him, as of Ennius, it must be said that he was provoked by the fashion which in his day prevailed of over-rating the old Roman writers. The style of Terence is a very model of precision, elegance, and purity, as is testified by Cicero and by Cæsar, though the latter laments a certain deficiency of comic vigour, which made him only "half a Menander."[m]

§ 9. Besides these two famous writers, may be mentioned Q. Cæcilius, a Comic Poet, who died about two years before the Andria of Terence was acted, and who was coupled with Terence in a manner that implies his excellence.[n] He was a Milanese by birth, and, like Terence, came to Rome as a slave. He also translated from Menander, but all his plays are lost.

Another Comic Poet of somewhat later date deserves particular notice. This was L. Afranius, who ventured, like Nævius, to write Comedies on Roman subjects, though he still seems to have drawn upon Menander for his dialogue.[o] It is

Pyrgop. What's the sum total of the men?
Parasite. *Seven thousand!*"

The Parasite in the *Eunuchus* of Terence is much more delicate in his flattery.

[k] *Mostellaria*, Act i. Sc. 3, l. 76.

[l] As Pamphilus in the *Andria*, Act v. Sc. 3.

[m] "Quicquid come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens."—Cicero, *Fragm.*

"Tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander,
Poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.
Lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis
Comica, ut æquato virtus polleret honore
Cum Græcis, neque in hac despectus parte jaceris."—Cæsar *ap. Sueton.*

[n] "Vincere Cæcilius gravitate, Terentius arte."—Horat. 2 *Epist.* i. 59. This was the popular opinion, not Horace's own.

[o] "Dicitur Afrani *toga* convenisse Menander," says Horace (2 *Epist.* i. 57). Comedies in which the Dramatis Personæ were Roman, and wore Roman dresses,

to be regretted that one or two of his plays have not survived to show the nature of his attempt.

§ 10. To these short notices of the Comic Poets, we may add a still shorter account of the two Tragic writers who flourished at the same time.

M. Pacuvius, sister's son of Ennius, was born at Brundusium in the year before Hannibal crossed the Alps, and lived beyond the age of eighty, so that he died about the same time with Terence. Most of his Tragedies, like those of his predecessors, were borrowed from the Greek. But he wrote one play named Paullus, of which the hero was the conqueror of Macedon.

L. Attius, or Accius, was born in 170 B.C., and began to bring forward plays in the year of the death of Pacuvius (139 B.C.). He also, besides his Greek translations, produced two plays with Roman arguments, The Brutus and The Decius. The subjects were the Delivery of Rome from the Tarquins and the Self-sacrifice of that Decius who fell at the battle of Sentinum. They were produced, as the name of the first testifies, under the patronage of Dec. Brutus Callaïcus, who carried the Roman arms to the verge of the Atlantic, and who entered into a generous rivalry with Scipio in patronage of Poetry.[p] The few remains of Attius are terse and vigorous; and the loss of his historical plays especially cannot but be matter of regret.[q]

were called *Fabulæ Togatæ*, while those in which the Greek names and dresses were retained, which was usually the case, were called *Palliatæ*.

[p] Chapt. xlvii. § 8. These Historical Plays were no doubt the dramas known under the name of the *Fabulæ Prætextatæ*, because the chief persons wore the *Prætexta* or State-robe of Senators. Horace commends the fashion of plays on subjects of Roman history:—

> "Nec minimum meruêre decus, vestigia Græca
> Ausi deserere, et celebrare domestica facta."—*Ars Poët.* 286.

[q] Popular opinion represented Pacuvius as the Euripides, Attius as the Sophocles of Roman Tragedy:

> —— "Aufert
> Pacuvius *docti* famam *Scnis*, Attius *alti*."—Horat. 2 *Epist.* i. 56.

One of the vigorous sayings of Attius is the famous Tyrant's maxim, "Oderint dum metuant." The pithy line, "Virtute sis par, dispar fortunæ patris," imitated from Soph. *Aj.* 550, has been amplified by Virgil into

> "Disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
> Fortunam ex aliis."—*Æn.* xii. 435.

§ 11. From the first play presented by Livius Andronicus to the time of Attius was somewhat more than a century; but it was in the seventy years which followed the Hannibalic War that the great revolution was effected which gave a Greek tone to all Roman Literature, and especially to the Drama.

Enough has been said to show that this literature can have produced very little effect upon the manners and morals of Rome. It was wholly of foreign growth. Tragedy, which is, in its right use, the most lively and effective mode of making lofty sentiment and noble character familiar to the multitude, and Comedy, which might serve as a powerful exponent of Public Opinion, were for the most part borrowed without reserve or adaptation from Greek originals. What interest could the People at large take in plays like these? "What was Hecuba to them, or they to Hecuba?" The Roman Drama was an exotic, which merely subsisted by the patronage of the great men, who had become imbued with Greek tastes and spoke Greek as readily as Latin. The Roman Dramatic Poets were mostly Slaves or Freedmen, whose object was not so much to win the ear of the public, as to please the great family to which they were attached. That such was the case with the Tragedies on Roman subjects, is partly shown by the titles which are preserved. When any one, as Nævius, attempted to tread a freer course, his mouth was stopped by persecution.

The common life and interests of a Roman citizen every year made him less disposed for intellectual amusements. From childhood he was used to the splendid games, which every succeeding Ædile tried to make more splendid. Triumph after triumph raised a love of gorgeous exhibitions, which was ill-satisfied by the poetry and action of the Stage. Above all, the bloody sports of the gladiatorial combats, which were first exhibited at the funeral games of a Brutus (264 B.C.), created a craving for strong and real excitements, which no dramatic illusions could supply. This tendency in the vulgar was seconded by the old Roman spirit, which regarded the Drama as a foreign innovation, calculated to enervate and corrupt. Dramatic representations at Rome were but occasional, and the Theatres were but temporary booths, removed when the festival-time was past. In the year 155 B.C. the Censor Cassius wished to perpetuate

the memory of his office by building a stone Theatre; but the Consul P. Scipio Nasica, a rigid stickler for old Roman customs, interfered to prevent the work; nor was any stone Theatre erected at Rome till the second Consulship of Pompey the Great, exactly one century later. But the Theatres, such as they were, were not so much used for dramatic purposes in the proper sense of the word, as for the representation of gorgeous spectacles and magnificent processions. In a tragedy, whose subject was the Fall of Troy, it was not the fate of Priam or the sorrows of Andromaché that touched the hearts of the audience, but a host of soldiers in foreign arms and strange apparel that amused their eyes. In Horace's time this corruption of taste had reached its height. The taste of the people, he says, is all for bear-baiting and boxing-matches.[r] Nor could the educated classes boast of a better taste. The love of military shows and spectacles had overpowered all merely intellectual pleasures.[s]

§ 12. One species of Poetry remains to be mentioned, which arose in the same period, and for which alone the Romans can claim the merit of original invention,—that, namely, which Horace and Juvenal have made so well known under the name of Satire. It originated, doubtless, with those rustic effusions called the Fescennine Dialogues, which had served from early times to attack the foibles and fashions of the day. This rude instrument was taken up by a great Poet, who used it so as not only to assail and censure, but also to convey positive instruction.[t] This Poet was named C. Lucilius. He was born at

"Media inter carmina poscunt
Aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam Plebecula gaudet."

"Verum Equiti quoque jam migravit ab aure voluptas
Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.
Quatuor aut plures aulæa premuntur in horas,
Dum fugiunt equitum turmæ peditumque catervæ:
Mox trahitur manibus regum fortuna retortis;
Esseda festinant, pilenta, petorrita, naves;
Captivum portatur ebur, captiva Corinthus."

And more to the same purpose in 2 *Epist.* i. 185 *sqq.*

[t] Its originality is expressly asserted by Horace, who calls Lucilius "*Græcis intacti* carminis auctor" (1 *Serm.* x. 66). Juvenal's definition of Satire is well known: "Quicquid

Suessa Aurunca in 148 B.C., served in the Equites under Scipio in the Numantine war, and continued on intimate terms with the younger Lælius, after the death of his more illustrious friend. He died about the year 103 B.C. at Naples, to which place he had retired from the civil broils which disturbed the City. The muse of Lucilius was very fluent. Of his numerous Satires only fragments now remain; but many of these show that he possessed a vigour of thought and pungency of style not unworthy of the master of Horace and Juvenal. In the Augustan age, indeed, the admiration for Lucilius was so great, that Horace thought it necessary to moderate the fervour of his admirers, and gave so much offence that he thought himself obliged to enter into an elaborate explanation of the Satire which he had written upon the first writer of Satires.[u]

§ 13. Little need here be added with respect to Prose Literature. It became a fashionable employment for Romans of high family to compose narratives of portions of Roman history, after the example set by Fabius Pictor and Cincius Alimentus. The instruction of the people could but little be consulted, when books were all written by hand, and were, therefore, both scarce and costly. But any such purpose was disavowed by the fact, that most of these chroniclers wrote in Greek, just as the English, French, and German authors of the Middle ages wrote in Latin.[x]

§ 14. The study of law had before this begun to be common at Rome, and men little fitted for military life began to court popular favour by giving legal advice to numerous clients. But this subject belongs properly to the succeeding age. Men of the Forum were still expected to take the command of armies, even when their inefficiency was certain. Such was the case with the Consuls who began the Third Punic War.

> "Quicquid agunt homines,—votum, timor, ira, voluptas,
> Gaudia, discursus,—nostri est farrago libelli."—Sat. i. 85.

The word *Satira* or *Satura* is said to mean *a medley*,—a sense well suited to this definition.

[u] The first attack was in 1 *Serm.* iv. 8 *sq.* The explanation is 1 *Serm.* x. 1 *sq.* "Nempe incomposito, &c."

[x] The two Scipios wrote Greek Memoirs; so also Scipio Nasica, C. Acilius Glabrio, with the Greeks Polybius, Posidonius, and others. Exceptions to the rule were old Cato, L. Calpurnius Piso (a dry and meagre annalist), and L. Cassius Hemina.

But there was a kindred pursuit, which already brought fame and profit to those who professed it, namely, the art of Public Speaking. The practice of indicting great offenders before the People, or prosecuting them in the Law-courts, encouraged Forensic Oratory. Deliberative or Parliamentary speaking found an open field, not only in the Senate, but in the great Assemblies of the People. And the faculties of the Romans seem to have readily adapted themselves to the requirement. In his work on the Orators of Rome,[y] Cicero enumerates some even of this early date, whose speeches were still thought worth reading. Such was App. Claudius the Censor, whose dying eloquence led the Senate to reject the persuasive offers of Cineas; such was M. Cethegus, a distinguished man in the times of the Hannibalic war, whom Ennius personified as Persuasive Eloquence, and Horace quotes as a standard authority for the ancient Latin style;[z] such was Serg. Galba, whose pathetic language procured his own acquittal from the charge of oppression in Spain;[a] such was old Cato, for many years the favourite orator of the Forum. The study of the art of Speaking was, indeed, the chief part of a young Roman's education. When he had gone through some grammatical teaching, and read some of the old poets, he passed into the school of a Rhetorical master, and learned to repeat famous speeches, such as those of Galba, and to frame speeches of his own on imaginary subjects. But the old Romans objected to these novel practices. Greek Rhetoricians were their chief abomination. But in the year 161 B.C., a Decree of the Senate was launched even against Latin Philosophers and Rhetoricians; and the Prætor Pomponius was instructed to see that no such persons remained at Rome.[b] Of the prompt measures taken by Cato to remove Carneades and his companions six years later we have spoken.[c] But the fashion was gradually tolerated and finally prevailed.

[y] Entitled *Brutus, sive de Claris Oratoribus Libellus.*

[z] "Flos delibatus populi *suadæque medulla.*"—Enn. ap. Cic. *Brut.* 15. Comp. Horat. 2 *Epist.* ii. 117, *Ars Poët.* 50.

[a] Chapt. xliv. § 15.

[b] Aul. Gellius, xv. 11, Sueton. *de Claris Oratoribus,* c. 1.

[c] Chapt. xliv. § 2.

§ 15. Roman art became more and more a mere name, except so far as engineering and building came into that province. We have nothing to add here to the remarks made in a former chapter. The story of Mummius and the Corinthian statues is, in a somewhat grotesque form, an epitomé of genuine Roman taste and feeling in respect to the Fine Arts.

BOOK VI.

FIRST PERIOD OF CIVIL WARS.

CHAPTER LI.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS. (133 B.C.)

§ 1. Necessity of Reform. § 2. Youth and education of Ti. Gracchus. § 3. Elected Tribune. § 4. The Country Citizens chiefly interested in an Agrarian Law. § 5. Provisions of the Law proposed by Gracchus. § 6. Opposition to the Law: question as to its justice. § 7. Feeling in its favour: Octavius, a Tribune, undertakes to bar it. § 8. Proceedings at the First Assembly. § 9. Efforts of both parties. § 10. Proceedings at the Second Assembly. § 11. The Third Assembly: Octavius deposed, the Law passed, Three Commissioners elected. § 12. Violence of the Nobility. § 13. Bequest of Attalus: Gracchus proposes to employ it in stocking the new allotments. § 14. Accusations against Gracchus in the Senate: decrease of popularity. § 15. He defends his own conduct. § 16. Offers himself for reëlection: brings forward three popular measures. § 17. The Comitia adjourned: preparations for a struggle. § 18. Tumult: death of Gracchus. § 19. Estimate of his character and conduct.

§ 1. It appears that before the time of Scipio's election to conduct the Numantian War, it had become a prevalent opinion that some measures were necessary to arrest the social evils of which we have spoken above. Scipio had indicated his sympathy with the popular cause by his support of the Cassian Ballot-law.[a] His friend Lælius, in his Tribunate, actually announced his intention of bringing forward some general measure of Reform; but when he came into office, either he was appalled by the difficulty of the task, or he yielded to the influence of the Senatorial leaders. For his timely retreat he was honoured by the Senate with the title of The Wise, and Sapiens became his family name.[b] The frightful excesses of

[a] Chapt. xlvii. § 13.

[b] "Virtus Scipiadae et mitis *sapientia* Laeli," says Horace, 2 *Serm.* i. 72.

the Servile War in Sicily, echoed by movements in Italy and elsewhere, called attention still more strongly to the subject; and in the year that Scipio achieved the conquest of Numantia a leader appeared who was endowed with courage, firmness, self-confidence, ability, eloquence, and every requisite for political success, except a larger experience and a larger share of patience and self-control.

§ 2. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus has been already named as having been Quæstor in Spain under Mancinus, and as exercising an influence there disproportionate to his age in consequence of the memory of his father. That father was one of the few Romans in whom public spirit prevailed over the spirit of party. Though personally hostile to the elder Scipio, we saw him interfere between that great man and his foes. After the death of Africanus, the chiefs of the party offered him the hand of Cornelia, the only surviving daughter of the hero; and from this fortunate marriage twelve sons and one daughter were born in rapid succession. The eldest, Tiberius, saw the light about the year 166 B.C., so that the marriage probably took place about the time when Æmilius Paullus was conquering Macedonia, and raising the fallen fortunes of the Scipionic party. Gracchus the father died before his eldest son reached man's estate, and Cornelia was left a widow with her children.[c] The daughter lived; but of all the twelve sons only two grew up,—Tiberius the eldest, and Caius who was nine years younger. To the education of these precious relics Cornelia devoted all the energies of her masculine mind. She even refused an offer to share the throne of the King of Egypt. Her dearest task was to watch the opening capacities of her boys. Such was her confident hope of their greatness that she used to say proudly, that she would be known not as the Daughter of Scipio, but as the Mother of the Gracchi.

According to the fashion of the day, Greek teachers were called in to educate the boys. Blossius of Cumæ, and Diophanes a Mitylenæan exile, are mentioned as the instructors,

[c] A pleasing anecdote is preserved by Valerius Maximus (iv. 6, 1). Two snakes, male and female, were caught in the house of Gracchus. The Aruspex said that if the male were killed first, Gracchus would die first; if the female, Cornelia. Gracchus without hesitation killed the male.

and in later life as the friends, of Tiberius. The daily contests of the Forum supplied a school for practical study. Scarcely had Tiberius assumed the garb of manhood when he was elected into the College of Augurs. At the banquet given to celebrate his installation App. Claudius, the Chief of the Senate, offered him his daughter's hand in marriage. When the proud Senator returned home, he told his wife that he had that day betrothed their daughter. "Ah!" she cried, "she is too young: it had been well to wait a while,—unless indeed young Gracchus is the man." Soon after his marriage he accompanied Scipio to Carthage, where he and C. Fannius Strabo, who afterwards wrote a History of the War, were the first to scale the walls.

The political importance he had gained by alliance with the Claudian Gens was strengthened by the marriage of Scipio with his only sister. But this marriage proved unhappy. Sempronia had no charms of person; her temper was not good; and Scipio's austere manners were little pleasing to a bride. No children were born to form a bond of union between them, and there appears to have been little sympathy between Scipio and his brother-in-law.

§ 3. It was when Gracchus was about thirty years old (137 B.C.) that he served as Quæstor in Spain; and to the indignation which he felt at the conduct of the Senate in repudiating the Treaty of Mancinus are traced his first sympathies with the popular cause.[d] But though personal feelings may have quickened his movements, it would be wrong to represent such feelings as the sole or chief cause of his political measures. His brother Caius tells us, that before this, when he travelled through Etruria to join the army in Spain, he had been struck by the desolate condition of Etruria, and noted her broad lands tilled not by free yeomen as of old, but by bondsmen; and that then first his ardent spirit conceived the thought of regenerating Italy. Soon after this the Slave War broke out. He spoke his sentiments freely, and public opinion designated him as the man who was to undertake the thankless office of Reformer. In all places of public resort the walls were covered with inscriptions calling on Gracchus to vindicate the rights of all Roman citizens to a share in the State lands. He lent a ready

[d] Chapt. xlvii. § 4.

ear to the call. Soon after Scipio set out for Spain, Gracchus presented himself as a candidate for the Tribunate, and was elected, with nine others, all professed friends of the popular cause.

§ 4. The power of these great popular officers had of late years been seldom used against the Senate. It was reserved for the Gracchi to show the tremendous force of that power, when wielded by an able and resolute man. In the beginning of 133 B.C. he entered upon office. He had already prepared men for his projected legislation by eloquent speeches, in which he compared the present state of Italy with her olden time, deplored the decay of her yeomen and farmers, and the lack of free men to serve in the legions. All his arguments pointed towards some measures for restoring a class of small landed proprietors who were, as we have above shown, dwindling fast away.

The people most interested were the countrymen of Latium and the other districts whose inhabitants belonged to the Tribes of Rome. The Freedmen and Populace of the City had little inclination to become farmers; but the Citizens of the Country Tribes, who had seen their neighbours bought out or ruined, and felt that they could not long stand before the all-devouring wealth of the Nobles, felt intense interest in any plan that promised them relief. On the first report of the intentions of Gracchus, these Country Citizens flocked to Rome,—for it was not yet harvest-time, and there was little work to be done at home,—and hung with eager ears on the eloquent lips of the young Tribune.

§ 5. In a short time his plan was matured and his Bill brought forward. He proposed to revise the Licinian Law of 364 B.C., by which it was enacted that no head of a family should hold more than 500 jugera (nearly 320 acres) of the Public Land; but to render the rule less stringent, he added that every son of the family might, on becoming his own master, hold half that quantity in addition. Whoever was in possession of more was to give up the excess at once to the State; but to obviate complaints of injustice, he proposed that those who lost their lands should be entitled to a fair compensation for any improvements they had made during the

term of their possession.[e] All public lands were to be vested in three Commissioners (*Triümviri*), who were to be elected annually by the Tribes, but might not be reëlected for two successive years. Their business was to superintend a distribution of Public Lands to all citizens in needy circumstances: and to prevent lands so distributed being again absorbed into the estates of the rich Landowners, the sale of the new allotments was altogether prohibited.[f]

§ 6. The greater part of these Public Lands had fallen into the hands of the rich Landowners, who had bought up the rights of the smaller proprietors, together with their farms, and had obtained large grants by favour of the Senate. They had held them, on payment of a small yearly rent, for generations; and many of these persons had forgotten perhaps that their possession could be disturbed. After the first surprise was over the voices of these Landholders began to be heard, at first in private circles, then more loudly in the Senate-house, though as yet the majority of the Senate showed no disfavour to the law of Gracchus.[g] The persons interested alleged that the measure, though it pretended only to interfere with State-lands, did in fact interfere with the rights of private property; for these lands were held on public lease and had been made matters of purchase and sale, moneys were secured on them for the benefit of widows and orphans, tombs had been erected on them: if it passed, no man's land could be called his own.

If Gracchus had proposed a forcible and immediate resumption of all State-lands, without compensation for moneys spent on them, these arguments would have had more weight. Rights arise by prescription; and if the State had for a long course of time tacitly recognised a right of private property in these lands, it would have been a manifest injustice thus abruptly to resume possession. But the Licinian Law, though it had been allowed to sleep, was evidence that the State claimed a right to

[e] Plut., *Vit. Ti. Gracchi*, c. 9, says that the State was to purchase the Land at its full value. But this is out of harmony with all other accounts.

[f] Appian. *Bell. Civ.* i. 10. This was like a law of perpetual entail. Its effect would have been to make the new Landholders mortgage their life-interest whenever they wanted money.

[g] Appius calls his opponents not *Senators* (βουλευταί or γέροντες), but οἱ κτηματικοί or οἱ πλούσιοι, Lat. *Possessores,—wealthy Landholders.*

interfere with the tenure of the Public Lands. Moreover, the greater part of the Public Lands had been acquired after the time of the Licinian Law; and a number of Colonies had been planted after the Hannibalic War upon portions of the Public Land.[h] That the Romans felt no doubt about the right to resume possession is shown by the fact that in framing his law Tiberius was assisted by his father-in-law, App. Claudius, the Chief of the Senate, and by P. Mucius Scævola, Consul of the year, who, with his brother P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, was the best lawyer at Rome, and a man of unquestionable integrity. The right then was clear. The only question was as to the expediency of the measure; and of this the history of the times will enable us to form the best judgment.

§ 7. It was certain that the Law would be carried in all the Country Tribes, because it was precisely in these Tribes that the strength of Gracchus lay, and all his arguments show that he knew it. It was to the country people, who had lost or were afraid of losing their little tenements, that he spoke. "The wild animals of Italy," said he, "have their dens and lairs: the men who have fought for Italy have air and light,—nothing more. They are styled masters of the world, though they have not a clod of earth they can call their own." One course only remained open to the Landholders for thwarting the bold Tribune, and this was to gain over one of his brother Tribunes to interpose the fatal veto. They fixed on M. Octavius, who, though a friend of Gracchus, was a large holder of Public Land. For a time he was inexorable, but at length he gave way to their arguments, and promised to interpose his veto. On the night before the day on which the Law was to be proposed the holders of Public Land went to rest with lightened hearts, and congratulated themselves that for the present the Reform of Gracchus was made impossible.

§ 8. The morning came. The Forum was crowded with people expecting the completion of the great measure which was to restore some share in the broad lands of Italy to the sons of those who had won them. Strange faces were seen everywhere: vine-dressers from Campania and the Auruncan hills, peasants

[h] The last in 177 B.C., that is, thirty-four years before the Tribunate of Ti. Gracchus. Compare Chapt. xlix. § 9.

from the Sabine and Æquian valleys, farmers of valley and plain from the Clanis to the Vulturnus. Nay, the feeling spread to the Latin towns and colonies; and their citizens, though they had no votes, thronged eagerly to witness the contest. For in every place the same system which had dispeopled Etruria was more or less at work: a law for the good of the Roman yeomen must in course of time extend its benefits to them.

Gracchus rose. His speech, even if it had not been eloquent, would have been received with applause by the eager expectation of the multitude. When he had ended, he turned to the clerk, and bade him read over the words of the Law before it was put to the vote. Then Octavius stood up and forbade the man to read. Every one was thunderstruck. Gracchus himself was taken by surprise. After much debate he broke up the Assembly, declaring that he would again bring on his defeated Bill upon the next regular day of meeting.

§ 9. The intervening time was spent in preparing for the contest. Gracchus showed the first symptoms of that impatience which afterwards ruined him and greatly injured his cause. He retaliated upon the veto of Octavius by laying an interdict on all public functionaries, shut up the courts of justice and the offices of police, and put a seal upon the doors of the Treasury. Further, he struck the compensation clauses out of his Bill, and now simply proposed that the State should resume possession of all lands held by individuals in contravention of the Licinian Law.

The Landholders put on mourning, and, as it was believed, formed plots against the life of the popular Tribune; but their best reliance was on the firmness of Octavius, who was proof alike against the threats and the persuasions of Gracchus, though he offered to indemnify him for any loss he might sustain. But no honourable man could listen to such a proposition,—no honourable man ought to have made it.

§ 10. On the day of the second Assembly Gracchus appeared in the Forum escorted by a body-guard, which was intended to serve not only for his protection but to intimidate his opponents. But in vain. Again he ordered the clerk, in a threatening tone, to read the Bill; again Octavius stood forth, and barred all proceedings. A violent scene followed, and a riot seemed in-

evitable, when two Senators, friends of Gracchus—one named Fulvius Flaccus, a man of whom we shall hear more hereafter —earnestly besought him to refer the whole matter to the Senate, which was then assembled in the Curia. Gracchus, knowing that the Chief of the Senate, the Consul Scævola, and others of the moderate party were with him, consented; and taking the Bill from the hands of the clerk, hurried to the Senate-house. But his late impatient conduct had weakened whatever influence his name possessed in the great Council, and his appearance was the signal for a burst of reproaches from the holders of Public Land. Exasperated by this treatment he hastily left the House, and returning to the Forum gave out that on the next day of Assembly he would for the third time propose his measure; and that, if Octavius persisted in opposition, he would move the People to depose their unfaithful Tribune.

§ 11. As the day approached, Gracchus made every effort to avoid what he considered a desperate necessity; but Octavius repelled every advance, not believing probably that his colleague would venture to fulfil his threat and do violence to the sacred office of the Tribunate. But he miscalculated. On the morning of the third Assembly Gracchus rose at once and moved that Octavius, being the officer of the People, and having used his power to defeat the People's will, should by the People be deprived of the trust which he had betrayed.

The Country Tribe, which obtained by lot the prerogative of voting first, was called, and its suffrage was unanimous for the deposition of Octavius; sixteen Tribes followed in the same sense; the eighteenth would give a majority of the thirty-five, and its vote would determine the question. As this Tribe came up to vote, Gracchus stopped the proceedings, and besought Octavius not to force on the irrevocable step. The Tribune wavered; but at that moment he caught the eye of one of his rich friends, and turned coldly from Tiberius. Then the eighteenth Tribe was called, and by its vote Octavius was in a moment stripped of his sacred office. It is characteristic of the Roman People, easily excited, but in their wilder excitement seldom losing reverence for the law, that hitherto not a finger was laid upon Octavius; but as he retired from his place no

longer a Tribune, a rush was made to seize him, and he was only saved by the devotion of a slave, who lost an eye in the scuffle.

When order was restored, L. Mummius, a known friend of the Bill, was chosen to fill the place of the deposed Tribune; and the Bill itself was then passed by acclamation. At the same time the three Commissioners destined to execute its provisions were elected. Their names sufficiently show the spirit which animated the electors: Tiberius himself, his father-in-law App. Claudius, his brother Caius, then a youth of twenty, serving under Scipio in Spain. The Law was not deemed safe unless it was intrusted for execution to Tiberius and his kinsmen. Gracchus was attended home by the jubilant crowd, and hailed as the founder, not of a family or a city, but of the whole Italian race.

§ 12. In a few weeks he had risen to the summit of power. He seldom stirred from home without being followed by a crowd.[i] The Numantian War and the Servile War still lingered, and the government of the Senate was not in a condition to defy attack. That body now was thoroughly alarmed. To mark their disapprobation they reduced the ordinary allowances made from the Treasury to the Commissioners,—a measure too feeble for any purpose save irritation. It was carried on the motion of P. Scipio Nasica, who has been already mentioned as one of the most violent of the oligarchical chiefs.[k] This man was now Pontifex Maximus. He was a large holder of Public Land, and threw himself into the conflict with all the fervour of one actuated both by personal and political interests. It was everywhere believed that the life of Gracchus was in peril. The Tribune himself affected at least to believe the report, and made no secret that he wore a dagger under his gown. A fact that occurred just then strengthened popular suspicion. A kinsman of the Tribune died suddenly, and appearances on the body were thought to indicate poison. Suspicion became cer-

[i] "Nam Gracchus domo quum proficisceretur, nunquam minus terna aut quaterna millia hominum sequebantur." Asellio ap. Gell. ii. 13. The imperfect tense marks the custom.

[k] Chapt. xlvii. § 13. Triumvirs for planting colonies and dividing lands were always allowed a Public Tent, with other conveniences.

tainty with the people, when on the funeral pile the corpse swelled up and discharged noisome matter, so that it was found difficult to burn it at all.

§ 13. Gracchus next proceeded to measures which touched the Senate in their tenderest point. Attalus Philometor, King of Pergamus, the last of the line of Eumenes, was just dead, and had bequeathed his kingdom with all his lands and treasure to the Roman People. In ordinary times the Senate, as the administrator of all foreign and financial matters, would at once have assumed the disposition of this magnificent bequest; but Eudemus, the late King's minister, coming to Rome at this moment, was induced to communicate the matter to the victorious Tribune. Gracchus at once gave notice that he would propose a Bill to enact that the moneys of Attalus should be distributed to those who were to receive allotments of Public Land, in order to assist them in purchasing stock, in erecting farm-buildings, and the like; and further, since the kingdom was bequeathed to the Roman People, he declared that he would bring the subject of its future government before them without allowing the Senate to interfere. He thus openly announced a revolution. The Senate was to be deprived of their right of initiating measures; and a course was begun by which their administrative functions would finally be transferred to a large and shifting Popular Assembly.

§ 14. When Gracchus next appeared in the Senate-house, Q. Pompeius,—the same who had made and repudiated the treaty with Numantia,—rose and accused him of receiving a purple robe and diadem from Eudemus, as if he were to be the King of Pergamus. Metellus Macedonicus followed, and drew an invidious contrast between the austere gravity of Gracchus the father and the worthless popularity of Gracchus the son. T. Annius, an old Senator, who had been Consul twenty years before,[1] openly taxed the Tribune with violating the Constitution by deposing his colleague. Gracchus was stung to the quick by this last assault, and indicted the old Consular at the next Assembly for treason against the majesty of the People. Annius appeared; but before Gracchus could speak, he said: "I suppose if one of your brother Tribunes offers to protect me, you

[1] In 153 B.C. Cicero, *Brut.* 20, calls him *non indisertus.*

will fly into a passion and depose him also." Gracchus saw the effect produced upon his hearers, and broke up the Assembly. It is probable that at this Assembly few of the Country Citizens were present. The season of harvest was at hand; nor indeed was it their custom to attend on ordinary occasions. But whatever was the cause, this failure impaired the prestige which had hitherto attended the Tribune's name.

Moreover, many of his well-wishers had been offended and alarmed by a Law, by which he had made the Triumvirs absolute judges, without appeal, on disputed questions with regard to property in land. Many allotments of Public Land had been granted, of which the titles had been lost, or were imperfect; and every person holding under such conditions saw his property placed at the mercy of inexperienced and irresponsible judges.

§ 15. Gracchus felt that his popularity was shaken, and at the next Assembly he thought it necessary to make a set speech to vindicate his conduct in deposing Octavius. The sum of his arguments amounts to a plea of necessity. It is true that the Constitution of Rome provided no remedy against the abuse of power by an officer, except the shortness of time during which he held office and his liability to indictment at the close of that time. The Tribunician authority, originally demanded to protect the People, might have turned against the People. But was not it open to Gracchus to propose a Law by which the veto of a single Tribune might be limited in its effect? Or might he not have waited calmly for the election of a new set of Tribunes, and taken care that all were tried friends of his Law? But in his impatience he preferred a coup-d'état, and thus set an example which was sure to be turned against himself by his unscrupulous opponents.

§ 16. The violent language of Nasica and his party made it plain that in the next year, when his person was no longer protected by the sanctity of the Tribunician office, he would be vigorously assailed. He therefore determined to offer himself for reëlection at the approaching Comitia of the Tribes. But his election was far from secure. Harvest-work occupied the country voters; many had grown cold; the mass of those who resided in the City were clients and dependents of the Nobility.

It was to regain and extend his popularity that he now brought forward three measures calculated to please all classes except the Senatorial families. First, he proposed to diminish the necessary period of Military Service. Secondly, he announced a reform of the superior Law-courts, by which the juries were to be taken not from the Senators only, but from all persons possessing a certain amount of property,—a measure which was sure to please the wealthy contractors and tax-collectors, who were beginning to tread upon the heels of the Senatorial Nobility. Thirdly, he provided an Appeal in all cases from the law-courts to the Assembly of the People, a proposition calculated to secure the good-will of all members of that Assembly.

These measures, which in altered forms were afterwards carried by his brother Caius, were only brought forward by Tiberius. But this was sufficient for his purpose. His popularity returned in full tide.

§ 17. When the day of the election came, the Prerogative Tribe gave its vote for Gracchus and his friends; the next voted in the same way. On this the Senatorial party appealed to Rubrius, the presiding Tribune, on the ground that it was against law and precedent that the same man should be chosen in two successive years. Rubrius, a timid man, hesitated; and Mummius, the successor of Octavius, called on him to resign the presidency. He did so. But when Mummius was about to take the President's chair, the other seven Tribunes insisted on casting lots for this honour, and after a hot debate the Assembly was adjourned till next day.

It wanted yet some hours of night-fall. Gracchus came forth into the Forum, clad in black, and leading his young son by the hand. In anticipation of his untimely end, he committed his precious charge to his fellow citizens. All hearts were touched. The people surrounded him with eager gesticulations, and escorted him home, bidding him be of good cheer for the morrow. Many of his warmest adherents kept guard at his doors all night. Before he retired to rest he held a conference with his friends, and agreed on the sign he should give them in case he deemed it necessary to resort to force.

§ 18. The adjourned Assembly met next morning upon the Capitol, and the area in front of the Temple of Jupiter was

filled chiefly by the adherents of Gracchus, among whom the Tribune was himself conspicuous, in company with his Greek friend and preceptor Blossius of Cumæ. The Senate also assembled hard by in the Temple of Faith. Nasica rose and urged the presiding Consul to stop the reëlection. But Scævola declined.[m]

On this, Fulvius Flaccus, who has been already mentioned as a friend of the Tribune, left the Senate and with great difficulty made his way through the crowd to the elevated place where Gracchus stood. He informed him of the speech of Nasica, and told him that his death was resolved upon. As soon as the friends of Gracchus heard this, they girded up their gowns and armed themselves with staves, for the purpose of repelling force by force. In the midst of the uproar Gracchus raised his hand to his head. All saw the action, and interpreted it differently. His partisans took it for the sign agreed upon the night before. His enemies cried that he was asking for a crown, or was making himself Tribune without election. Exaggerated reports were carried into the Senate-house, and Nasica formally demanded that the Consul should put down the tyrant. But Scævola mildly answered that there was no proof of illegal proceedings, and that he, the Consul, would not set an example of violence. Then Nasica exclaimed, "The Consul is betraying the Republic: those who would save their country, follow me!" So saying he drew the skirt of his gown over his head, after the manner used by the Pontifex Maximus in solemn acts of worship. A number of Senators followed; and the people, mistaking his purpose, respectfully made way. But the Nobles and their partizans broke up the benches that had been set out for the Assembly, and began an assault upon the adherents of Gracchus, who fled in disorder. Gracchus

[m] Piso, the other Consul, was employed in extinguishing the Slave-war in Sicily.—Chapt. xlviii. § 11.

The account that follows is chiefly taken from Appian, whose narrative is hopelessly irreconcileable with that of Plutarch. Plutarch represents the Tribune as timid and irresolute; Appian describes him as firm and not without hope. Plutarch paints the scene in the Senate-house; Appian gives only the struggle in the Forum. The former probably drew his information from some writer in the interest of the Optimates. An attempt has been made to seize the probable truth of both narratives.

abandoned all thoughts of resistance: he left his gown in the hands of a friend who sought to detain him, and made towards the Temple of Jupiter. But the priests had closed the doors; and in his haste he stumbled over a bench and fell. As he was rising, Satureius, one of his own colleagues, struck him on the head with a stool; L. Rufus claimed the honour of repeating the blow; and before the statues of the old kings at the portico of the Temple the Tribune lay dead. Many of his adherents were slain with him: many were forced over the wall at the edge of the Tarpeian Rock, and were killed by their fall. Not less than three hundred lost their lives in the fray.

Caius had just returned from Spain, and asked leave to bury his brother's corpse. This was sternly refused by the triumphant party, who ordered all the bodies of the slain to be thrown into the Tiber before morning.

Thus flowed the first blood that was shed in civil strife at Rome. Thus began that long series of butcheries which showed the real ferocity that lay beneath the surface of Roman civilisation.

§ 19. Tiberius Gracchus must be allowed the name of Great, if greatness be measured by the effects produced upon society by the action of a single mind, rather than by the length of time during which power is held, or the success that follows upon bold enterprises. He held office not more than seven months;[n] and in that short time he so shook the power of the Senate, that it never entirely recovered from the blow. His nature was noble; his views and wishes those of a true patriot. But he was impatient of opposition, and by the abrupt way in which he threw away the scabbard provoked a resistance which he might have avoided. When the moment of action came, his temper was too gentle, or his will too irresolute, to take the bold course which his own conduct and that of the Senate had rendered necessary. But it must be remembered that constitutional government had fallen into disuse, and traditional experience was wholly wanting to guide the Tribune. The unscrupulous violence of his opponents goes far to excuse him; but the fact that he also alienated the moderate party, proves

[n] For the Tribunes entered on office on the iv▸Id. Decembr. = the 10th of December; and the new election was held in the July following.

the great imprudence of his conduct. It is well known that Cicero approves the behaviour of Nasica as patriotic and admirable ;[o] but this was after his own haste in condemning the Catilinarians to death without trial had made him nervously susceptible on this head, and in defending Nasica he was in fact defending himself. More weight ought to be attached to the contemporary judgment of Scipio, who, at the time of his kinsman's death, was yet in his camp before Numantia ; on hearing of it he exclaimed in the words of Homer :—

"So perish all and every one, who dares such deeds as he !"[p]

But the sequel will show that it was not so much of the political measures of Gracchus that Scipio disapproved, as of the impatience which he had shown and the violence which he had used in carrying them. Such defects of character were of all most displeasing to a soldier and a Stoic.

[o] And this in a grave moral treatise, *de Offic.* i. 22. Nothing can be stronger than his language. "P. Scipio Nasica, quum privatus Ti. Gracchum interemit, non minus profuit Reipublicæ, quam Africanus in excidenda Numantia."

[p] ὣς ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἄλλος, ὅστις τοιαῦτά γε ῥίζοι.—Od. i. 47.

CHAPTER LII.

RETURN AND DEATH OF SCIPIO THE YOUNGER. (133—129 B.C.)

§ 1. Prevalence of the moderate Party in the Senate. § 2. P. Crassus elected Triumvir to succeed Ti. Gracchus: Nasica obliged to quit Rome. § 3. A Commission issued to try the accomplices of Gracchus. § 4. War raised in Pergamus by one Aristonicus. § 5. Scipio returns from Spain: his sympathies with the Italian yeomen. § 6. His opposition to the City populace. § 7. Scipio and Crassus competitors for the command against Aristonicus: Crassus elected by great majority. § 8. Censorship of Metellus and Pompeius, two Plebeians. § 9. Death of Crassus in Asia, and of App. Claudius: Fulvius Flaccus and Carbo elected Triumvirs in their stead. § 10. Proceedings of Carbo to give effect to the Agrarian Law. § 11. Arbitrary decisions on tenure of Public Lands: great offence given to the Italians. § 12. They entreat Scipio to undertake their cause. § 13. He transfers the power of deciding claims to the Consuls: failure of this scheme. § 14. Speech of Scipio in the Senate: intention to speak in the Forum next day: he is found dead in his bed. § 15. Suspicions of murder. § 16. Character of Scipio.

§ 1. THE struggle had now commenced between the Oligarchy and Democracy. This struggle was to last till the Dictator Sylla for a time restored the Senate to sovereignty, which was wrested from them again by a Dictator yet more potent than Sylla. But we should be wrong to assume that the Senate and the Oligarchy were always identical. At times they were so, for at times the violent party among the Nobles were in command of a majority in the Senate; but a moderate party always existed, who stood between the Nobility and the Democracy. It was the violent party, headed by Nasica, not the body itself, which was responsible for the death of Gracchus; and the return of Scipio triumphant from Numantia added strength to the moderate section of the great Council.

§ 2. This appeared at once after the death of Gracchus: No attempt was made to annul any of the provisions of the Agrarian Law: the People were allowed to proceed quietly to the election of a new Commissioner in the place of Gracchus,

and their choice fell on P. Licinius Crassus, brother by blood of the Consul Scævola, who had been adopted into the family of the Crassi.[a] His daughter had lately been married to young Caius Gracchus,[b] and he now became the acknowledged leader of the party. His great legal knowledge and high character fitted him above all men to discharge the difficult duties which had been undertaken by the Triumvirs in deciding cases of disputed possession. The People by his election gave proof of their devotion to the house of Gracchus. The Senate acted with prudence in not thwarting his election.

Nor did the Senate attempt to shield Nasica from popular indignation. He was everywhere branded as the murderer of Gracchus, and his own friends advised him to retire to some remote country, though properly, as Chief Pontifex, he was prohibited from quitting the soil of Italy. He never returned. No long time after he died at Pergamus, and Crassus succeeded him in the Pontificate.[c]

§ 3. But in the course of the next year, the Slave War having been brought to an end by Piso, the Senate was induced by the rich Landholders to give the new Consuls a Commission to inquire into the conduct of those who had abetted Gracchus in his last attempts. These Consuls were P. Rupilius, a friend of Scipio, and P. Popillius Lænas. They began their proceedings by associating with themselves C. Lælius, a man of known moderation. Before the inquiry commenced, Lælius sent for Blossius, and questioned him privately as to his part in the late disturbances. He excused himself on the ground that he had only followed the Tribune's orders. "That," said Lælius, "is no excuse. What would you have done if he had ordered you to set the Capitol on fire?" "Gracchus," replied Blossius, "could never have given such an order." "But if he had?" insisted Lælius. "Then," said Blossius, "I would have done it." This bold partisan, however, was suffered to escape, and found refuge, like

[a] Hence called Mucianus. See Cicero, *Brut.* 26, *Acad.* ii. 5, for his life and character.

[b] Plut. *v. Ti. Gracchi*, c. 21.

[c] He must have died in 132 B.C., for Crassus was Pontifex when he became Consul in 131 B.C. See § 9.

Nasica, at Pergamus. Diophanes of Mitylené, another of the preceptors of Gracchus, was less fortunate. He was arrested by the Consuls and put to death. Others also, as it is said, lost their lives, and some escaped death by exile. It does not appear that much severity was used.[d] But however this might be, there can be no doubt that these whole proceedings were directly opposed to the Laws of Appeal. The Consuls had no legal power to try and condemn within the City.

§ 4. After this business Rupilius proceeded to Sicily, where (as we have said) he gained great reputation by the regulations which he made to prevent future Agrarian troubles in that island.[e] But the joy caused by the termination of Western wars was damped by ominous tidings from the East. One Aristonicus, a bastard son of King Attalus, taking advantage of the dispute between the Senate and Gracchus for the administration of Pergamus, raised his standard in the mountainous districts of that country, and like the Sicilian pretender, Antiochus, proclaimed freedom to the Slaves.[f] Blossius joined him in the hope of avenging the death of his friends.[g] But for the present the Senate paid little attention to this war.

§ 5. It was not probably till the autumn of this year that Scipio celebrated his Numantian triumph. It was not gorgeous with spoils nor graced by a long train of captives, for the Numantians had buried themselves and their possessions beneath the ruins of their city. But the presence of Scipio, at this moment, was or might be pregnant with results; and as he passed in procession to the Capitol, many eyes turned to him in fond expectation, that his influence and probity might avail to allay the fury of contending parties. It might be thought that his approval of the death of Gracchus sufficiently indicated what part he intended to take. But, as we have said, it was possible for him to disapprove of the conduct of Gracchus, without disapproving of his purpose. The countrymen of Latium and Italy had fought under him at Carthage and at Numantia. It was known that among the rest he had shown especial

[d] Plutarch represents the matter otherwise. But he gives no proofs; and Cicero (*de Amicit.* 12) makes Lælius speak of the Commission as acting with moderation.

[e] Chapt. xlviii. § 12 and 13.

[f] Strabo, xiv. p. 646.

[g] Plut. *v. Ti. Gracch.* c. 20.

honour to a young soldier of Arpinum, of humble birth and rude manners. On one occasion he had invited this youth to supper, and placed him by his side; and when some flatterer asked where a general could be found to succeed him, "Perhaps here," he said, laying his hand on the young soldier's arm. The name of the youth was C. Marius.

§ 6. Whatever doubt might rest on Scipio's intentions, he soon made it clear that he had no intention of holding out a hand to the Civic Populace, whom in the last weeks of his life Gracchus had sought to conciliate. One of the great Tribune's partisans, by name C. Papirius Carbo, a man of ready wit, but in character turbulent, reckless, and unprincipled,[h] hoped to raise himself to importance by means of this rabble. He was one of the Tribunes for the year, and had carried a law for extending the use of the ballot into the legislative assemblies of the People, whereas hitherto it had been confined to elections and trials.[i] He now brought forward another bill, making it legal to reëlect a Tribune to a second year of office;—a provision evidently suggested by the opposition offered to the reëlection of Ti. Gracchus. Scipio and Lælius opposed the measure, and the former spoke so warmly against it, that it was rejected by the Tribes, though young C. Gracchus made his first public speech in its favour. It was then that Carbo publicly demanded of Scipio what he thought of the death of Gracchus. "That he was rightly put to death," Scipio promptly replied. At these words an angry shout was raised. Scipio turned sternly to the quarter from which it came,—"Peace," he said, "ye stepsons of Italy. Remember who it was that brought you in chains to Rome."[k]

By this haughty defiance he broke for ever with the Freedmen and Civic Populace, that is, the shopkeepers and tradesmen, backed by the idle and licentious mob which was always ready to throng the Forum.

§ 7. As the Bill of Carbo was rejected, it must be presumed that the People of the Country Tribes were present in force,

[h] "Eloquentissimus homo," Cicero, *Brut.* 43; "seditiosus atque improbus civis," *de Legg.* iii. 16;—statements which the sequel will make good.

[i] Chapt. xlvii. § 10.

[k] Valer. Max. vi. 2, 3. Cf. Vell. Pat. ii. 4, Cicer. *de Orat.* ii. 25.

and voted against it. The question now was, whether Scipio would combine with Crassus and become their leader, or whether he would join the oligarchical party in opposing all reforms.

The policy adopted by this party was to foil the Agrarian Law by passive inertness. Since the disgrace of Nasica, the more hot-headed of the nobles fell back, and left the guidance of their cause to more moderate and respectable men, such as Q. Metellus Macedonicus. The Metelli were hereditary opponents of the house of Scipio, and their family feuds had lately been renewed. Scipio undertook to impeach L. Aurelius Cotta, a man to whom was imputed many acts of injustice and oppression. Metellus came forward as his defender. There seems to have been no doubt of his guilt; but the culprit and his advocate were both of the same party with the jury, and Scipio was defeated.

Early in the following year, however (131 B.C.), an incident occurred which parted Scipio from Crassus. The Consuls for the year were Crassus himself and L. Valerius Flaccus. The former was Pontifex Maximus, the latter was Flamen of Mars. By this time the war raised by Aristonicus in Asia had become so serious, that the Senate could no longer delay sending a regular army against him. Both Consuls were eager for command; but by reason of their sacred offices they were both legally unable to leave Italy, and Scipio's tried skill in war pointed him out as the fittest man for command. Not choosing to decide this question themselves, the Senate referred it to the People. The great popularity of Crassus is proved by the fact, that out of the Thirty-five Tribes, two only voted for Scipio and the rest for him.[1] Though he had himself, in virtue of his Pontifical authority, forbidden his colleague the Flamen to quit Italy, he considered a vote of the People as superior to the law; and having completed his levies set out for Pergamus, never to return. After this, Scipio seems to have retired from Rome for a period in disgust.

§ 8. In this same year the Censorship was held by Q. Metellus and Q. Pompeius,—an event noted by all the historians as memorable, since now for the first time two men of plebeian

[1] Cicero, *Philipp.* xi. 8.

blood were elected to the most august magistracy of the State. It is rather matter of wonder that an artificial distinction, which for all practical purposes was obsolete, should have been so long retained in the single case of the Censorship, than that it should now have ceased. The Censorship of Metellus was long remembered for a famous speech which he delivered in virtue of his office, in which he proposed that all citizens should be compelled to marry in order to raise up soldiers to the State.[m] His complaints are the same as the complaints of Gracchus, though he was an opponent of the Agrarian Law. All parties indeed concurred in their view of the facts: it was in the remedies to be adopted that they differed.

The Censorship of Metellus also offers a notable instance of the license assumed by the Tribunes since Gracchus had shown the real power of the office. In calling over the list of the Senate Metellus passed over the name of C. Atinius Labeo, one of the Tribunes of the year. When he next appeared in the Forum, Labeo ordered his officers to cast him down the Tarpeian Rock. With prompt obedience they were hurrying the Censor to the fatal edge, when the other Tribunes interfered to prevent this arbitrary act.[n] Labeo, foiled in his attempt at summary vengeance, confiscated the personal property of Metellus, and sold it by public auction.[o] Violence of this kind was highly displeasing to the more moderate men of the Gracchan party. News of the turbulent Tribunate of Carbo reached the ears of Crassus in Asia, and he signified his wish that this demagogue should be made accountable for his conduct. "If there were a tumult," he argued, "the presiding Magistrate was to be held responsible." [p]

§ 9. If Crassus had returned, he might have taken more active steps to diminish the violence which the democratic leaders were beginning to encourage. He was to remain in Asia as Proconsul for the year 130 B.C.; but early in that year came tidings of his death. He had been defeated by Aristonicus in a pitched battle, and taken prisoner. The Roman statesman and jurist, deeming slavery intolerable, purposely struck the

[m] It was recited by Augustus, when he proposed his Law *de maritandis Ordinibus*, as exactly applicable to those times.—Liv. *Epit.* lix.

[n] Plin. *H. N.* vii. 44. [o] Cicero, *pro Domo*, 47. [p] Cicero, *Legg.* iii. 19.

barbarian who had captured him in the face with his sword-belt, and was instantly cut down. His head was carried to Aristonicus: his body interred at Smyrna.[q]

About the same time died App. Claudius. The natural leader of the Gracchan party would now have been C. Gracchus. But this young man, after speaking for the bill of Carbo, had withdrawn from public life, at the advice (it is said) of his mother Cornelia. Consequently fresh power fell into the hands of the reckless Carbo, who was supported by Fulvius Flaccus; and the whole character of the party became more positively democratic.

§ 10. These leaders sought to recover their popularity with the Country Tribes by calling the Agrarian Law into fresh life. Of the three Commissioners elected for the year C. Gracchus still appeared on the list; the vacancies made by the deaths of Crassus and App. Claudius were filled by Carbo and Flaccus.

It has been said that the rich Landholders endeavoured to baffle the law by passive resistance. They continued to hold their large possessions as if no such law existed, and neglected to register their names, as required, on the books of the Commissioners. To foil this policy, Carbo and his colleagues issued a proclamation, calling for informations against all who had not duly registered themselves as holders of Public Land. The call was readily obeyed, and the Triumvirs were soon overburdened with names. The next step was to decide on the rights of the present holders, and to determine the boundaries between the private and the public lands in each estate. This was a task of extreme delicacy, and here the loss of Crassus was sensibly felt. His integrity and legal sagacity designated him for the business; whereas the ignorant and reckless Carbo was of all men the most unfit. But he cared not for this. His aim was to gratify the Country Voters of Rome, and he regarded not at whose expense this was done. But in accomplishing his purpose he raised up a host of formidable opponents on whom he had not reckoned.

§ 11. Portions of the Public Land had often been granted or sold not only to burgesses of Rome, but also to citizens of the Latin Colonies and of the Italian towns. These Italian Land-

[q] Val. Max. iii. 2, 12. Compare Ascon. in Scaur. p. 25, ed. Orelli.

holders were now, in consequence of Carbo's proclamation, suddenly called upon to produce their title-deeds, which in many cases were missing, or if produced were ambiguous; so that a vast number of these holders were liable to be stript of lands which were undoubtedly their own. Further, in cases where persons held property partly public and partly private, there were often no documents to show which part was public and which private. The Commissioners acted in the most arbitrary way, taking away vine-lands well cultivated and furnished with buildings, and leaving tracts of less valuable land or sometimes uncultivated swamps. Moreover, the boundaries between freehold estates and unappropriated public land were often indeterminate; and many persons who received allotments of the latter boldly encroached upon their neighbour's freehold, relying on the favour of the Triumvirs to support their encroachments.[r]

In consequence of the irritation caused by these proceedings, a new popular party was called forth. In Carbo's rash haste to win the Roman countrymen he recked not of the hostility of Latins and Italians; and those who had lately thronged to Rome to share the triumph of Gracchus now rose like one man to oppose those who now pretended to represent Gracchus. The Italian party, as this new party may be called, exercised a most important influence on the events of the next fifty years.

§ 12. These new opponents of the Agrarian Law had no mind to join the Roman oligarchs, but turned to Scipio and supplicated him to undertake their cause. They had claims upon him, for they had volunteered to fill his army when the Senate had no money to give him, and he had always manifested sympathy with them. Averse as he was from party politics, he did not shrink from the task. The moderate party in the Senate welcomed his return, and professed themselves ready to listen to the demands of the Italians. Metellus put aside his old hostility.[s] Even the mild Scævola had been led by the late excesses of the democratical leaders to speak in justification of the death of Gracchus.

[r] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 18.

[s] Their opposition had always been courteous. "Inter P. Africanum et Q. Metellum fuit sine acerbitate dissensio."—Cicero, *de Off.* i. 25.

§ 13. Scipio rose in the Senate and moved that a Decree should issue for withdrawing from the Triumvirs the judicial power with which they had been invested by Gracchus, and transferring the jurisdiction to the Consuls. Of those in office for the year 129 B.C., M' Aquillius had already left Rome to reap the glory of finishing the Pergamene War, though Aristonicus had already been reduced to extremities by Perperna, who had succeeded Crassus. The other Consul, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, was at Rome, and to him was committed the difficult and perplexing business of deciding the claims which had been raised by the late proclamation of Carbo. He was a man of refined taste, fonder of art and literature than of business.[t] Before he had sate very long, news came of an opportune movement among the Iapydes, a people on the Illyrian frontier; and Tuditanus eagerly seized this excuse for hastening to Aquileia, feeling confident that he could better cope with barbarous enemies than with the more barbarous perplexities of the law.

All proceedings were thus cut short. The Senate had taken away jurisdiction from the Triumvirs; the Consul to whom it was committed had fled. General discontent arose among the Roman Countrymen, and all who were expecting to receive allotments of Public Land. Scipio was loudly accused of having betrayed Roman interests to those of Italy. His enemies spread reports that he had sold himself to the Oligarchy, that he intended to repeal the Sempronian Law by force, and let loose his soldiery upon the People of Rome. The great number of Latins and Italians who thronged the City lent colour to these rumours.

§ 14. Scipio, averse as he was to public demonstrations,[u] felt that it was necessary to explain his motives, and announced his purpose of delivering set speeches, one day in the Senate, and the day after in the Forum. The first only of these purposes was fulfilled. By his speech in the Senate he pledged himself to maintain the rights of the Latins and Italians against the Triumvirs, and to prevent the unjust resumption of the lands that had been granted to them. The Senate loudly applauded; and Scipio was escorted home by the mass of the Senators with

[t] "Omni vitâ atque victu excultus atque expolitus."—Cicero, *Brut.* 25.

[u] C. Fannius ap. Cicer. *Acad.* ii. 5; *de Orat.* ii. 67; *Brut.* 67.

a jubilant crowd of Italians. Many thought that this was the most glorious day of his life.

He retired to rest early, in good health. In the morning he was found dead in his bed. By his side lay the tablets, on which he had been noting down the heads of the oration which he had intended to make next day.

§ 15. The death of Scipio struck consternation into the hearts of the Senators. Metellus exclaimed that he had been murdered.[x] It is said that on the neck marks as of strangulation appeared; and when he was carried out to burial the head was covered, contrary to custom.[y] At the moment suspicion attached to C. Gracchus, and to his sister Sempronia, the wife of Scipio. But these unfounded rumours soon passed over; and it was confidently affirmed that Carbo was the murderer. Cicero speaks of this as an undoubted fact; the character, as well as the subsequent history, of the man justifies the belief.

However, in the funeral oration which Q. Fabius Maximus spoke at the grave he attributed his brother's death to natural causes; and no inquiry was made into the manner of his death.[z] The Populace of Rome were so exasperated against him that all parties agreed to hush the matter up.

§ 16. Thus died the younger Africanus. No public honours attested his public services. The funeral feast was furnished in the most thrifty manner by his nephew Q. Tubero, a rigid Stoic, who was glad thus to remind the people of their ingratitude. But for his philosophic rigour he lost his election to the Prætorship.[a]

Scipio possessed no lofty genius like the great man whose name he bore; yet there was at Rome no one of his own time to be compared with him. To say that he was the best general of the day is little praise, for military talent was at that time scarce; but no doubt his abilities for war would have won him glory in the best times of the Republic. His disinterested generosity has been already noticed; at his death, notwithstanding the opportunities he had had for amassing wealth, he was found to be no richer than when he succeeded to the in-

[x] Val. Max. iv. 1, 12.
[y] Vell. Pat. i. 4.
[z] Schol. *ad Cicer. Milon.*, p. 283, ed. Orelli.
[a] Cicero, *pro Muren.* 38.

heritance of the great Scipio. His love of the country and his habitual reserve led him to shun public life. But the austere manner and severe gravity, which, as a Stoic, he commonly affected, gave way among his friends; and there is nothing that more raises our esteem for Scipio than the warm attachment borne to him by such men as Polybius, as well as Lælius, Rupilius, and others, whom Cicero has introduced into his beautiful dialogues.[b] Scipio has usually been represented as a stiff opponent of all reform, and a devoted adherent of the Oligarchy; but the facts of history disprove this opinion. It is chiefly due to Cicero, who puts into his mouth the phrases which the dread of democracy made familiar to his own lips.[c] He might have lived some years to moderate the fury of party strife, to awe the factious, and to support claims founded on real justice by the authority of his name; for at his death he numbered no more than six and fifty years. His death at this moment was perhaps the greatest loss that the Republic could have suffered.

[b] The Lælius (de Amicitia), and the Respublica. The time at which the latter is supposed to be held is just before the death of Scipio.

[c] In one passage, however, he indicates the truth: "Eum nonnulli in popularium numerum referre solent."—*Acad.* ii. 5.

CHAPTER LIII.

CAIUS GRACCHUS AND HIS TIMES. (128—121 B.C.)

§ 1. General calm. § 2. Project for reconciling Romans with Italians. § 3. Law of Pennus for expelling Italians from Rome. § 4. C. Gracchus, Quæstor in Sardinia. § 5. Fulvius Flaccus: his Bill for enfranchising Italians: he is sent into Transalpine Gaul. § 6. Revolt of Fregellæ, quelled by Opimius. § 7. Attempt to detain C. Gracchus in Sardinia: his return and defence: elected Tribune. § 8. Former and present character of Caius: his eloquence. § 9. Law against his brother's enemies. § 10. Measures to improve condition of People:—(1.) Agrarian Law. (2.) Law for selling corn cheap to Populace. (3.) Law for improving condition of Soldiery. § 11. Measures to abridge power of Senate:—(1.) Transference of Judicial Power from Senators to Equites. (2.) Assignment of Consular Provinces before Election. (3.) Taxation of Asia. [a](4.) Public works. § 12. Purposes and Results of Sempronian Laws. § 13. Election of Fannius as Consul: C. Gracchus reëlected to Tribunate. § 14. Bill for enfranchising Italians. § 15. Energy of Gracchus. § 16. Unpopularity of proposal to enfranchise Italians: Speech of Fannius: Drusus. § 17. Alterations of Agrarian Law by C. Gracchus: Drusus outbids him. § 18. Colonies in Provinces: proposal to colonise Carthage taken up by Senate: Gracchus and Flaccus sent to found it. § 19. They return to Rome in time for Consular Elections: Opimius Consul. § 20. Election of Tribunes hostile to Gracchus. § 21. Ill report from Carthage: Assembly of Tribes on Capitol: tumult: during night Opimius collects an armed force upon the Capitol: Flaccus arms and occupies Aventine. § 22. Attack on Aventine: death of Gracchus and Flaccus. § 23. Persecution: Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

§ 1. THE sudden death of Scipio was followed by a calm. The turbulent Carbo vanishes from the scene, till nine years later he re-appears as a champion of the violent oligarchical party, facts which were thought to strengthen the suspicion that he was guilty of the death of Scipio. C. Gracchus was still living in retirement.[a] Fulvius Flaccus was content to let the Agrarian

[a] It is said that this was by his mother's advice. The Letters of Cornelia, usually printed at the end of Cornelius Nepos' works, are no doubt spurious, suggested probably by a passage in which Cicero (*Brut.* 58) speaks of such letters. But it is likely enough that they preserve some genuine statements. Cornelia, who afterwards took part in the active career of Caius, might yet have dreaded in anticipation what she afterwards approved.

Law sleep in face of the portentous difficulties created by the measures of the Triumvirs.

Nor was there anything in foreign affairs to ruffle this external calm. Spain and Sicily were at length at rest. The late Consul Tuditanus, though at first unfortunate in his Illyrian campaign, had concluded it so successfully as to be thought worthy of a triumph. The war with Aristonicus in the district of Pergamus had been brought to a successful conclusion by Perperna, who had died in his command; and the Pretender, being taken prisoner, was sent to Rome, and put to death by order of the Senate. M' Aquillius, the successor of Perperna, remained in Asia for three years, devoting himself rather to the acquisition of wealth than to the good organisation of the new Province.

§ 2. Under this outer surface of tranquillity, a leaven of agitation was at work. It was not to be expected that the newborn jealousy which had sprung up between the Romans on the one side, and the Latins and Italians on the other, would fall asleep. Proposals, however, were set afloat for reconciling these two opposing interests. The Italians were led to hope that they might be made citizens of Rome, on condition that they should not resist the execution of the Agrarian Law. The scheme was bold and skilfully devised. The burgesses of the Roman Tribes accepted it at first, because by it they expected to obtain exclusive possession of all the public lands. The Italian Allies hailed it with better reason, because they saw that if once they were entitled to votes in the Roman Assemblies, they should be able to maintain their own rights. The popular leaders took up the project because it promised to detach the Italians from the party of the Nobility, and also to strengthen their own party in the Tribes.

§ 3. But the burgesses of Rome soon perceived that the admission of the Latins and Italians to the Roman franchise would reduce them to comparative insignificance. All the benefits derived from the Provinces, now enjoyed by Romans exclusively, must then be shared with a vastly increased number of citizens; and the profits as well as the power of a Roman must be materially diminished. In the year 126 B.C. an incident occurred which revealed the hollowness of the truce

between the Romans and Allies. In that year a large number of Italian strangers flocked to Rome, eager for the promised boon. But so much was public opinion at Rome changed, that M. Junius Pennus, one of the Tribunes, brought forward what we may call a severe Alien Act, by which all strangers were compelled to quit Rome.[b] The successors of Gracchus, however, remained constant to their new policy, and Caius himself was induced to come forward for the second time to oppose this Law. But again he was unsuccessful. The Law of Pennus was passed; and from this time may be dated that angry contest of feeling between Romans and Italians which after thirty-eight years found vent in a bloody war.

§ 4. When Caius delivered this speech he was Quæstor-elect for the next year. He was appointed to serve under the Consul L. Aurelius Orestes, who had been ordered to Sardinia to check the irruptions made by the mountaineers in the centre of that island upon the Romanized cities of the coast. The father of young Gracchus had himself reduced these people in his Consulship fifty years before,[c] and his name was held in honour by the people of the towns, whose property was protected by his victories. After the first year's operations, which were on the whole successful, Orestes demanded supplies and clothing for his soldiers; but the townspeople declared their inability to comply with the requisition. From the difficulty in which he found himself he was relieved by his Quæstor, who, by appealing to the memory of his father, and by his own persuasive eloquence, induced them to give voluntarily what they had just declared they were unable to give at all. It was natural, though most unjust, that this honour paid to young Gracchus should excite the jealousy of the Senate. This feeling was not diminished by another incident which followed. Shortly after, envoys arrived at Rome from Micipsa, son of Masinissa, king of Numidia, and offered, from respect (as they said) for the name of Gracchus, to send supplies of corn to Sardinia. The Senate angrily dismissed the embassy. Orestes was directed to remain

[b] A law similar in kind had been passed by the Consul C. Claudius so early as the year 177 B.C. See Liv. xli. 9.

[c] B.C. 177. See Chapt. xli. § 13.

as Proconsul in his Province, and his Quæstor was also ordered to continue in office for a second year.

§ 5. Meanwhile the country party had succeeded in carrying the election of their present Chief, Fulvius Flaccus, to the Consulship for 125 B.C. He was a man with little force of oratory,[d] but his activity and audacity gave him power, and his unchangeable attachment to the memory of Ti. Gracchus made him respectable. No sooner was he in the Consul's chair than he gave full proof of his headlong temerity by giving notice of a bill for extending the Franchise to all the Latin and Italian Allies. It was a Reform Bill sweeping beyond all example. No addition had been made to the Roman territory or the number of Tribes since 241 B.C., a period of one hundred and sixteen years, and now at one stroke it was proposed to add to the register a population much more numerous than the whole existing number of Roman burgesses. The Tribes, as we have said, felt their interests to be at stake, and the measure of Flaccus was highly unpopular at Rome.

At this moment, the Senate adroitly contrived to detach Flaccus upon foreign service.[e] The people of Massilia, old allies of Rome, just then sent to demand protection against the Salluvians, a Ligurian tribe of the Maritime Alps, and Flaccus was ordered to take command of the army destined to relieve them. He remained in Gaul for more than two years, was completely successful in his enterprise, and was honoured with a triumph in the year 123 B.C. Meantime his great measure for extending the Franchise fell to the ground.

§ 6. But the hopes excited by the impetuous Consul were not easily relinquished. The excitement was great throughout Italy, above all in the Latin Colonies, which, being already half-enfranchised, bore their exclusion with less equanimity than the Italians who had no civic rights at Rome. In one of these Colonies the smouldering fire burst into flame.

Fregellæ was a large and flourishing city on the Latin road. It was one of the eighteen Colonies which had remained faithful

[d] "Mediocris Orator," Cicer. *Brut.* 28.

[e] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 34, expressly says that he was *sent*:—ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπὶ στρατιάν τινα ἐξεπέμφθη.

to Rome in the Hannibalic War. It had seen the full Franchise conferred on its neighbours at Formiæ, Fundi, and Arpinum at the close of that war.[f] Its territory marched with that of Rome. And now the cup was dashed from the very lip. Fregellæ flew to arms, but without concert with other towns; and L. Opimius, one of the Prætors, a man of prompt resolution and devoid of pity, was ordered by the Senate to crush the insurrection. The gates were opened to him by treachery. Opimius took his seat in the Forum, and exercised a fearful vengeance on the inhabitants, for which he was rewarded by the Senate with a triumph.[g] The walls were pulled down, and the Colony, stript of all its rights, was reduced to the condition of a mere market-town.[h] The new Colony of Fabrateria was founded in its neighbourhood, to occupy its confiscated lands. The prompt decisiveness of this affair intimidated other cities. The example of Fregellæ for a time silenced the claims of the Italians.[i]

§ 7. Thus triumphant, the Senate determined to keep the chiefs of the Gracchan party absent from Rome. Flaccus had not yet finished his Gallic wars, and an order was sent to Orestes to detain C. Gracchus for a third year in Sardinia. But he perceived the drift of this order, and returned to Rome suddenly about the middle of the year 124 B.C., to the no small consternation of the Senate. He was instantly summoned before the Censors, who had not yet completed the lustrum, to account for his conduct, in order that he might be branded with a public stigma, and thus disqualified from taking his seat in the Senate-House. He made his defence to the People in a set speech, of which fragments still remain. He disposed of the immediate question, by declaring that the Censors had no right to call him to account either as a Knight or as Quæstor;—not as a Knight, because he had already served more than his ten campaigns; not as Quæstor, because he had already remained abroad a year longer than was by law required. He then went on to challenge inquiry into his management of the provincial treasury. "No one," he declared, "can say that I have received

[f] In 188 B.C. See Liv. xxxviii. 36.

[g] Vell. Pat. i. 15.

[h] A *Conciliabulum*.

[i] It is said by the Auctor *de Viris Illustr.* 65, that Asculum also was the scene of a revolt. But no other writer confirms this isolated statement.

a penny in presents, or have put any one to charges on my own account. The purse which I took out full I have brought back empty; though I could name persons who took out casks full of wine and brought them home charged with money."[k] The Censors were obliged to leave his name unstigmatised. A fresh accusation was brought against him that he had been privy to the revolt of Fregellæ; but proofs entirely failed. He was triumphantly acquitted, and at once came forward as candidate for the Tribunate.

The energy of his conduct and the vigour of his eloquence revived all the love which the Rustic Tribes had once felt for the name of Gracchus; and though crowds of Italians hastened to Rome in the hope of finding a new champion, so that during the election the very house-tops were thronged with spectators, the Country Voters supported him very generally. The Senate exerted all their influence to prevent his election, and succeeded so far that his name stood only fourth on the list. But as soon as he entered office, no one disputed his title to be first.[l]

§ 8. The die was now cast. For ten years he had held back from public life; and it may be inferred, from his accepting the Quæstorship, that he would have been contented with rising quietly through the common grades of honour to the rank of a Consular. Yet he had been visited by many misgivings. When he was candidate for the Quæstorship, he dreamed that his brother appeared to him and warned him "not to dally any longer, for that he was doomed to run the same course with himself."[m] But he might have overcome all compunctious visitings, if the imprudent and vexatious course pursued by the Senate during his Sardinian Quæstorship had not roused him to action. Then the pent-up energy of his passionate nature burst forth, and he threw aside all restraints both of fear and of prudence.

The early death of Tiberius left much of his character as a statesman doubtful: but it is commonly believed that Tiberius was inferior in genius to Caius. There can be no doubt that his calmer oratory was less fitted to sway the people than the vehement eloquence of Caius. Hitherto indeed there had been

[k] Gellius, xv. 12.
[l] Plut. *v. C. Gracch.* c. 3.
[m] Cicero, *de Divin.* i. 26.

no proof of the young speaker's powers. Twice only had he spoken in public, and both times he had been on the losing side. But years of diligent study had passed: his passions were now fully roused, and he became the greatest orator that Rome had yet seen. Much as Cicero disliked the policy of Gracchus, he kindles into rapture when he speaks of his oratorical genius, and laments the loss which Latin literature had sustained by his early death. The care which the young orator bestowed on preparation was extraordinary: he was the first that used regular gesticulation:[n] in his most fiery outbursts his voice was so modulated as never to offend the ear.[o] It may easily be conceived what effect would be produced on the excitable people of Italy by such eloquence heard for the first time.

§ 9. His first measures are marked by that which was the ruling passion of his life,—a burning desire to avenge his brother's death. Nasica, the leader of those who struck the felon blow, was beyond his reach. But Popillius, who had persecuted the friends and followers of Tiberius, was yet alive; and on him the young Tribune fixed his eye. To prepare the way for his meditated measure, he travelled round the country towns, and inveighed against the cruel severity of Popillius in their market-places. "If," said he, "ye are heedless enough to refuse now what once you eagerly desired, what will men say but that either you were too eager in desiring then, or too heedless in refusing now?" "Your ancestors," he exclaimed, "suffered not *their* Tribunes to be trampled down. But *you*,—you let these men beat Tiberius to death, and murder his friends without a trial!"[p]

Accordingly he brought a bill before the Tribes aimed at Popillius, as the head of the special Commission appointed by the Senate after the death of Tiberius. It was of the nature of a declaratory Act, and proclaimed, in the words of the old Laws of Appeal, that "any magistrate was guilty of treason

[n] Dio C. xxxiv. 90.

[o] The story was that he always had a slave at his elbow, who warned him against raising his voice too high by sounding a soft note on the flute (Plut. *v. C. Gracch.* c. 2), or who gave him the right note by a pitch-pipe (Cicero, *de Oratore*, iii. 61). But Cicero himself is puzzled by this curious device,—"cujus ego nondum plane rationem intelligo."

[p] Gellius, xi. 13; Plut. *v. C. Gracch.* c. 3.

who had punished a citizen capitally without the consent of the People."[q] Before it passed, Popillius left Rome; and the Tribes, on the motion of Caius, "interdicted him from the use of fire and water," or, in other words, banished him from the soil of Italy.

Another measure proposed by the young Tribune was still more directly personal. He moved that any one who should have been deprived of office by a vote of the People should be incapable of holding any other office,—an enactment evidently pointed at his brother's old opponent Octavius. Fortunately for the honour of Gracchus, he was stopped in his career of vengeance by the intercession of his mother.

§ 10. He now turned his thoughts to measures of a public nature, and brought forward a series of important bills, long known as the Sempronian Laws, so numerous and so sweeping in their design, as to show that he meditated no less than a revolution in the government of Rome. They may be divided into two classes: first, those which were intended to ameliorate the condition of the People; secondly, those which aimed at diminishing the power of the Senate.

(1.) Foremost in the first class we may place a bill for renewing and extending the Agrarian Law of his brother, which was coupled with a measure for planting new Colonies in divers parts of Italy, and even in the Provinces. As the execution of this law was deferred till the next year, we will defer further mention of it to a later page. This enactment was evidently intended to conciliate the Country Tribes.

(2.) The second Sempronian Law was the famous measure by which the State undertook to furnish corn at a low price to all Roman citizens. It provided that any one possessing the Roman franchise shall be allowed to purchase grain from public stores at 6⅓ ases the modius, or about 25 ases the bushel;[r] the losses incident to such sale being borne by the Treasury.

Public measures for distributing corn to the citizens in times

[q] Hence the Sempronian and Porcian Laws are coupled together by Cicero, *in Verr.* v. 63.

[r] In Cicero's time, 3 sesterces, that is 12 ases, the modius, was a low price, *in Verr.* iii. 75, 83, 85, etc. See Chapt. xxxiii. § 4. There were six Roman modii in the Greek medimnus.

of scarcity had long been familiar to Roman statesmen; and individuals had more than once sought popularity by doles to the poor. But all such provision had been temporary, to relieve a pressing need. Now, for the first time, a Right was established by Law. The necessary results of such a measure must have been, and were, very fatal. First, it tended to check the trade in corn, and prevent merchants from supplying Rome in the regular course of commerce; for none could enter into competition with the State; none could afford to buy dear and sell cheap. Secondly, it encouraged an accumulation of State-paupers within reach of the metropolis, whereas all prudent statesmen would fain, if it were possible, prevent the increase of needy hordes in the by-streets of a great city.

It is true that the existence of Slavery placed limits to the operation of this law, and prevented the number of purchasers from being so great as it would in a modern community. But this does not alter the principle of the Law. No accidental limitations arising from the social condition of the People would make it just that citizens residing at Rome, or in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, should be the sole recipients of a corn-bounty, furnished chiefly at the expense of foreigners. If the measure had been a general one, intended to apply to the whole empire, there might have been some reason for comparing it, as it has been compared, to the old English Poor-Law. But such a comparison entirely fails. If every free Englishman, in order to obtain relief, were obliged by law to resort to London, and were there enabled to obtain such relief at the expense of the Treasury, without being subjected to any test of poverty,[8] this would be like the enactment of Gracchus, but in all respects unlike the law of Elizabeth.

It has been urged in defence of this Law, that the Romans were a Sovereign People, with large Revenues at their command, and that they had a right to divide the surplus Revenue, after defraying the expenses of government, among themselves. In answer, it must be said that the Revenue was not sufficient

[8] That *all* citizens might buy, appears from the story of Piso the Consular, who being reproved for using this license, replied: "Nolim mea bona, Gracche, tibi viritim dividere libeat: sed, si faciaa, partem petam."—Cicer. *Tusc. Quæst.* iii. 20. Compare Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 21.

for the purposes of government and war. Generals were usually left to maintain their own armies at the expense of the Provincials. Moreover, this Revenue was not derived, solely or mainly, from Lands or other State-property, but from taxes, tolls, and charges levied upon the Provinces. Those who maintain that it was just for the Roman People to consume Revenue drawn from such sources should be prepared to maintain that it would be just to charge the expenses of the English Poor-Law upon the Revenue of our Indian Empire.

The pernicious tendencies of the Sempronian Corn-Law were fully proved by its results. Fifty years later it was found necessary to limit the quantity sold to five modii (1½ bushels) a month for each person; and 40,000 citizens were habitual purchasers. Successive demagogues reduced the price, till the profligate Clodius enacted that these 1½ bushels should be given away without any payment. The Dictator Cæsar found no less than 320,000 citizens in the monthly receipt of this dole. By vigorous measures he reduced the number to 150,000: and Augustus fixed it at a maximum of 200,000 souls.[t] Such was the mass of paupers saddled upon the Imperial government by Gracchus, though of course it would be unfair to throw the whole burthen of blame upon him. But he has often been commended for the introduction of this law, as a provident and humane measure; whereas, at the best, he showed himself devoid of political foresight, and by this very law did all that in him lay to lower the independence and prudence of the poorer citizens.

No doubt, however, he secured by this measure the affections of the City Tribes, and of those poorer members of the Country Tribes who resided within easy reach of Rome.

(3.) A third Law, evidently popular in its tendency, provided that no citizen should be obliged to serve in the Legions till he was past the age of seventeen, and that clothing should be supplied at the public expense. The first provision was simply declaratory of ancient custom, which had been violated during the late wars. The second provision was no doubt sug-

[t] 200,000 persons, receiving monthly 1½ bushels, would receive in the year 375,000 quarters. Taking wheat at 50s. the quarter, the corn-bounty would cost, in our money, 937,500*l.* per annum.

gested to Gracchus by the occurrences of his Sardinian Quæstorship.

§ 11. These were the chief social measures introduced by Gracchus,[u] intended, no doubt, with pardonable error, to better the condition of the People. We now pass on to those which aimed at depriving the Senate of the great administrative power which of late years it had engrossed.

(1.) The first of these touched their Judicial power. It has more than once been mentioned, that by the famous Calpurnian Law (149 B.C.) all Provincial Magistrates accused of corrupt dealings in their government were to be tried before the Prætor Peregrinus as presiding Judge, and a Jury of Senators. This was the first regular and permanent Court of Justice established at Rome.[x] The principle of the Calpurnian Law was gradually extended to other grave offences; and other courts were established, in which other Prætors presided. But the Juries were in all cases composed of Senators.

These Courts had given little satisfaction. In all important cases of corruption, especially such as occurred in the Provinces, the offenders were themselves Senators. Some of the Judges had been guilty of like offences, others hoped for opportunities of committing like offences; extortion was looked upon as a venial crime; prosecutions became a trial of party strength, and the culprit was usually absolved. Scipio, flushed with his Numantian triumph, had indicted Cotta before the Senatorial Court; but Cotta was defended by Metellus, who was then the leader of the Senatorial majority, and he was acquitted. Very recently, M' Aquillius had been indicted for flagrant extortion in the new Province of Asia; he also was acquitted. We cannot doubt that it was with general satisfaction that men saw Gracchus propose a reform of the Law Courts.

The reform was of a most sweeping kind. Gracchus now took the Judicial power altogether out of the hands of the Senate, and transferred it to a body of Three Hundred persons,

[u] We say "the chief," because there certainly were others, but they are too obscure in their nature to notice here. Such was his Law for regulating the mode of voting in the Centuriate Comitia.—Sallust, *de Rep. Ord.* ii. 8.

[x] Hence these permanent courts were called *Quæstiones perpetuæ*.

to be chosen periodically from all citizens who possessed the Equestrian rate of property.[y] By this measure he smote the Senate with a two-edged sword. For not only did he deprive it of a great position, which afforded the means of shielding its own members, but he also gave a political constitution to a rival Order, which produced great effect on the subsequent course of events. In a former passage we have attempted to trace the rise of the Equestrian Order, as a political body, entirely different from a mere military class.[z] It was now first that this Order received distinct recognition.

It is doubtful whether this measure of reform was followed by the good effects intended by Gracchus in checking corruption and extortion in Provincial government. If the governors of Provinces were Senators, the farmers of the taxes were Equites. The new Juries had their personal reasons for acquitting corrupt magistrates; for without the countenance of these magistrates they could not demand money from the Provincials beyond what was strictly legal. The Judicial Law of Gracchus however remained in full force till the Dictatorship of Sylla, when the Senate recovered their privilege, only to lose it again after a short tenure. The constitution of these Juries formed one of the chief grounds of political contest during the next fifty years.

(2.) Another measure, which fettered the power and patronage of the Senate, was the Sempronian Law for the assignment of the Consular Provinces. Hitherto the Senate had refrained from determining these Provinces till after the elections; and they thus had a ready way of marking displeasure by allotting irksome or unprofitable governments to Consuls whom they disliked or suspected. But Gracchus now ordained that the two Consular Provinces should be fixed before the elections, and that the new Consuls, immediately upon their election, should settle between themselves what Provinces each was to administer, either by lot or by agreement.[a] It was a wise and equitable provision, which remained in force as long as the Republic lasted.

(3.) A great inroad was made into Senatorial power by a

[y] This Register was called the *Album Judicum*.

[z] Chapt. xlix. § 5.

[a] By *sortitio* or *comparatio*.

measure for regulating the Constitution of the new Province of Asia. M' Aquillius, who had been sent by the Senate to reduce the kingdom of Pergamus into provincial form, had left the country in disorder. Ti. Gracchus had claimed jurisdiction over it for the People in virtue of the bequest of Attalus. Caius now made good that claim by ordaining that the taxation of Asia should be managed by the Roman Censors, just as if it were part of Italy, and not, as in the case of other Provinces, by the Provincial Governor.

It is probable that the Aufeian Law mentioned by Gellius was a counter-project.[b] Gracchus spoke against it. He begins with the sentiment ascribed to Walpole, that "every man has his price." His own price was, he said, the good opinion of his fellow-citizens. Those who supported the Law were, he declared, bought by the gold of Mithridates.

(4.) In the same spirit was conceived a measure for improving the roads of Italy. Public works of all kinds had hitherto been left to the Censors, subject to the approval of the Senate. Gracchus now transferred the business of Censors to Tribunes, and the right of approval from the Senate to the Tribes.

§ 12. This brief account of the chief Sempronian Laws shows the spirit which animated Gracchus. It is plain that his main purpose was to diminish the increased and increasing power of the Senate.[c] It is plain, also, that the result of these measures was to increase greatly the democratic power, and to open the way to future demagogues of less patriotic views. It was no doubt a confusion between the purpose and the result, between the intention and the effect, of the Sempronian legislation that swelled the cry against Gracchus in after times. It is clear, however, that he had no chance of amending the corrupt government of the Senatorial Oligarchy, unless he first weakened their power; and if he fancied that administrative functions might safely be submitted to the immediate control of a large and fluctuating popular Assembly, something may be forgiven to political inexperience. Of representative bodies the

[b] xi. 10.

[c] He gave a significant hint of this purpose by adopting the practice of turning his back upon the Comitium and his face to the Forum,—contrary to the ancient posture of speakers.

Ancients had very faint ideas; and as the wisest of their philosophers found no halting-place between Aristocracy and Democracy, so the Roman Statesmen of that day oscillated between the Senate and the Assembly of the Tribes. Considerations of this kind, perhaps, damped the reforming zeal of Lælius and others. Gracchus seems not to have been without misgivings as to the effects of his legislation. A fragment of a speech, which has been preserved, shows symptoms of hesitation. "If," he said, "I were to tell you that my brother died for you, and that only myself and a young boy remain of the great families of Scipio and Gracchus;—if I were to ask of you a little rest, so that some relic of my race might be preserved, I know you would not refuse to listen." [d] But it was too late to draw back; and before he had been many months in office, his zeal was quickened by the return of his friend Fulvius Flaccus from the war in Southern Gaul. In his character there was nothing of doubt or hesitation.

§ 13. By his measures Gracchus had so won all suffrages, that he and his friend Flaccus were absolute masters of the Comitia. The elections of Curule officers for the next year were at hand, and Gracchus told the People he had a favour to ask. Every one expected that he would demand his own election to some high office; but to the surprise of all he appeared in the Campus Martius, leading by the hand his brother's old comrade in arms, C. Fannius Strabo, and proposed him as Candidate for the Consulship. He was elected as a matter of course, with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, to the rejection of L. Opimius, the Senatorial Candidate.

The Tribunician elections followed. Flaccus, though he had been Consul, appeared as Candidate for an office that had been raised by Gracchus to sovereign dignity and power. But Gracchus was not by his side; for it was not now lawful for the same man to be reëlected. However, there were not candidates enough for the ten places; and the People, exercising the absolute right of choice which in this contingency was allowed them,[e] reëlected Gracchus by a unanimous vote. Not more than seven months of his first year's Tribunate were over;

[d] Meier, *Fragm. Oratt. Rom.* p. 121 (quoted by Nitzsch).

[e] By a special law, quoted by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 21.

and he was secure of power for the next seventeen months at least. He now put forth all the tremendous power of the office. The Senate sate powerless, and Caius Gracchus became for a time the virtual sovereign of the Empire.

§ 14. Immediately on reëlection, Gracchus came forward with a Bill for extending the Roman Franchise, certainly to the citizens of all Latin Colonies, probably to all free Italian communities. Here we recognise the hand of Flaccus, who had in his Consulship raised this momentous question, and resumed the project on the first opportunity after his return.

There can be no doubt that some change in this direction was necessary. The admission of the Latins and Italians to full citizenship would infuse a quantity of new blood into the decaying frame of the Roman people; and, by extending to all Italians the benefits of the Agrarian Law, there was really a good hope of reviving that hardy race of yeomen who were regretted by all Roman Statesmen. Scipio had induced the Senate for a moment to take up this cause; but after the revolt of Fregellæ, all thoughts of an extension of the Franchise had been dropped. The difficulty was how to favour the Italians without again provoking the Roman Tribesmen. It is manifest that the project was still unpopular in the Forum, for fragments remain of speeches in which Gracchus laboured to show that the Roman People and the Italians had one grievance in common, namely, the tyranny of the Senatorial Oligarchy. "The other day," he told them, "the chief magistrates of Teanum had been stripped naked and scourged, because the Consul's lady complained that the public baths at that place had not been properly cleaned for her use. At Ferentinum the Quæstors had been condemned to a like punishment for some small offence; and one of them had thrown himself from the wall in despair." . . . . "How great was the insolence of the young Nobles, a single example would show. One of them was travelling through Apulia in a litter with closed curtains, and a countryman, meeting the bearers, asked whether they had got a dead man inside. For this word, the young lord ordered the poor man to be beaten with the cords of the litter so severely that he died."[f] But, notwithstanding all his efforts, the measure

[f] Gell. x. 3.

remained unpopular. It was either dropped by the movers or frustrated by the Senate; for the subsequent condition of the Italians shows that it did not become law.

§ 15. His activity during the remainder of his period of office was marvellous. He assumed administrative functions in every department of government, and trenched upon the functions of more than one magistrate. In execution of his Corn-law, he built large granaries for storing supplies of grain; the ruins of these buildings were still standing on the Aventine so late as the sixteenth century. In execution of the Agrarian Law, he employed a host of land-surveyors and subordinates, who looked to him only as their master. In execution of the Law for improving roads, he gave orders to troops of engineers and labourers, who were all zealous in his cause. For these works, he commanded the issues of the Treasury. In the discharge of his manifold business, he showed the greatest regularity, despatch, and prudence. He was affable to all, open to all complaints, attentive to all suggestions. Those who dispute his title to be called a great legislator do not question his claim to be considered a great administrator.

§ 16. But the chiefs of the Senate perceived that the proposal to enfranchise the Italians had sapped his popularity. The Consul Fannius, soon after he had entered on his office (122 B.C.), notwithstanding the part Gracchus had taken in his election, became their instrument, and delivered a speech against the measure, which was read and admired in Cicero's time.[g] He declared that he would again bring forward the Alien-Act of Pennus,[h] and forbid all foreigners from approaching within five miles of Rome while his proposal was under discussion. The Senate soon after ventured a step further. The new colleagues of Gracchus in the Tribunate, except Flaccus, had become jealous of his towering superiority. Gracchus had roused some sympathy even for the Senate, by declaring, after the Judicial Law was passed, "Now I have them under my feet;"—and one of the new Tribunes, M. Livius Drusus by name, a young man of high birth, rich, eloquent, ambitious, and resolute,[i] undertook to thwart the progress of his great

[g] Cicero, *Brut.* 26. [h] Above, § 3.
[i] Cicero, *Brut.* 28, *de Orat.* iii. 1.

colleague. He put a veto on the law for enfranchising the Latins; and having thus conciliated the goodwill of the Roman Tribes, he proceeded to more active measures.

§ 17. We must now return to the Agrarian Law. Caius, as before said, had introduced it anew with some alterations. By one clause, he greatly restricted the extent of the allotments; by another he ordained that all holders of allotments should pay a certain rent to the State,—provisions which alone ought to remove Gracchus from the list of vulgar demagogues. In furtherance of the Law, he proposed to plant Colonies in divers parts of Italy; Capua and Tarentum were fixed upon as the first of these new settlements. Here, also, he showed no democratic tendencies; for no allotments were to be given to any citizens, however poor, unless their character was respectable; and only a small number of colonists were to be sent to each place.

Drusus was not slow to take advantage of these unpopular provisions. He resolved to outbid Gracchus; the agent of the Nobility became a true demagogue. He proposed to found no fewer than twelve Colonies at once, each to comprise 3000 families, to be chosen without respect to character. All these Colonists were to hold their allotments rent-free. Drusus openly avowed that he made these propositions in favour of the poor on the part of the Senate; and declared in significant terms that he would not himself accept any part in the honour or emolument to be derived from the office of founding these Colonies, whereas Gracchus had himself superintended all the public works which he had originated.

§ 18. At this time, plans had already been set on foot for extending the Italian system of colonisation to the Provinces. In this very year, C. Sextius Calvinus, who had succeeded Flaccus as Proconsul in Gaul, founded the town of Aquæ Sextiæ, still called Aix (in Provence), in the territory lately conquered from the Ligurians; four years later Narbo Marcius, or Narbonne, was planted further westward in the same country by the Consul Q. Marcius Rex. But Gracchus himself was the first who had proposed to plant a Colony beyond the Italian Peninsula;[k] and the place which he fixed upon was Carthage.

[k] Placentia and Cremona (Chapt. xxx. § 16) were beyond the limits of Roman Italy, but still within the Peninsula.

His plan was taken up by the Senate, and a Bill for the founding of this Colony brought in at their instance by the Tribune Rubrius. The new Colony was to be called Junonia, and it was dexterously contrived that Gracchus himself, with Flaccus and another, should be the Commissioners for distributing the lands and marking the limits of the settlement. In this way the formidable Tribune and his most active supporter were obliged to quit Rome just when their presence was most needed to revive their drooping popularity.

§ 19. The two Commissioners applied themselves to their task with so much assiduity that they returned to Rome in seventy days from the time at which they had departed, in time for the Consular Elections. The ruthless Opimius was again candidate, and Gracchus exerted himself to the utmost to reorganise his party. He shifted his abode from the aristocratic Palatine to a house abutting upon the Forum. He declared himself ready to enrol 6000 colonists for the new Colony of Junonia, and that from the Latin and Italian Cities as well as from the Roman Tribes. But crowds of foreigners were flocking to Rome, notwithstanding the exertions of the Consul Fannius; and this proposal more than ever lost for Gracchus the favour of the Roman voters. Their feeling was strongly marked by the triumphant election of Opimius to the Consulship, in company with Q. Fabius Maximus, son of Scipio's elder brother, a man who had received a personal affront from Gracchus.[m]

§ 20. The Tribunician elections followed, and were equally significant of the temper of the People. Neither Gracchus nor his friend Flaccus was reelected. Gracchus accused the returning officers of dishonest conduct, and told his enemies that "they would enjoy but a sardonic laugh: they little knew the storm that was gathering over their heads." It was said that his mother Cornelia had hired a gang of stout countrymen to support her son's cause by violence; but the country citizens, on whom Gracchus still relied, were contented by an abundant harvest and the liberal promises of the Senate. The remainder of the second year of the Tribunate of Gracchus passed by

[m] At his instance, a tribute of corn, which Fabius, as Proconsul, had demanded of the Spaniards, was disallowed.

quietly. But at the beginning of the year 121 B.C. Opimius became Consul, and it was evident that danger was at hand.

§ 21. Gracchus and his friends prudently refrained from all offensive steps; but as he would give no grounds to justify proceeding against him, Opimius resolved to make them. News arrived from the new Colony at Carthage, to the effect that it had been planted on the ground cursed by Scipio: the wrath of the gods had been shown by the fact that wolves had torn down the boundary-posts. The Senate met, and on the motion of Opimius ordered the Tribune Minucius Rufus to call a meeting of the Tribes upon the Capitol, to rescind the law for colonising Carthage, in consequence of the manner in which Gracchus had changed the character of the original measure. The place was ominous, for Ti. Gracchus had been slain upon the Capitol.

On the appointed morning the impetuous Flaccus appeared with a large retinue armed with daggers. Gracchus followed with a considerable suite. Flaccus spoke vehemently to the Tribes, and endeavoured to show them that to yield here would be the first act in undoing all they had gained by the legislation of the Gracchi. Gracchus himself stood aloof in the portico of the Temple, in which Opimius was offering sacrifice. Here he was encountered by a retainer of the Consul, who insolently pushed Gracchus aside, crying, "Make way for honest men." Gracchus cast an angry look upon the man, who presently fell stabbed to the heart by an unknown hand. A cry of murder was raised, and the crowd fled in alarm from the Capitol to the Forum. Gracchus retired to his house, sadly regretting the rash imprudence of his followers. Meantime the body of the slain man was paraded before the eyes of the terrified People, and every art was used to exasperate them against the late Tribunes. The Senate armed the Consuls with a Decree, by which Gracchus and his friends were proclaimed public enemies; and Opimius took station during the night in the Temple of Castor, by the side of the Forum. He summoned the Senate to a special sitting early next morning; and also sent to all the Equites on whom he could rely, desiring them, as well as the Senators, to come armed to the Forum, and each man to bring two armed slaves. With this force he

occupied the Capitol at daybreak, and prepared to execute the will of the Senate by force of arms.

Gracchus passed the night in consultation with his friends. For his own part, he was irresolute; but Flaccus summoned to his house all who were ready to resist Senatorial authority, where he armed them with the Celtic weapons which he had brought home as trophies from his Gallic campaigns, and kept up their courage by deep potations of wine. Early in the morning he occupied a strong position on the Aventine, where he was joined by Gracchus, who was armed merely with a poniard, and sighed over the necessity of using force.

§ 22. When the Senate met, the popular leaders were summoned to attend in their places, and explain the proceedings of the previous day. They answered by proclaiming liberty to all slaves who should join them. Nothing could more show the desperate aspect which the struggle had assumed. Yet before blood flowed, Gracchus insisted on trying negotiation, and Q. Flaccus, a handsome youth of eighteen, son of the ex-Tribune, was sent; but already the Senate had declared the State in danger, and invested Opimius with dictatorial power.[n] The only answer the Consul returned was that the leaders must appear unarmed before the Senate, and explain their conduct. When young Quintus came back with a fresh message, Opimius arrested him. He now set a price on the heads of Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus, and ordered an immediate attack upon the Aventine. Under arms appeared the noblest men at Rome, P. Lentulus, Chief of the Senate, old Metellus Macedonicus, and many others. For their leader they chose not the Consul, but L. Junius Brutus, the Spanish conqueror. The attack was opened under cover of a shower of arrows from a body of Cretan bowmen. Little or no resistance was offered. Flaccus fled with his eldest son. Gracchus retired into the Temple of Diana, where he was hardly prevented from putting an end to his own life by two faithful friends, the Knights Pomponius and Lætorius. Urged by them to flee, he threw himself on his knees, and prayed the goddess to punish the unworthy people of Rome by everlasting slavery. All three then took their way

[n] "Videat Consul," etc. See Chapt. xxxv. § 19.

down towards the Porta Trigemina, closely pursued. Pomponius made a stand in the gateway to cover his friend's escape across the Sublician Bridge, and fell pierced with many wounds. Lætorius showed no less devotion by gallantly turning to bay upon the bridge till he knew that Gracchus was safe over, when he sprang into the river and perished. Gracchus with a single slave reached the Grove of the Furies, and here both were found dead. The faithful slave had first held the sword to his master's heart, and then fallen upon it himself. One Septimuleius cut off the head of Gracchus, and was rewarded by the fierce Opimius with its weight in gold.

Flaccus and his eldest son had found shelter in the bath-house of a friend. The Consul's myrmidons had tracked them hither, and threatened to set fire to the house. The owner, alarmed for his property, allowed another to disclose the secret, though he did not choose to speak the word himself. They were dragged forth and slain with every mark of indignity. The handsome youth who had been arrested before the assault commenced was allowed to put himself to death.

§ 23. Great numbers of the partisans of Gracchus were thrown into prison, and put to death without trial. The stream of Tiber flowed thick with corpses. The inconstant mob plundered their houses without molestation. The widows and friends of the slain were forbidden by Consular edict to wear mourning. When the bloody work was done, the City was purged by a formal lustration; and the Consul, by order of the Senate, laid the foundations of a Temple of Concord. Under the inscription placed on it by Opimius was found next morning another to this effect:—

Workers of Discord raise a shrine to Concord.°

But none dared openly avow themselves friends of the Gracchi. The son of Caius died soon after; and except Sempronia, the widow of Scipio, none of the race remained. Cornelia retired to Misenum, where she lived for many years, not so much sorrowing for the loss of her sons as dwelling with delight on the memory of their acts. Many visited her in retirement, chiefly learned

° ἔργον ἀπονοίας ναὸν ὁμονοίας ποιεῖ.—Plut. *Vit. C. Gracchi*, c. 17.

Greeks, to hear the story of the bold Reformers. Calmly and loftily she told the tale, declaring that her sons had found worthy graves in the Temples of the Gods. In after days her statue in bronze was set up in the Forum, with the Greek sandals on her feet which had been made a reproach to her illustrious father. Beneath it were placed these words only:—
To Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi.

CHAPTER LIV.

JUGURTHA AND HIS TIMES. (120—104 B.C.)

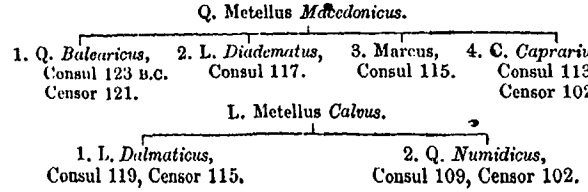
§ 1. Danger of delayed Reformation. § 2. Indictment of Opimius: suicide of Carbo. § 3. The nobler sort in the Senate: the Metelli: Scaurus. § 4. Sumptuary Laws: punishment of Vestal Virgins. § 5. Conquest of Balearic Isles: Scordiscan War. § 6. Wars in Gaul: Fabius Allobrogicus. § 7. Jugurtha. § 8. Murder of Hiempsal: Numidia divided by Senate between Adherbal and Jugurtha. § 9. Jugurtha makes himself sole King: murder of Adherbal. § 10. The Tribune Memmius forces the Senate to proclaim War. § 11. Futile campaign of Bestia: Jugurtha summoned to Rome. § 12. Jugurtha procures murder of Massiva: is ordered to quit Rome. § 13. Futile campaign of Albinus: Metellus appointed to command. § 14. Commission of inquiry: Bestia, Albinus, and others put to death. § 15. Severity of Metellus; his legate C. Marius. § 16. First campaign of Metellus. § 17. Jugurtha offers to treat: diplomacy of Metellus. § 18. Marius depreciates Metellus: he returns to Rome and is elected Consul. § 19. Second campaign of Metellus: Cirta taken: Jugurtha takes refuge with Bocchus. § 20. Command transferred by People to Marius. § 21. Return of Metellus to Rome. § 22. Marius completes the conquest of Numidia. § 23. Sylla: his early life. § 24. Sylla sent to the court of Bocchus to obtain the person of Jugurtha. § 25. Wavering of Bocchus: Jugurtha betrayed: Sylla's arrogance. § 26. Triumph and reëlection of Marius. § 27. Miserable end of Jugurtha.

§ 1. THE cruel times which followed made the best men of both parties regret the untimely end of those who had sacrificed wealth, rank, tranquillity, in the hope of reforming the State by peaceful methods. It is not the less true because it is an epigram, "that the blood of the Gracchi was the seed sown, and Marius was the fruit." But Marius, though the most ruthless, was not the worst of the successors of the Gracchi. So savage were the party quarrels which followed, that good men shrank in despair from the cause of Reform, and the conduct of the popular party was abandoned to needy demagogues. Such is the common course of Revolutions. They begin with noble aspirations; they end in reckless violence. At length public spirit is lost, and all men, sighing for tranquillity, seek it in the strong rule of an armed soldier. It is a thrice-told tale.

§ 2. As the murder of Tiberius had been avenged upon Nasica and Popillius, so there was even now found a Tribune bold enough to indict Opimius. The accuser bore the time-honoured name of Decius; the defender was that Carbo who was more than suspected of Scipio's murder, and who was now Consul (120 B.C.): his eloquence and the terror that prevailed procured an acquittal. But Carbo, though he earned the gratitude of the Nobility by defending their champion, did not find his eloquence equally effectual in defending himself. It was at that time the practice of young Romans who aspired to distinction to attract public notice by indicting some great offender before the People. L. Licinius Crassus, son of Crassus the Pontifex, and brother-in-law of C. Gracchus, though only one-and-twenty years of age, felt within him that power of speech which in later days gained him the appellation of the Orator; and he singled out Carbo for attack. So fierce was the invective of the young accuser that Carbo put an end to his own life by poison.

§ 3. The Nobility probably cared little for the life of a worthless renegade. The best men in the Senate, indeed, regretted what they considered the necessity of taking up arms against Gracchus. First among these was old Metellus Macedonicus, who died full of honours and years seven years after the death of C. Gracchus. He left four sons. Before his death three of them had been Consuls; the fourth was candidate for the Consulship at his father's death; but his two nephews, sons of his brother Calvus, were more distinguished than his own offspring. Quintus the younger, under the title of Numidicus, shortly afterwards became the most eminent man in the ranks of the Nobility. In the course of twenty years the Metelli enjoyed six Consulships and four Censorships, besides five triumphs.[a]

[a] A Stemma of the two families will be useful:


Q. Metellus *Macedonicus*.
1. Q. *Balearicus*, Consul 123 B.C. Censor 121.
2. L. *Diadematus*, Consul 117.
3. Marcus, Consul 115.
4. C. *Caprarius*, Consul 113, Censor 102.
L. Metellus *Calvus*.
1. L. *Dalmaticus*, Consul 119, Censor 115.
2. Q. *Numidicus*, Consul 109, Censor 102.

Such an aggregation of honours in one family was without example. The worst fault of the Metelli was pride; but if they were not beloved, they were at least respected by the People.

Another person who plays a large part in the events of the next years was M. Æmilius Scaurus, a man of more dubious character. Horace names him with some of the greatest men of olden time;[b] Sallust represents him as disgracing high qualities by an inordinate love for money.[c] The facts we shall have to record will show that in his earlier days he was infected by the corruption of his compeers, while in later life his prudence was so great as to stand for principle. He was born in 163 B.C., so that at the fall of C. Gracchus he had reached that ripe age which was required for the Consulship. Though he belonged to a great Patrician Gens, his family was so obscure, that he was accounted a New Man. His father had been a charcoal merchant, and left his son so poor that the future ruler of the Empire had at one time contemplated following the trade of a money-changer. But he was encouraged to try the chances of political life; and in 115 B.C. he reached the Consulate. By his ability and discretion he so won the confidence of the Senate, that at the first vacancy he was named Princeps. He was a man less seen than felt. His oratory wanted fire; but his talents for business, his dignified presence, and his dexterity in the management of parties, made him the most important person in the field of politics from the fall of Gracchus till the rise of Sylla.

§ 4. The more prudent or more severe among the Senators believed that reform in the State might be averted by a reformation of Manners. In the year before the death of old Metellus Macedonicus, his son Lucius, being Censor with Cn. Domitius, endeavoured to check the rage for foreign amusements and foreign music. They purged the Senate by removing from the list no less than two-and-thirty of the old members. In the same year, Scaurus, being Consul, introduced a stringent

[b] Regulum, et Scauros, animæque magnæ
Prodigum, Pœno superante, Paullum.—1 Carm. xii. 37.

[c] His greediness is testified by the anecdote told by Cicero (*de Orat.* ii. 70). A funeral was passing through the Forum, and the Tribune Memmius pointing to it, said: "There's a man dead; Scaurus, you had better take possession."

sumptuary law, limiting not only the expense of banquets, but prescribing the number of dishes and the kind of food to be used by different classes. We are rather surprised to read in the prohibited list not only foreign fowl, but shell-fish and field-mice.[d] Then followed a searching inquiry into the lives of certain Vestal Virgins. The trial of Licinia was made famous by the eloquent speech made in her defence by her young kinsman Crassus. The Pontifices acquitted her; but public opinion was not satisfied. Licinia was again brought to trial, and, with several others, was condemned to the fearful punishment which the law still required. A new temple was dedicated to Venus Verticordia, in which prayers were offered for a change in the morals of the maiden priestesses.

But these efforts aimed at nothing more than restoring outward decency. The business of Jugurtha brought into full light the corruption of the dominant statesmen.

§ 5. We have said little of the Wars of Rome since the fall of Numantia and the termination of the Servile War. They were not considerable. The kingdom of Pergamus had formed the tenth Province. The eldest son of old Metellus earned the title of Balearicus for subduing the Balearic Isles (121 B.C.); his eldest nephew that of Dalmaticus for putting down an outbreak of the Dalmatians (117 B.C.). Soon after the Governors of Macedonia were involved in war with the Scordiscans, a Thracian tribe. Cato, grandson of the famous Censor, lost his whole army there (114 B.C.), and the Province was overrun by the barbarians. Later commanders drove them back into their mountains, but five years of irregular warfare and two triumphs were necessary to complete the work. Wars of this kind excited almost less interest at Rome than Englishmen feel in conflicts with the Caffres of South Africa.

§ 6. More attention was excited by wars in the South of Gaul, and more permanent effects followed. The success of Fulvius Flaccus, the friend of the Gracchi, in conquering the Salluvians, a Ligurian tribe on the Alps above Marseilles, has been already noticed;[e] and it has been mentioned that C. Sextius, the successor of Flaccus, secured Roman dominion in the

[d] Gell. ii. 24; Plin. *H. N.* viii. 57.

[e] Chapt. liii. § 5.

south of Gaul by founding the colony of Aquæ Sextiæ, which under the name of Aix still attracts visitors for the sake of its hot springs. The Chief of the Salluvians, driven from his patrimony, found refuge among the Allobrogians, between the Rhone and the Isère; and this people, finding themselves unable to cope in arms with Roman Proconsuls, threw themselves on the protection of Bituitus, Chief of the Arvernians (Auvergne). Q. Fabius Maximus, while Opimius, his colleague in the Consulship, was crushing C. Gracchus, crossed the Isère. A desperate battle ensued, in which the Proconsul, with 30,000 men, is said to have so completely routed 200,000 Gauls that in the battle and pursuit no less than 130,000 fell. Fabius was suffering from a quartan ague, but in the heat of conflict shook off his disease.[f] He assumed the title of Allobrogicus with better right than many who were decorated with these national surnames. The war was now carried into the Arvernian country by Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus; and the great triumphs of Cæsar might have been anticipated by some Senatorial Commander, when hostilities were brought to a sudden end. An enemy, formidable alike to Romans and Gauls, well known a few years later under the dreaded names of Cimbrians and Teutons, had appeared on the north-eastern frontier of Gaul, and threatened to overrun all southern Europe. Circumstances deferred for a time the conflict between Italy and those barbarous hordes. For the present the dominion of Rome was firmly established in the southern angle of Gaul, between the Alps and Pyrenees; and the memory of "the Province," as this district was called by the Romans, is still preserved in France by the name of Provence. The whole northern coast of the Mediterranean, from the Pillars of Hercules to Syria, now owned the sovereignty of Rome.

§ 7. But if the war in Gaul excited interest, attention was much more strongly riveted upon the affairs of Africa; for in these affairs the chief politicians of Rome became deeply involved. The kingdom of Masinissa, as we saw,[g] had been divided among his three sons, Micipsa, Mastanarbal, and Golossa. The two last had died, and left Micipsa sole King of Numidia. The old friendship between this country and

[f] Plin. *H. N.* vii. 5. [g] Chapt. xlvi. § 10.

Rome was cemented by the flourishing corn-trade that grew up there, while Italy became more and more dependent on foreign countries for supplies of grain.[h] Masinissa and his son paid great attention to agriculture, and the plains beneath Mount Atlas waved with luxuriant crops. Micipsa died in 118 B.C., leaving two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal. By their side stood their cousin Jugurtha, a bastard. This young man was considerably older than his cousins. Sixteen years before he had served with credit under Scipio at Numantia. Among the young nobles of Scipio's camp, many formed acquaintance with the African Prince, and suggested that, at the death of Micipsa, he should purchase the support of Rome and seize the Numidian crown. "At Rome," they said, "all things might be had for money." The intriguing character of Jugurtha escaped not the discernment of Scipio. At parting, he said: "Trust to your own good qualities, and power will come of itself. Seek it by base arts, and you will lose all." Old Micipsa, whose early suspicions of his nephew were destroyed by the representations of Scipio, left Jugurtha as Regent and guardian of his two young sons.

§ 8. It is possible that if the two Princes had submitted passively, Jugurtha might have been contented with the substance without the title of sovereignty; but Hiempsal, the younger of the two, showed a spirit impatient of control. When Jugurtha proposed that the decrees made by Micipsa in the last five years of his dotage should be abrogated, the young Prince gave a ready assent; "for," said he, "with these will fall the ordinance by which Jugurtha claimed the Regency." The unscrupulous Jugurtha ordered Hiempsal to be assassinated; and Adherbal, in alarm, took up arms. The people were with him, but the soldiery had been won by Jugurtha; and Adherbal, defeated in battle, was obliged to fly into the Roman province of Libya, whence he took ship to plead his own cause before the Senate. General feeling at Rome was strong in his favour; but the wily Jugurtha bethought him of the advice tendered by his Roman friends, and sent envoys to the capital laden with

[h] It is not improbable that the proposal to found a Colony at Carthage was caused by the desire to establish a Roman emporium for carrying on the corn-trade.

gold and promises. Adherbal was heard with cold attention, while many Senators supported the claim of Jugurtha. A warm debate followed. Scaurus, not (as we have seen) a very scrupulous man, prudently advised that justice should be done; but the money of Jugurtha prevailed, and it was decided that a Commission of Ten should be sent to Numidia, with instructions to divide the kingdom between Adherbal and his unscrupulous cousin. L. Opimius, a fit instrument for such work, was placed at the head of the Commission.

The same means which had been effectual to procure this unjust decree were now freely applied to influence the decision of the Commissioners. The kingdom of Numidia consisted of two portions. The western half, which had been the patrimony of Masinissa and supplied the famous cavalry with which Hannibal had overrun Italy, was assigned to Jugurtha. The eastern portion, conterminous with the Roman Province, which had been formerly subject to Syphax and was peopled by peaceful husbandmen, was given to Adherbal.

§ 9. Jugurtha was not slow in using his advantage. Relying on the pensions which he continued to lavish on his friends at Rome, he indulged his warlike subjects by making continual forays into the portion of his rival, who at length was obliged to shut himself up in Cirta, the almost impregnable city which formed his capital. Meantime he had sent envoys to lay his complaints before the Senate; and a second Commission, headed by Scaurus, had arrived at Utica, where they summoned Jugurtha to appear. The bold adventurer made a last assault on Cirta; and it was not till he had failed in this attempt, that he rode into Utica attended only by a few horsemen. The Commissioners threatened him with the grave displeasure of the Senate, if he did not instantly retire within the limits of his own dominions. But as soon as their backs were turned, the Italian mercenaries, on whom Adherbal mainly relied for the defence of Cirta, forced him to surrender the place on condition that his life should be spared. No sooner had Jugurtha got possession of his cousin's person than he ordered him to be put to death by torture (112 B.C.).

§ 10. On the news of this audacious act being carried to Rome, some members of the Senate proposed to visit it with

summary punishment. But Jugurtha had well calculated the power of his gold. The majority took his part, and the whole matter would have been hushed up, had there not been one among the Tribunes-elect who braved the fate of the Gracchi by calling upon the Tribes to interfere in the department of Foreign affairs. This was C. Memmius, a man of great resolution and considerable eloquence.[1] He rose in open Forum, and boldly exposed the iniquities of Jugurtha. The conscience-stricken majority of the Senate shrunk back, and allowed the more upright members to take their own course. War was at once declared against the faithless Numidian Prince, and the command fell by lot to L. Calpurnius Bestia, one of the Consuls-elect for the next year (111 B.C.).

As soon as Jugurtha heard of this change of policy, he despatched his son with fresh supplies of gold to Rome. But the movement of Memmius had alarmed the Senate, and a Decree was at once issued ordering the Envoy to quit Rome within the space of ten days.

§ 11. Bestia chose Scaurus, with other leading men, to be his Legates, and showed much activity in the commencement of the campaign. But he suddenly arrested his march into Numidia, and Jugurtha appeared in his camp. The wily Prince entered into private negotiations with the Consul, and as a pledge of good faith gave up thirty elephants. The Consul soon after returned to Rome to preside at the elections,[k] and found the Forum hot with indignation. The Tribune Memmius was inveighing fiercely against the Nobility, and declared that the truce just concluded was but a cloke for past corruptions. His accusations were confirmed by the intelligence that the elephants of Jugurtha had been restored in exchange for large sums of money, which had been appropriated by the Roman officers. Memmius followed up his attack, brought in a bill, by which the Prætor L. Cassius was commissioned to bring Jugurtha to Rome under a safe-conduct, in order that he might give evidence against the persons accused

[1] Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 30, 31. A less confident opinion is given of his *eloquence* in Cicero *de Orat.* ii. 59.

[k] His colleague Nasica, son of him who led the assault upon Ti. Gracchus, had died in office.—Cicero, *Brut.* 34.

of these corrupt dealings. Jugurtha did not hesitate to attend Cassius to Rome, where he appeared in the garb of a suppliant. The People would have executed summary vengeance on the culprit, had not Memmius himself interfered to maintain the sanctity of the safe-conduct. But he ordered Jugurtha to stand forth, detailed at length the crimes with which he was charged, and concluded by urging him to place his hopes of safety in a simple confession of the truth. When Memmius resumed his seat, one of his colleagues, C. Bæbius by name, rose and forbade Jugurtha to reply. It was manifest that this Tribunician veto had been purchased by African gold, and a terrible storm arose in the Forum. But Bæbius stood firm, and the sanctity of his office was allowed to protect his unworthy client.

§ 12. But it was found impossible to obtain the votes of the People to any peace with Jugurtha, and the conduct of the war for the next year (110 B.C.) was allotted to one of the new Consuls, Sp. Posthumius Albinus. Albinus had already entered into negotiations with Massiva, another Numidian Prince. He was the son of Golossa, the third son of Masinissa, and Albinus encouraged him to demand the crown of Numidia from the Senate. Jugurtha discovered the scheme, and instructed Bomilcar, a confidential agent, to procure the assassination of the young Prince. The deed was accomplished, but one of the assassins was seized, and confessed all he knew. The Consul immediately laid an indictment against Bomilcar; but Jugurtha, fearing that his own share in the murder might come to light, sent Bomilcar off secretly to Africa. This piece of effrontery was too much even for the Senate. Jugurtha received an order to quit Rome instantly. He obeyed; and as he passed out of the gates, he looked back and said: "A city for sale if she can find a purchaser!"

§ 13. Albinus now made what haste he could to carry over fresh troops and begin the second campaign. But he had small skill in war, and was baffled at every point by the dexterous African. As his colleague, M. Minucius Rufus, was engaged in a distant and dangerous war with the Scordiscans in Thrace, Albinus also, like Bestia, was obliged to return to Rome for the elections. He left the command to his brother Aulus,—an incapable officer, who suffered himself to be surprised by

Jugurtha, and only saved his army by allowing it to pass under the yoke, and by agreeing to evacuate Numidia. Albinus was still Consul when the news of this disgraceful affair reached Rome, and he immediately brought the matter before the Senate. A Decree was hastily passed to repudiate the engagements made by Aulus, and the Consul returned in haste to Africa.

Meantime the command for the next year (109 B.C.),—the third year of the war,—had fallen to Q. Metellus, nephew of old Macedonicus.[1] He determined not to take the field till he had collected a sufficient army, with stores, engines, and all things necessary for assailing the strong fortresses which formed the chief strength of the Numidian Prince. He was well supported by the Senate, and the Italians sent their levies willingly, trusting in his ability and integrity.

§ 14. It was time for the Senate to show that they had upright and capable men in their ranks. The scandal caused by the misconduct of Numidian affairs was so great, that before the departure of Metellus, C. Mamilius, Tribune of the People, brought forward a bill for appointing a Commission of Three, to inquire into the conduct of all who had been concerned in the disgraceful treaties and transactions of the two last campaigns. The Senatorial leaders did not venture to oppose this measure. Scaurus was even active in promoting it, and was himself placed at the head of the Triumvirate. His political sagacity showed him that the Senate must sacrifice those who had dishonoured Rome by flagrant venality, and he offered himself as leader to the indignant People. Nor had the popular party any reason to complain of any indulgence to the accused. Several of the leading Senators were found guilty of high treason, and put to death without mercy. Among them were Bestia and Albinus, the two Consuls who had conducted the war, and one whose fate can excite no commiseration,—the cruel and corrupt L. Opimius.[m]

The threatening state of party feeling at Rome, as well as his own inclinations, urged Metellus to bring the war to a

[1] Above, § 3, Note.

[m] Yet Cicero, blinded by alarm, speaks of him as unjustly punished, *pro Sestio* 67, *pro Plancio* 28 *sq.*

prompt issue. There was nothing really terrible in it, though the nature of Jugurtha's troops made it difficult for a Roman general to bring him to bay. The war with Jugurtha owes the attention which it has received to Sallust's famous History; but for one reason it deserves attention, namely, because it throws so much light upon the state of parties at Rome, and demonstrates the corruption in which the Oligarchy, which then held the reins of government, was plunged.

§ 15. Metellus found the army so disorganised, that though the season of the year was far advanced, he devoted much time to restoring habits of discipline by the same severe methods which had been employed by Scipio at Carthage and at Numantia. In this work he was much assisted by his chief lieutenant, a man who soon after became famous wherever the name of Rome was known.

Caius Marius had already reached the age of fifty. He was a citizen of Arpinum, a Volscian town, which had been incorporated into the Roman Tribes in the year 188 B.C., about thirty years before the birth of one who was to be the glory and the curse of Rome. His family was old and respectable, but he was the first who obtained imperial honours. In his rustic origin and habits he may be compared to Cato; but he had none of the intellectual ambition which distinguished that singular person. He scorned the custom which led young Romans to study Greek and cultivate the art of rhetoric as the readiest way of rising to honours. "Greek," he said, "was the language of slaves: he would none of it." His rough temper and coarse manners unfitted him for political life. For war he possessed an instinctive genius. At twenty-four he had been designated by Scipio as the future general of Rome.[n] But the predominance of the Senatorial families, and his own poverty, made it difficult for him to rise. In 119 B.C., when he was thirty-eight years old, he was chosen Tribune, and had an opportunity of showing his audacity. He had brought forward a bill for taking the votes more easily in the Centuriate elections, which was opposed by the Senate, and especially by the Consul L. Metellus, elder brother of that Metellus who now commanded against Jugurtha. The family of Marius was

[n] Chapt. lii. § 5.

in some way dependent upon the Metelli; but the dauntless Tribune ordered the Consul into custody, and the Senate was compelled to allow the bill to pass. But he showed no disposition to play the demagogue, for he stopped a bill which had been introduced for extending the pernicious corn-law of C. Gracchus. No party could as yet claim the rude soldier for its own.

He had obtained the Prætorship without passing through the Ædileship. Southern Spain was his Province, but he had no opportunity here of signalising his military talents.

To choose such a man for his lieutenant is a proof of the integrity and the discernment of Metellus. It is true that he was connected by ties of clientship with the Metellus family, and had lately allied himself to the oligarchy by a marriage with Julia, an aunt of the great Cæsar. But the affront put upon the Consul's brother by Marius ten years before, was not of a kind to be forgotten; and the proud noble can have had little in common with the rough soldier, except determination to conduct the war with honest energy. For this end, doubtless, he selected an officer of uncongenial temper, in the expectation that the honour of being lieutenant to a Metellus would of itself be sufficient to gratify the ambition of Marius.

§ 16. It was not, however, till late in the year Metellus was able to take the field. The ready wit of Jugurtha soon told him that he must now meet force by force, and he showed himself no mean master of the military art. By a skilful disposition of his troops he succeeded in surprising the Romans on their march, and attacked them at a great disadvantage. But the measures taken by Metellus to enforce discipline now appeared. The Romans rallied from their first confusion; after a long and harassing series of assaults, the Numidians were beaten off and left forty elephants dead. This was the only engagement like a battle on which Jugurtha ventured during the war. He henceforth relied entirely upon his fortresses, of which Cirta, his capital, now well known as Constantine, in Algeria, was among the strongest.[o] Hence Metellus

[o] In 1836, it baffled the attack of the French under Marshal Clausel, and they were obliged to raise the siege till the next year. Among all the places named in Sallust's History, Cirta and Zama are the only two that have been identified.

advanced southward, and laid siege to the fortress of Zama, a place famous for the victory of Scipio. But the place was too strong to be taken by assault, the season was too far advanced for a siege, and Metellus retired for winter-quarters into the Roman Province.

§ 17. Jugurtha saw that his cause was hopeless. Personally he might long elude capture. But in the next campaign the Romans were sure to gain possession of all his kingdom and all his strongholds, and he would be reduced to the condition of a homeless wanderer. He therefore offered to treat; and Metellus, though his term of command had been prolonged to another year, was not unwilling to listen to overtures.

Bomilcar, the king's confidential agent, brought about the negotiation. Afraid of being made the scapegoat for the murder of Massiva, he intrigued with both Metellus and Jugurtha to procure a peace; and Metellus demanded that the Prince should give pledges of good faith, by paying down 200,000 pounds of silver, by giving up all his elephants and a quantity of horses, and by surrendering all deserters. These demands were complied with. Then Metellus required the unconditional surrender of Jugurtha's own person. It was evident that the worst defeat could hardly reduce Jugurtha to greater extremities. He at once put aside the counsels of Bomilcar, and disappeared from sight.

§ 18. Meanwhile the conduct of Marius began to excite distrust in the mind of the general. But during the brief campaign of the past year, the military talents of Marius had become manifest, and he had become a favourite with the soldiery. The late failure of the Consul before Zama had offered opportunities for his lieutenant to criticise the conduct of the war. "If he had half the army," he used to say, "he would soon send Jugurtha in chains to Rome." He gave out that he meant to offer himself as candidate for the Consulship; during the winter he intimated this purpose to Metellus, and requested leave of absence as soon as he could be spared. "It will be time for you to seek the Consulship," said Metellus, "when my son (a youth of twenty years old) can be your colleague:"—ungenerous words, that rankled for ever in the heart of Marius. About the same time Gauda, a younger brother

of Jugurtha, joined the Roman army. He was a weak young man, and Metellus refused him the honours usually accorded to allied Princes. Marius took advantage of his discontent, and persuaded him to send messengers to Rome to complain of the conduct of Metellus. The soldiers also who obtained leave of absence depreciated the general and exalted the lieutenant.

The next year's campaign had begun before Metellus gave Marius leave to repair to Rome (108 B.C.). The elections were to come on in twelve days. In two days and a night he reached Utica, where he offered sacrifice. Encouraged by the omens he put to sea, and in four days more was at Rome. In the Forum he used the same language which the camp had been accustomed to hear: "Make me Consul, and you shall soon have Jugurtha, dead or alive, at Rome." He was elected by an overpowering majority. The exposures lately made by Memmius and Mamilius now showed their effect. The death of Gracchus had been avenged. The people exulted in raising to the chief magistracy one whose chief claim was that he was a New Man and the best soldier of Rome.

§ 19. The second campaign of Metellus was conducted with vigour. Marius being absent, it was manifest that the general was not wholly indebted to his lieutenant. Most of the strong places, including Cirta itself, had been taken from the Numidians. Bomilcar was intriguing with Metellus to betray the person of his master; and Nabdalsa, a great officer of state, combined with him. But the plot was betrayed, and Jugurtha put the plotters to death. Yet the treachery of his friends sank into his heart. He put confidence in none, changed his quarters daily, and suffered no one to know where he was to pass the next night. At length, when Metellus took up his quarters at Cirta, Jugurtha fled through the Gætulian desert to the Court of Bocchus, king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married. Bocchus, indeed, had already made overtures to Rome; but the friends of Jugurtha had dissuaded the Senate from accepting his alliance, and the Moorish King now lent a not unwilling ear to the persuasions of his son-in-law. It was not long before Metellus heard that Bocchus was advancing with a large army to Cirta, and he prepared to meet this new

enemy. It was at this crisis that he received the unwelcome news that Marius was on his way to supersede him.

§ 20. After the election of the popular favourite the Senate had decreed that Metellus should continue in command till the Jugurthan War was ended. But the Tribune Mancinus, encouraged by the success of his predecessors Memmius and Mamilius, moved in the Assembly of the Tribes that the command should be transferred to Marius; and the measure passed by acclamation.

Marius immediately set about his preparations. He harangued the People with expressions of vehement scorn directed against all the Senatorial commanders, "men of old pedigree, but ignorant of war; who never saw an army till they became generals, and then set about studying Greek books of tactics,—beginning to learn when they ought to be ready to teach.[p] *He* was a New Man; *he* had no images to show; *he* knew no Greek, and was unfit to figure at the banquets of the great; *he* did not esteem a stage-player or a cook better men than an honest yeoman: but he had images of his own,—spears, trappings, standards, prizes won by valour, and scars upon his breast." The delighted People forgot that these broad censures comprehended not only a Bestia and Opimius, but also a Metellus and a Scipio.

It must be allowed, however, that Marius did not confine himself to words. Though he had spoken of only needing half the army of Metellus, he made levies on a large scale; and here he introduced an innovation which demands special notice. In early times military service was confined to those citizens who had a considerable stake in the country. After the Punic War the area of service had been extended, probably by Flamininus; but even then, those only who were worth 4000 pounds of copper were allowed to enlist.[q] Marius now proclaimed his purpose of enlisting even those who were entered on the Censor's register as possessing no appreciable

[p] "Praeposteri homines." Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 85. The speech which the historian puts into the mouth of Marius is full of these blunt and homely phrases, and its whole character leads to the belief that the actual words used by the rude soldier are embodied in it.

[q] Chapt. xlix. § 6.

amount of property.[r] A large number of this class gave in their names to Marius. Perhaps this measure was rendered necessary by the dearth of yeomen and free labourers of which the Gracchi complained. But it was followed by ill results. For, thus it was rendered more easy for an ambitious general to collect an army absolutely devoted to himself.

Marius shipped the infantry which he had levied at once for Africa, leaving his Quæstor, L. Cornelius Sylla, to follow with the cavalry.

§ 21. Metellus shed tears of vexation when he heard that the prize which was fairly his due was about to be torn from his very grasp. He made one effort to bring matters to issue by entering into negotiations with Bocchus; but the attempt was vain. Not choosing to undergo the humiliation of surrendering his command to his late lieutenant, he left P. Rutilius to hand over the army to Marius. On his return to Rome he was well received. It could not be concealed that Jugurtha was a fugitive, discrowned and landless, and that the war was virtually ended. Metellus without arrogance assumed the title of Numidicus. Sallust, a bitter enemy to the aristocracy, allows that he was regarded with equal favour both by Senate and People.[s]

§ 22. Marius at once marched to meet the enemy (107 B.C.). On his approach, Bocchus retired. Two hill-forts in Numidia were still held by Jugurtha's troops,—the only relics of his sovereignty. One of these was taken immediately. The other, containing all that remained of his treasure, was a place of formidable strength, and defied all the arts known to the Roman engineers. At length a Ligurian soldier, accustomed to chase the chamois on the ridges of the Alps, discovered a way leading to the summit of the rock. He revealed his secret to Marius, who picked out four centurions and five trumpeters to follow their nimble guide, and while they were ascending, he directed a general assault on the other side of the rock. The Ligurian, by tying roots together, by cutting notches in the rocks, by carrying the arms of his comrades over the most

[r] The *Capite Censi*. See Chapt. iii. §.5.

[s] Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 88; comp. Gell. xii. 9.

difficult passages, contrived to get all nine to the top. The trumpets were sounded; and the sound so alarmed the garrison, that they fled from the lower works, and left the approaches open to Marius. Thus the last stronghold and all the treasure of Jugurtha fell into the hands of the Romans.

Nothing now remained but to get possession of his person. Marius was no adept in diplomatic arts, and probably would have sought to gain his end by conquests in the field. Mauritania was a distant and difficult country; and the war might have been prolonged for several years. But he had with him one who was second to none in these arts of diplomacy.

§ 23. L. Cornelius Sylla had arrived with the cavalry while the army was employed in the last siege. This person, destined to be the future chief of Rome, was now thirty-one years old, twenty years younger than the general. His family, though a branch of the great Cornelian Gens, had remained almost without honours since the days of P. Rufinus, who had been ejected from the Senate by the stern Curius Dentatus for possessing more than ten ounces of silver plate. The name of Sulla, or (as it is commonly, though erroneously written) Sylla,[1] was adopted by a P. Cornelius who rose to the rank of Prætor in the Hannibalic War. Sylla had inherited little from his father, and was reduced to take a mean lodging in the same house with a poor freedman, who in his greatness reminded him of the fact. He made himself master of the Greek literature of the day, and in early years imbibed a taste for dramatic art. His habits were dissolute, as his appearance testified. His complexion, naturally fair, became pallid and blotched; but his bright blue eyes showed the vigorous spirit within. He first emerged from poverty, like Marlborough, by the bounty of a mistress, who left him heir to all her property. When he rode into the camp of Marius he had seen no active service, and the stern Consul looked with contempt on the effeminate debauchee whom lot had assigned him as a Quæstor. But with happy versatility Sylla adapted himself to the rough manners of the general, and entered with ready zest into the

[1] We shall however retain the ordinary form.

joviality of the soldiery. His aptitude for business was such, that before the end of the campaign he was the chief adviser of Marius.

§ 24. As the army was retiring to winter at Cirta it was suddenly assaulted by Bocchus and his Moors. The enemy were beaten off, but by a rapid side march they reached Cirta before Marius. A severe conflict followed, in which the Moors were at length defeated with horrible carnage. Bocchus now began to fear that the next spring might witness an invasion of his own country, and the winter passed in negotiation. Sylla was sent to the Moorish capital, but even his dexterity was baffled by the arts of Jugurtha, and he returned without result. In a short time, however, Bocchus repented, and requested that Sylla might be sent back again. Marius consented, and the Quæstor instantly set out from Cirta with a detachment of light cavalry. After five days' march he was joined by Volux, son of Bocchus, with 1000 horse. In the evening the young man came in alarm to report that Jugurtha with a large body of Numidian riders was at hand, and advised the Romans to continue their march all night. Sylla affected to despise the danger, but took the advice. In the morning it was reported that Jugurtha was two miles a-head, preparing to bar the road. The Romans exclaimed that they had been betrayed by Volux: but Sylla, though he shared in the belief, refrained from showing mistrust. Volux protested his innocence, and advised Sylla to ride through the Numidian camp in his company. The Quæstor, with politic audacity, complied. Jugurtha did not venture to molest him, and Sylla arrived safely at the Court of the Mauritanian monarch.

§ 25. But his difficulties were not yet over. Bocchus still hesitated. Jugurtha was close at hand, and Aspar, now his minister, was at the court of Bocchus. A conference was held, but nothing settled. But the Mauritanian King sent for Sylla privately by night, and proposed to banish Jugurtha from his kingdom. Sylla replied courteously but firmly that he was obliged to insist upon the surrender of Jugurtha's person. Bocchus hesitated. It is said that he doubted whether he should give up Jugurtha to Sylla, or Sylla to Jugurtha. But the address of the Roman envoy at length prevailed, and Sylla

departed not from the King's presence till he had received promises of all that he asked.

Next morning, however, the doubts of Bocchus returned. For several days he held secret interviews alternately with Sylla and with Aspar, giving both of them separately to understand that he was on their side. But the day appointed for a final decision was now at hand, and it was necessary for the wavering monarch to choose his part. Fear of Rome prevailed. Jugurtha appeared at the time and place named by Bocchus. But when he was expecting to triumph, at a given signal his retinue was surrounded and cut down, his own person secured, and given over to the Roman envoy. Sylla, relieved from the painful anxiety of many days, returned triumphantly to Marius.

Sylla was not of a temper to waive any claims of his own in favour of his general. He openly asserted that he was the real conqueror of Jugurtha, and had a signet-ring cut bearing a representation of the surrender of Jugurtha. The friends of Metellus encouraged this claim; but the soldiery and the people regarded Marius as the conqueror, and none could deny that he was the greatest general of the day. Circumstances of pressing danger soon occurred, which gave paramount importance to military skill, and raised Marius to be confessedly the first man at Rome.

§ 26. The capture of Jugurtha was effected late in 107 B.C.; but it was not till the Calends of January 104 B.C., that Marius entered Rome in triumphal procession, and passed before the gazing crowd to deposit in the Capitol the large booty which he had taken.[u] On the same day he entered upon his second Consulate. His reëlection was against the law, both because he was absent at the time of his election, and because less than two years had passed since the termination of his first Consulship. The circumstances which justified this double suspension of the law will be given in the next chapter.

§ 27. Jugurtha was treated in a manner that excites compassion for one who little deserves such feelings. When he

[u] According to Plutarch (*Vit. Mar.* c. 12), 3007 pounds weight of gold, 5775 of uncoined silver, and of coined silver money 287,000 drachmæ.

walked before the triumphal car of Marius he seemed sunk in stupor, from which he was roused by the brutal mob tearing off his clothes, and plucking the gold rings by force out of his ears. He was then thrust naked into the state-dungeon at the foot of the Capitoline. "Hercules," he cried, "what a cold bath this is!" Here he was left to starve for six days, when death came to his relief. His kingdom was given to a rival prince of the line of Masinissa.

CHAPTER LV.

THE CIMBRIANS AND TEUTONS (105—101 B.C.): SECOND SLAVE WAR IN ITALY (103—101 B.C.).

§ 1. First appearance of the Cimbrians and Teutons. § 2. Defeat of three Roman armies. § 3. Great defeat of Mallius and Cæpio on the Rhone: Cimbrians push onward into Spain. § 4. Marius appointed to the command: his stern discipline. § 5. Third and fourth Consulships of Marius: Catulus his colleague in the last. § 6. Return of the Cimbrians from Spain: the Teutons also appear in Gaul, but turn eastward towards Switzerland. § 7. Marius on the Rhone: first battle of Aix. § 8. Second battle: annihilation of the Teutons. § 9. Fifth Consulship of Marius. § 10. Catulus Proconsul: driven back from the Adige by the Teutons. § 11. Catulus joined by Marius: they meet the Teutons near Vercellæ. § 12. Battle of Vercellæ: annihilation of the Teutons. § 13. Triumph of Marius and Catulus. § 14. Second Slave War in Sicily: its origin: Salvius in the East. § 15. Athenio in the East. § 16. Salvius assumes the title of King and the name of Tryphon: Athenio submits. § 17. L. Lucullus, his little success: M'Aquillius ends the war. § 18. Strict measures to prevent future risings.

§ 1. JUGURTHA, as we have said, had been taken prisoner late in 107 B.C., while Marius was still Consul;[a] but the general remained in Africa till the close of 105 B.C. In the course of these two years happened the events which justified the irregular election of Marius to his second Consulship.

It has been noticed that Roman conquest on the Rhone had been checked by the irruption of barbarians from the North.[b] It was a few years before the outbreak of the Jugurthan war that vast hordes from the North of Europe, impelled probably by want, appeared on the north-eastern frontier of Gaul, and spread eastward along the Alps to Istria. The chief names by which these barbarians were known were those of Cimbrians and Teutons. It could not, Plutarch tells us, be ascertained who or what they were, except that they came from the shores of the Northern Ocean; nor has modern learning been able to solve

[a] Sallust, *Bell. Jug.* 104. [b] Chapt. lii. § 6.

the riddle. Probably the Teutons were an association of German tribes under one common name, like the Franks of later ages. The Cimbrians must have been of Celtic origin,[c] though with much Teutonic admixture. Their numbers were large; the fighting men alone are said to have numbered 300,000. The Cimbrians led the way, and left such a reputation in Central Germany, that, in the language of its tribes, "Cimbrian" was taken to signify *a robber*. Many smaller tribes followed or joined them, as the Ambrons from Germany, the Tectosages from the south-west of Gaul, the Tigurines from the north and west of Switzerland.

§ 2. It was in the year 113 B.C. that the Romans first came in contact with a host of Cimbrians, who had wandered eastward, and appeared on the northern frontier of Istria. The Consul Cn. Papirius Carbo endeavoured to intercept their passage, and suffered a great defeat. But the main body pressed westward and crossed the Rhine at the crisis when war was declared against Jugurtha (111 B.C.). At that time they contented themselves with ravaging Gaul. Two years later another host of Cimbrians, appearing on the frontier of the Transalpine Province, demanded a gift of land. The Consul M. Junius Silanus, colleague of Metellus, replied by giving them battle; but he also was defeated, and the Tribune Domitius, emulous of the fame won by Memmius and Mamilius, indicted Silanus for fighting without authority. But the attack was unjust; of all the Tribes only two voted in condemnation. In 107 B.C. the Tigurines pressed down the Rhone from their Swiss valleys, and were met by the Consul L. Cassius Longinus, colleague of Marius. The Helvetian Tribe shunned the conflict; but Cassius pursued them, and as he was incautiously advancing into the Allobrogian territory, he fell into an ambus-

[c] Tacitus (*Germ.* 87), Strabo (vii. p. 293 *sq.*), represent them as Germans. But, in favour of their Celtic origin, it is alleged,—(1) that they called the Baltic *Mor-marûsa* or *Dead Sea*, which is the meaning of the Welsh *Mor-marw*; and the termination *orix* in the name of the Cimbric chief Boiorix is certainly Celtic: (2) that the customs attributed to them by Strabo agree with the customs of the Britons: (3) that Holstein and Denmark—the Cimbric Chersonesus—even now abound in Celtic remains: (4) that the name *Cimbri* closely resembles *Cwmry*,—the name by which the Welsh designate themselves. Prichard's *Researches*, iii. p. 103 *sq.*

cade. Great part of his army was slain, himself among the number; the rest were made to pass under the yoke.

§ 3. While Marius still remained as Proconsul in Africa after the capture of Jugurtha still worse tidings reached Rome. The successive defeats just noticed had thoroughly alarmed the Senate, and large levies had been made for the year 105 B.C. Q. Servilius Cæpio, the Consul of that year, had held command on the Rhone, and gained an evil reputation by the sack of Tolosa (Toulouse), the chief city of the Tectosages, whom he had assailed without provocation. So great was the plunder which he took, that "Toulouse gold" became a proverbial expression for ill-gotten gains. He was, however, high in the favour of the Senate, and he was continued in command as Proconsul. M. Aurelius also, and Scaurus, nephew of the Chief of the Senate, held proconsular authority in Gaul; but the chief command in 104 B.C. fell to the new Consul, Cn. Mallius, a man only distinguished for his want of capacity. When he arrived in the Province, Cæpio scornfully refused to join him, till news came that Aurelius had been utterly defeated by the Cimbrians. Mallius had already crossed the Rhone, and was threatened by the barbarians, who had been joined by a host of Ambrons. On hearing of the danger of the Consul, Cæpio also crossed the river, but still refused to put himself under the command of his superior officer, till he was forced to do so by his own soldiers. During these unworthy bickerings the armies of Mallius and Cæpio were surprised and utterly destroyed: they lost, it is said, no less than 80,000 soldiers and 40,000 camp followers. This bloody defeat, the most serious that Rome had sustained since the day of Cannæ, took place on the 6th of October, which was marked as a black day in the calendar.

§ 4. Before this great defeat Marius had already been elected to his second Consulship. The election was a happy anticipation, which by a breach of the law provided a great General for a great need. When Marius descended from the Capitol he went straight to the Senate-house, still wearing the military dress proper to a triumphing General: but, urgent as the need was, the Senate refused to hear the Consul till he had assumed the constitutional garb of peace.

But no time was lost. The Senate gave him full powers to provide for the defence of Italy and the Provinces. There was no army available. The Gallic Legions had been annihilated, those of Africa had been disbanded. Fortunately, however, the barbarians, instead of pouring at once into Italy, turned southwards, and—a great portion of them at least—passed over the Pyrenees into Spain. Thus Italy was relieved from immediate fear, and Marius had time to put forth all his energy in organising a fresh army. The greater part of his troops must have been furnished by the lowest class of citizens both at Rome and in the Italian towns. Ligurians always appear at this period as light troops. Many of the African soldiers took service under their old commander, and were useful in inuring the new recruits to endurance of labour and hardship. But the disorderly recruits murmured at the requirements of the Consul. His sternness repelled, his arbitrary habits offended, and those who submitted patiently were called "the mules of Marius." Sylla, however, again came in aid. He had offered his services as Legate to Marius; and the General, notwithstanding his jealousy, felt his value too much to reject the offer. His ready wit assisted to smoothe difficulties. The murmurs soon abated, and the nickname became a name of honour. The confidence felt by the old soldiers in the General gradually extended itself to the new levies. It was found that, if he was inflexibly severe, he was no less inflexibly just,—the highest and the lowest received the same measure. A striking instance of this occurred in the case of his own nephew. The young man had offered a brutal insult to a young soldier named Trebonius, who resented it by slaying his officer on the spot. Marius brought the youth to trial. He told his story plainly and boldly; it was proved by evidence; and the Consul not only directed his acquittal, but placed a crown upon his head as a reward for his Roman virtue.

§ 5. For the next year Marius was elected Consul for the third time; but as the elections for 103 B.C. approached, it was alleged that there was no longer any fear of the barbarians, and many persons of high family offered themselves for election. Marius himself had repaired to Rome, in order to preside at the Comitia. He affected not to desire a fourth Consulship. But L. Apuleius Saturninus, one of the Tribunes, a man of whom

we shall have more to say presently, called upon him to come forward as a Candidate, publicly declaring that a refusal would be treachery to the State. There can be no doubt that this step had been previously concerted by Saturninus with Marius.[d] But the danger was so imminent, and the military capacity of Marius so surpassing, that no one seriously disputed his reëlection. His colleague was Q. Lutatius Catulus, one of the most distinguished members of the aristocracy. He had hitherto been an unsuccessful candidate for the Consulship. In 106 B.C. he had been defeated by Cæpio, in 105 by Mallius, and in 104 by Fimbria,—all of them persons unworthy to be put in comparison with him. It must be noted that these men were not popular favourites, but the Candidates of the Senatorial Oligarchy; and it is little creditable to the governing party to have preferred such men to Catulus, the most eminent man of their own Order, whose character stood so high, that it was usual to quote his mere word as sufficient authority for a fact: "It must be so, for Q. Lutatius has said it."[e] In personal integrity Marius was his equal, but in other respects they formed a marked contrast. Marius rough and stern, without education, scorning accomplishments, but confessedly the best general of the day; Catulus, polished in manner, well-informed and witty, the most finished orator of his time,[f] but untried in war.

§ 6. Soon after the election news arrived that the dreaded hour was really at hand: the Cimbrians had been repulsed in Spain by the gallant Celtiberians, and had recrossed the Pyrenees. The Teutons, whose name now first appears in the narrative, had by this time entered Gaul from the north-east, and the combined hordes were gathering like a thunder-cloud on the frontier of the Gallic Province. Marius left Rome in haste and crossed the Alps; the remainder of the year he spent in fortifying a strong camp on the right bank of the Rhone, somewhere between Nismes and Arles. To secure a readier access to the sea than was allowed by the shallow streams into which the Rhone is divided below Arles, he employed his men in

[d] Plutarch's account is confirmed by Livy (*Epit.* 67), "Quartum Consulatum dissimulanter captat."

[e] "Hoc verum est; dixit enim Q. Lutatius."—Cicero *de Oratore*, ii. 40.

[f] "Oratio ejus pura sic ut Latine loqui pæne solus videretur."—*Ibid.* iii. 8.

cutting a canal from the river to the coast, which long remained open, and was known by the name of the Foss of Marius.[g]

It was soon found that the barbarian hordes had again separated. The Teutons, with the Ambrons, remained in Gaul to attack the Roman Province and enter Italy by the passes of the Maritime Alps, while the Cimbrians passed up the Rhone and made a long circuit through Switzerland or Southern Germany, so as to threaten Italy from the north. Marius remained in Gaul to arrest the Teutons;[h] Catulus, with a second Consular army, was ordered to the plains of Lombardy, there to await the Cimbrians.

Marius of course was exposed to the first assault. Early in the year 102 B.C. the plain in front of his camp was covered by Teutons, who challenged him with hideous cries to come forth; and his men indignantly asked whether their only task was to be that of digging and delving like a parcel of slaves; whether they were to be kept like women under lock and key. But Marius turned a deaf ear both to the provocations of the barbarians and the murmurs of his own troops. He had formed no light estimate of the danger. In conversation he said that they had now to fight not for trophies but for existence; he would not give battle till victory was secure. This backwardness was in part due to a superstitious regard for divination. As Wallenstein consulted the stars through his astrologer, so the grim Roman carried about with him a Syrian woman named Martha, in whose predictions he placed unbounded confidence.

§ 7. The Teutons, finding their challenges vain, attempted to storm the Roman camp, but were driven off with great loss. After this repulse, they marched eastward past the lines. For six days the barbarian hordes kept defiling before the eyes of the Italian soldiery, scoffingly asking whether they could not carry some message home for them to their wives. As soon as their vast host had crossed the Rhone, Marius followed them leisurely along the Aurelian road, taking care every night to throw up earthworks in front of his camp. After some days'

[g] Strabo, iv. p. 183.

[h] No doubt in his old position, between Nismes and Arles. Orosius represents him as shifting northwards to the Isère. But this is little reconcileable with the scene of the battle.

march, the barbarians halted near Aquæ Sextiæ, the Ambrons being in the rear. Here Marius came up with them. The place chosen for the Roman camp here was ill supplied with water; and when the men complained of thirst, Marius pointed to a stream before them, and told them they could drink there, but at the price of their blood. "First, however," said he, "the camp must be entrenched." While the soldiers unwillingly set to work, the camp-followers, attended by a guard, went down with the beasts to seek water. The Ambrons were preparing their dinner, and many were luxuriously bathing in the hot springs which gave name to the place. As soon as they saw the Romans, they snatched up their arms and advanced clashing their weapons and shouting the name of their own tribe as a war-cry. There was in the Roman advanced guard a Ligurian Tribe bearing a similar name, who returned the cry, and rushed into the stream. Marius, unable to restrain the impatient mountaineers, drew out the remainder of his army, and the conflict became general. After a severe struggle, the Ambrons were driven back to their camp, where their women came out and fell upon fugitives and Romans alike with indiscriminate violence. Darkness stopped the battle, and the Romans drew back to their unfortified camp, where they passed the night under arms, listening to the wild and uncouth wailings with which the Ambrons lamented their dead. No attempt was made to renew the battle the next day, but Marius silently prepared for a decisive action on the morrow.

§ 8. The Teutons had in the meantime returned to support their comrades; and when the sun rose on the third day, the whole mass of the barbarians stood upon the plain in front of the eminence where the Romans lay encamped. During the night Marius had sent his lieutenant Marcellus, with 3000 men, to ensconce themselves upon a wooded hill in the rear of the enemy's position; and having drawn out his legions on the sloping ground in front of his camp, he there awaited the attack. The barbarians charged up the slope with furious cries. The Romans awaited their assault steadily, till they were within spear's throw; and then, having discharged their heavy javelins from their elevated position with terrible effect, they drew their swords and fell upon the broken ranks of the enemy. The bar-

barians were driven back across the plain, and at the moment when they were attempting to rally, Marcellus, issuing from the wood, fell upon their rear. A dreadful massacre followed. So numerous were the slain, that in after-years the people of Marseilles used the bones from the field of battle to make fences for their vineyards, and the whole plain was fertilised by putrescent bodies. Not less than 90,000 were made prisoners, and sold as slaves.[i] The Teutonic host was annihilated; and, on the western side, Italy was saved by the battle of Aix.

§ 9. After the battle, the cattle and waggons were bestowed by the acclamations of the army upon their General. Teutobocchus, the gigantic Chieftain of the Teutons, accustomed (as tales ran) to ride four or six horses at once, was reserved to grace his triumph.[k] He also selected the best of the arms for the same purpose. The rest of the spoils, being broken and useless, he piled in a huge heap, and himself, waving a chaplet and with his gown girded after the Gabine fashion, advanced torch in hand to fire it, when some horsemen were seen galloping along the road from Italy. He paused. Leaping from their horses, they saluted him as Consul for the fifth time. He had been elected again during his absence, before his great victory was known at Rome.

§ 10. During the whole year the Cimbrians had not made their appearance, nor was it known at what point they were to be expected. Catulus had divided his army into several detachments, which were posted at the mouth of the chief passes that led from the Northern Alps to the plains below. Sylla had before this time transferred his services from Marius to the aristocratic general, and was of great use to Catulus. In the course of the summer, he passed from one Alpine valley to another, and conciliated their rude inhabitants to Rome. Towards the close of the year it was ascertained that the Cimbrian host had reached the Tyrol, and might be expected to descend into Italy next spring by the valley of the Athesis (Adige).

Catulus, who remained in command for a second year as Proconsul, concentrated his forces on that river. His camp, strongly fortified, was on the right or western bank; a bridge

[i] Liv. *Epit.* 68. [k] Florus, iii. 3, 10.

was thrown across the stream, defended at its eastern end by a smaller camp or *tête-du-pont*.

The barbarians did not wait for the melting of the snows. Early in the next year (101 B.C.), they poured down the Pass of the Brenner, sliding exultingly down the frozen slopes upon their shields. Keeping the left bank of the Adige, they made their way to the point where Catulus was stationed. Here they gathered their host, and attempted to break up the bridge by floating large trunks of trees down the stream. The Roman soldiers, unaccustomed to the aspect of the barbarians, though the river defended them, were seized by a panic fear, and could not be prevented from deserting the camp in precipitate flight. Happily, the division which was stationed on the left bank defended their post gallantly, and prevented the Cimbrians from crossing the bridge in pursuit. At length these brave men laid down their arms, and were treated by the barbarians with admirable generosity.

§ 11. Marius had returned to Rome at the close of the previous campaign, where he was received as became the Conqueror of the Teutons. The Senate decreed him a Triumph; but he generously declined the honour, till he could share it with Catulus. As soon as he heard of the descent of the Cimbrians, he set off for the Proconsul's camp, having previously ordered his lieutenants to bring his victorious army from Gaul into Italy. Catulus had succeeded in rallying his troops, and was posted on the south bank of the Po, probably near Placentia. The army which Marius brought to his aid amounted to more than 30,000 men; that of Catulus was reduced to about 20,000. The exertions of Sylla had provided well for supplies of provisions and forage; and Marius, whose commissariat had been neglected, was again obliged to own himself indebted to an officer who had unceasingly provoked his jealousy.

Between the two Commanders the best feeling subsisted. The Cimbrians had spread over the Transpadane plain, roving and plundering in all directions, but gradually pushing westward in the hope of meeting their friends the Teutons, of whose destruction they had not yet heard. Marius and Catulus, crossing the Po to the west of the Ticinus, advanced up the right bank of that river and offered battle. The Cimbrians answered

sending envoys to demand that, when their brethren reached Italy, the Romans should give lands and cities enough for all. "Your brethren," replied Marius, "have already as much land as they are like to need;" and he sent back some Teuton prisoners, who sufficiently explained the meaning of his words. Boiorix, the Cimbrian Chief, nothing daunted, rode up to the Roman lines, and challenged the Generals to fix the day and place for a pitched battle. "The Romans," retorted Marius, "are not wont to consult their enemy on such points. However, we will humour you. Let the day be the third day hence; the place the plain of Vercellæ."[1]

§ 12. Here the battle was fought. Catulus commanded the centre; the troops of the Consul Marius, in two divisions, flanked him on the right and left. The Cimbrian host advanced in one dense column, their front ranks being linked together by chains passed through their belts. This great phalanx was supported by 15,000 horsemen, armed like Germans, with helmets made of the heads of wild beasts, surmounted by tall plumes. The combat took place on the 30th day of July; and the intense heat, together with the dust, impaired the vigour of these northern men. The compact ranks of the enemy, broken by the terrible force of the pila,[m] and charged by the whole Roman line, were driven back to their camp in disorder, and there received by their own wives as if they had been enemies. A scene of frightful carnage followed. The women alone, from

[1] Velleius and Florus name the *Raudine Plains* as the scene of this great battle. Many geographers find these in the neighbourhood of Verona, and Florus (iii. 3, 13) speaks of the Cimbrians as losing their vigour in the enervating air of "Venetia." But Plutarch names Vercellæ as the place of the battle, and this best agrees with the course which the Cimbrians would naturally take to effect a junction with the Teutones. It does not appear what reason there is for placing the Raudine Plains near Verona, except that this city was near the encampment of Catulus on the Adige;—a fact which rather goes to prove that they were *not* near Verona; for several weeks passed between the flight of Catulus and the battle, and it is very unlikely that the Cimbrians remained stationary.

[m] Marius made his men adopt a new contrivance for increasing the effect which the pila always had in hampering those whose shields were transfixed. The explanation given by Plutarch does not explain much (*Vit. Mar.* c. 25). It may be observed that the share which he here attributes to Marius in the victory is inconsistent with his argument (in c. 27) to show that to Catulus is due the glory of the victory.

the high waggons which had been drawn up so as to form a defence of the camp, continued to resist; till, not choosing to become slaves, they strangled their children, and sought a voluntary death partly by the hands of friends, partly by nooses twisted of their own hair. About 60,000 men were taken prisoners; the rest were slain. The annihilation of the Cimbrian host at Vercellæ was as complete as that of the Teutons at Aquæ Sextiæ.

§ 13. Both Marius and Catulus had done their duty in this bloody conflict. Plutarch, indeed, attributes the victory wholly to Catulus. But the accounts of Plutarch are borrowed from the annals of Sylla, a suspicious authority for estimating the merits of Marius. At Rome, all the credit of the Cimbrian, as well as of the Teutonic, victory was given to Marius. He was saluted, with Romulus and Camillus, as the third Founder of Rome. The People loudly expressed their wish that he should triumph alone. But Marius, respecting the feelings of the soldiers, and not devoid of a rough generosity, declared that his noble colleague must share the honour. The opinion of the day was ratified by posterity. Cicero speaks of the Triumph as due, chiefly if not solely, to Marius;[n] and Juvenal in a well-known line sums up the traditional faith of a later generation.[o] There can be no doubt that Marius well deserved all his honours. By these great victories he rolled back the tide of Northern immigration for at least three centuries. The battles of Aix and Vercelli may be ranked in the number of those which changed the course of the World's History.

§ 14. While the arms of the Republic were thus triumphant in averting external peril, the fertile Province of Sicily had again become a prey to the desolating horrors of a Slave War.[p]

After the former war had been happily concluded by Piso

[n] "Utrum tandem beatior C. Marius tum, quum Cimbricæ victoriæ gloriam cum collegâ Catulo communicavit,—pæne altero Lælio, an . . . etc."—*Tuscul. Quæst.* v. 19. The comparison of Catulus with Lælius implies that of Marius with Scipio.

[o] "Nobilis ornatur lauro Collega *secundâ*."—*Sat.* viii. 253.

[p] The history of this war, like that of the former, is almost entirely derived from Diodorus (lib. xxxvi.).

and Rupilius,[q] several indications of similar troubles appeared in Italy itself. At Capua in particular, a spendthrift Knight, by name T. Minucius, armed 4000 Slaves and assumed the diadem. But by prompt measures the insurrection was put down.

The rising in Sicily might have been checked with no less ease, if the Sicilian Prætor had acted with the same vigour. It originated thus. Marius had been commissioned by the Senate to raise troops in foreign countries to meet the difficulties of the Cimbrian war. For this purpose, he applied among other persons to Nicomedes of Bithynia; but the King answered that he had no soldiers, the Roman Tax-gatherers had made Slaves of them all. On hearing this answer, the Senate, glad to have an opportunity of censuring the Equites, passed a Decree that all persons unduly detained in slavery should be set free. In Sicily the number of such persons was so large that Nerva, the Prætor, was obliged to liberate more than 800 men in the first few days: and hopes so extravagant were raised among the mass of the Slaves, that Nerva suspended the execution of the Decree. Great disappointment followed. A body of Slaves seized a hill overhanging the city of Heraclea Minoa, not far from Agrigentum, and beat off an assault directed by the Prætor. Their numbers, which as yet were but 2000, soon swelled to 20,000; and they chose one Salvius, a soothsayer, to be their king. This man showed himself fit to command. He divided his followers into three bodies, regularly officered. He enforced strict discipline. To restrain his men from wine and debauchery, he kept them in the field. He contrived to provide 2000 with horses. When his men seemed sufficiently trained, he laid siege to the city of Murgantia. The Prætor attempted to raise the siege: he was beaten off. But the Slave-masters of Murgantia offered freedom to all Slaves who would remain faithful, and Salvius saw himself compelled to retire. The promise, however, was not kept, and numbers of the deceived men flocked to the insurgent camp.

§ 15. This success in the Eastern part of Sicily gave birth to a similar rising in the West. This new insurrection was headed by a Cilician slave, named Athenio, who pretended to read the future in the stars. Supernatural powers seemed now, as in the

[q] See Chapt. xlviii. § 11 *sq.*

former war, to be a necessary quality for leaders. Athenio would enlist none but able men: all others who joined him were compelled to labour in the service of the army. He soon found himself at the head of 10,000 soldiers, well found with arms and provisions. He gave out that the stars declared his sovereignty: he therefore forbade all robbery; for, said he, "the property of our masters has become our own." Relying on the prestige of success, he rashly laid siege to the impregnable fortress of Lilybæum; but finding its capture impossible, he drew off, alleging that an impending danger had been revealed to him. Just then, a strong body of Moorish horse was landed at Lilybæum; and by this fulfilment of his predictions the credit of Athenio was greatly raised.

§ 16. Meanwhile Salvius, after raising the siege of Murgantia, remained master of the open country. The Romans and wealthy Sicilians crowded into the towns for safety. The Slaves employed in the fields furnished the bulk of the insurgent army. The town-slaves, as at Murgantia, seem to have remained faithful to their masters. They were better treated, and no doubt looked upon the mass of the insurgents as barbarians. No considerable town was taken by the Slave-leaders in the whole course of their successes.

Salvius now sought to consolidate his power. He assumed the name of Tryphon, and fixed the seat of his sovereignty at the fortress of Triocala, near Heraclea, which had fallen into his hands, and sent orders to Athenio to repair in person to that place. Hopes were entertained that a schism might arise. But Athenio obeyed the orders of King Tryphon, and appeared at Triocala with 3000 men. The King now occupied himself with building a palace, and adding to the natural strength of his new capital. He chose a Senate out of his followers. On public occasions he wore the Toga Prætexta of a Roman Magistrate, and was attended by the due number of Lictors.

§ 17. In the year 103 B.C. the matter first excited the serious attention of the Senate. L. Licinius Lucullus was sent as Prætor to Sicily in that year, and immediately took the field against the insurgents. They met him readily with an army of 30,000 men. After a sharp conflict, the Roman General prevailed: Athenio was left desperately wounded on the field;

and King Tryphon escaped with a few followers to Triocala. But Athenio was carried off the field, and recovered from his wounds; nor did the Prætor make any effort to pursue his success. In the next year also the war languished. But in 101 B.C. M' Aquillius, a brave soldier, the colleague of Marius in his fifth Consulship, took the command. Meanwhile, Tryphon had died, and Athenio had become chief of the insurgents. Aquillius brought them to a second engagement, in which he encountered the brave Athenio hand to hand. The Consul was severely wounded, but the Slave-leader was killed. Aquillius remained as Proconsul in Sicily for another year, in the course of which time he crushed the last embers of the war. After the fall of Athenio, the insurgents had dwindled away to a band of 1000 desperate men commanded by one Satyrus, who at length surrendered to Aquillius, and were by him sent to Rome to serve as gladiators. The story of their end is very touching. Being brought out into the arena to fight with wild beasts, rather than make sport for their conquerors, they slew one another at the foot of the altars which stood there; and Satyrus, being left alone, fell upon his own sword.

It is manifest, from the humanity and discipline observed by these unhappy men in their power, that their chiefs must have been originally men of station and education, reduced to slavery by the horrid practice of ancient warfare. The story of their death presents a picture not flattering to Roman civilisation.

§ 18. Strict measures were adopted in Sicily to prevent a recurrence of these perils. It was made a standing order, confirmed by every successive Prætor, that no slave should have a weapon in his possession. Nor was the ordinance suffered to remain a dead letter. Soon after, the Prætor L. Domitius received a fine wild boar as a present. He inquired who had killed it. Finding that it was a slave employed as a shepherd, he summoned the man to his presence. The poor fellow came with alacrity, expecting a reward. The Prætor asked him with what he had killed the animal; and finding that it was with a hunting-spear, he ordered the unfortunate wretch to be crucified.[r] Such were the laws by which the masters of the world were obliged to maintain their power.

[r] Cicero *in Verr.* v. 1.

CHAPTER LVI.

FROM THE SIXTH CONSULSHIP OF MARIUS TO THE DEATH OF M. LIVIUS DRUSUS. (100—91 B.C.)

§ 1. Scaurus and the Senate form a middle party. § 2. Practice of young orators to indict culprits of high rank: condemnation of Q. Cæpio. § 3. Cæpio had offended the Equites. § 4. Eminent men in the moderate party: the two Scævolas: Crassus and Antonius, the Orators. § 5. Political character of these men. § 6. Position of Marius: inaptitude for political arts. § 7. Election of Marius to a Sixth Consulship, Glaucia to the Prætorship. § 8. Saturninus indicted, but acquitted: is made Tribune by force. § 9. Agrarian Law of Saturninus: oath required of Senators. § 10. Trick of Marius: banishment of Metellus. § 11. Extension of the Corn-law, prevented by Cn. Cæpio. § 12. Glaucia stands for the Consulship: murder of his opponent Memmius: Saturninus and his crew outlawed: their end. § 13. Decline of Marius' power. § 14. Return of Metellus. § 15. Visit of Marius to Mithridates. § 16. Prætorship of Sylla: grand lion fight: Sylla sent to Cilicia. § 17. Law for expelling Latins and Italians from the Tribes. § 18. Indictment and exile of Q. Cæpio: defence of Norbanus by Antonius. § 19. Partial verdicts of the Equestrian Juries: cases of Aquillius and Rutilius. § 20. Drusus Tribune: undertakes to deprive the Equites of Judicial power, but insists on enfranchising Italians. § 21. Popular measures of Drusus. § 22. His Judicial Reform ill received. § 23. Attack of Philippus on the enfranchisement Bill: death of Crassus. § 24. Assassination of Drusus. § 25. Law of Varius against favourers of Italians: impeachment of Scaurus.

§ 1. THE power of the Nobility had been shaken to its centre by the Gracchi. It was for a time restored by the force with which the popular leaders had been put down, and by the jealousy created between the citizens of Rome on the one hand and the Italians on the other. But the corruption of the now dominant party enabled Memmius and other Tribunes to revive Tribunician power, and the election of Marius to the Consulate was a signal triumph of the popular party. Before the time at which we have arrived, however, Scaurus and the moderate

men of the Senate perceived that they must separate their cause from the reckless corruption of the Oligarchy. Scaurus, as we have seen, himself presided over the Commission, by which Bestia and Opimius were condemned: a Metellus, Censor in 115 B.C., expelled thirty-two members from the Senate; and in 102 B.C. Metellus Numidicus would have acted with similar vigour had he not been thwarted by his colleague and cousin, C. Metellus Caprarius. The majority in the Senate now consisted of moderate men, who held aloof equally from the high oligarchical and the popular party, and sought to uphold the old ascendancy of the Senatorial Order by maintaining a certain respectability of character.

§ 2. An indirect check was placed upon political immorality, by the increasing love for popular oratory, which followed the transference of judicial authority from the Senate to the Equestrian Order. The latter were venal enough, but were yet more open to persuasion than the old Senatorial Juries, and afforded a greater scope to the powers of youthful orators. The example of Cato and the Gracchi showed how men might rise to eminence by peaceful arts; and, from this time forth, men even of noble family found a ready way to office by impeaching public officers of corrupt life or unpopular character. No doubt it was a questionable license to encourage ambitious youths to make the first essay of their maiden eloquence in assaulting magistrates and rulers. But though persons indicted were often unjustly acquitted, it seldom happened that they were unjustly condemned. The condemnation of Q. Carbo, at the accusation of young Crassus, has been noticed.[a] Not long after the achievement of this verdict by Crassus, M. Antonius, his rival in eloquence, brought Cn. Carbo, brother of Quintus, to the bar for his defeat by the Cimbrians in 113 B.C.; and the culprit sought voluntary death by means of a dose of vitriol. Soon after this, Q. Cæpio also was brought to punishment, but not by the verdict of the ordinary tribunal. This man, as we have seen, was gorged with the plunder of Toulouse, and by his quarrel with the Consul Mallius had at least contributed to the great defeat of 105 B.C.[b] On the news of the defeat being

[a] Chapt. liv. § 2.

[b] Chapt. lv. § 3.

received, the Tribes passed a vote to deprive Cæpio of his Proconsular command, and to confiscate all his goods,—a proceeding unexampled in the annals of the Republic.[c] In the next year, the Tribune, L. Cassius, introduced a law by which it was enacted that any one who had so been deprived of his command should lose his seat in the Senate. This was the first time that the popular Assembly had taken upon them to limit the rights and privileges of the Senatorial Order.

§ 3. The attainder of Cæpio was the most signal political advance which had been made by the popular party since the time of the Gracchi. It was not solely on the merits of the case that he was so promptly judged. He had, in the year before, when he was Consul, carried a Centuriate Law—the Servilian Law of Cæpio—by which the judicial authority was restored to the Senate. He had thus provoked the wrath of the Equestrian Order, and by their votes added to the voice of the People the bill of attainder was carried. This law, however, did not remain in force many months. The disgrace of the Lawmaker was followed by the repeal of the Law. The Servilian Law of Q. Cæpio, the Consul, gave way to the Servilian Law of C. Glaucia, the Tribune, in the same year that Cæpio was condemned: and thus one Servilian Law for restoring judgment to the Senate was cancelled by another Servilian Law for giving it back to the Knights,—a fact that leads to many confusions in the history of the Roman Law-Courts.

§ 4. Scaurus himself, the Chief of the Senate, was several times impeached, and more than once by young Noblemen,—a fact which testifies to the separation noticed between the moderate and violent members of the Oligarchy. He was, however, uniformly acquitted. The integrity of Metellus and of Catulus is unquestionable. But there were none more distinguished for purity of life and moderation in politics than the two Scævolas, the Augur and the Pontifex Maximus. Q. Scævola, the Augur, belonged to a former generation. He is chiefly known for his great legal knowledge, in which he was the worthy successor of his cousins, P. Scævola and P. Crassus, the friends of Ti.

[c] "Cæpionis . . . damnati bona publicata sunt, *primi post Regem Tarquinium.*" —Liv. *Epit.* 67.

Gracchus.[d] He married Lælia, the daughter of Scipio's friend. In a corrupt age he escaped all taint of corruption.

The fame of Q. Scævola, the Augur, was sustained by his younger cousin, Q. Scævola, the Chief Pontiff. He was the son of that Scævola who lent his Consular authority and the weight of his unblemished character to support Ti. Gracchus, and who was the founder of the scientific study of Roman Law. He was the third of his family who had borne the high office of Pontifex Maximus in succession. Like the Augur, he preferred the quiet profession of a jurist to the exciting conflicts of political life. But whenever he appears in public, he adds honour to the name of his family. He ruled Asia with singular integrity; and we shall have to notice in a future page the unjust condemnation of his Legate, P. Rutilius Rufus, for endeavouring to prevent the extortions of the tax-collectors. His memory was long preserved by the grateful Asiatics in festal games known by the name of Mucia.[e] The disinterested character of the Pontiff is shown by an anecdote preserved by Cicero. He had bought an estate under its due value; and though that value had been fixed by the vendor, the conscientious purchaser insisted on paying a larger price,—an act which the jurists of the day considered to be incompatible with wisdom.[f]

Here also may be noticed the two great Advocates of the day, M. Antonius and L. Licinius Crassus, each known by the name of "the Orator." At Rome, in those days, a great Advocate could hardly avoid taking part in politics, for all celebrated causes were of a political nature: the Equestrian Order supplied the juries, the persons impeached were Senators. At Rome, advocacy was not so much a profession as a duty of private or

[d] P. Scævola, Cons. 175 B.C. and Q. Scævola, Cons. 174, were brothers.

P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, Pont. Max., Chapt. III. § 7.	P. Scævola, Cons. 133, succeeds Crassus as Pont. Max.	Q. SCÆVOLA, the Augur, Cons. 117.

Q. SCÆVOLA,
Cons. 95, succeeds his father as Pont. Max.

[e] Both the Augur and the Pontifex ruled Asia; but that the Mucian Festival was held in honour of the latter is made probable by Klenze (quoted in Orelli's *Onomasticon Cic.* p. 407).

[f] Cicero *de Offic.* iii. 15.

political friendship. Both Crassus and Antonius generally appear as the defenders of Senators before the Equestrian Tribunal, and therefore seldom met as rivals at the bar. In youth, they both courted popular favour, as appears from their prosecution of the two Carbos. But they soon became steady adherents of the Senatorial Order. Crassus married Mucia, daughter of Q. Scævola the Augur, and was the close friend of Q. Scævola the Pontiff, his colleague both in the Ædileship and Consulate. One of his most famous speeches was delivered in favour of the Servilian law of Cæpio for restoring judicial power to the Senators: in the time of Cicero it was regarded as a classical composition: "it could not," remarks the critic, "be improved except by Crassus himself." [8] The oratory of Crassus was often pointed with sarcasm, which made him enemies even in the Senate: that of Antonius was more natural and pathetic. Cicero is unable to adjudge superiority to either. He introduces both as the chief interlocutors in his celebrated Dialogues on the Orator. He exhausts the Latin language in expressing his admiration of both. Crassus he held to be the greatest orator Rome had ever seen except Antonius, and Antonius the greatest except Crassus. The oratory of Antonius, from its pathetic character, was more fitted for a Jury; that of Crassus for a deliberative Assembly. In their high finish and elaborate diction the orations of Cicero himself may be taken as representations of the style of Crassus rather than of Antonius.

§ 5. These were some of the men who now held foremost place in the Senate. They were all upright men, grave, dignified, lovers of moderate counsels, proud of their high character as well as of their high birth; and, as Chiefs of the Senate, present a favourable contrast to the venal statesmen who had led that Assembly before the Jugurthan War. But except Scaurus and Metellus Numidicus, few of these men appear on the active stage of political life. Even Scaurus and Metellus seem to have no certain and definite principles, except such as may be denoted purely Conservative. None had energy enough to attempt any reform of the abuses revealed by the Gracchi; and thus the stage was left open to be occupied by profligate

[8] Cicero *Brut.* 87.

demagogues. The removal of external danger by the defeat of the barbarians, and the return of Marius to Rome, gave the signal for a renewal of internal troubles.

§ 6. Marius was now confessedly the great man of the day. All parties were disposed to welcome him. He had conciliated the Senate by his bearing towards Catulus: his military glory dazzled the multitude: the saving of Italy won him the regards of all. The blunt, decisive, not to say rough manner of the man, gave no offence; nay, as it often happens in the case of great soldiers, rather increased his popularity with the mass of men. He had become rich; but to gain wealth he had used no means that were reprobated by the usages of Roman society; his character for integrity stood high. But his own nature and long habits of command rendered him incapable of using the arts of the Forum. He is not the only great General that has quailed before the clamours of a popular Assembly: and his popularity soon began to decline. Shortly after his triumph he had a mortifying hint that his will was not to be the law at Rome. He had by his sole authority granted the Roman franchise to a thousand Italians of Camerinum, who had served in his Legions. The proposition of C. Gracchus to enfranchise the Italians had made the Romans very sensitive on this point, and Marius was publicly questioned as to his conduct. He replied briefly that the statement was true: "the voice of law," he added, "could not be heard amid the clash of arms." A shout of disapprobation followed, and the great General felt that he was not absolute.

§ 7. But after so long enjoyment of absolute power abroad he could not bear to descend into private life at home. All men were surprised, and moderate men were disgusted, when he appeared as candidate for a Sixth Consulship (101 B.C.). There was no excuse for any further violation of the law, and it appeared that his chance of election was doubtful. But agents were ready to assist him; large sums of money were placed at their disposal;[h] troops of disbanded soldiery thronged the streets of Rome to intimidate those who would not sell their

[h] The corruption used to secure the election of Marius is attested by the high authority of Rutilius Rufus (Plut. *vit. Mar.* c. 28), and was noticed by Livy (*Epit.* 69).

votes.[i] Metellus came forward as a candidate, not so much hoping to defeat Marius, as to neutralise his power by becoming his colleague. But even in this he was disappointed. L. Valerius Flaccus, a feeble nobleman, was preferred to the leader of the aristocracy.

The person who was mainly instrumental in procuring this result was the same demagogue who had interfered to promote the election of Marius to his fourth Consulship.[k] L. Apuleius Saturninus was a man of good family, and intended at first, apparently, to rise to honour through the ordinary grades of office. Elected Quæstor, he obtained by lot the responsible and important task of residing at Ostia to superintend the importation of corn for the supply of the Roman market. The habits of Saturninus were those of a careless profligate. Metellus, when Censor, would have struck his name off the list of the Senate, had he not been thwarted by his colleague.[l] The important trust committed to Saturninus was so neglected, that the Senate had recourse to the extraordinary measure of transferring his duties to Scaurus. This public disgrace stung him to the quick, and from that day he vowed revenge. He possessed that kind of eloquence which stirs the feelings of the populace.[m] What he wanted in rank and character he supplied by attaching himself to Marius. He found a friend and associate in C. Servilius Glaucia, the same who had already foiled the Senate by repealing the judicial law of Cæpio. This man's character was as bad as that of Saturninus. But his ready wit and reckless humour made him a popular favourite, and he was elected first Prætor at the same Comitia which made Marius Consul for the sixth time. Having secured the election of these two men to the highest executive offices in the state, Saturninus himself stood forward as candidate for a second Tribunate. With Marius as Consul, Glaucia as Prætor of the City, and himself as Tribune, such vengeance might be wreaked upon the Aristocracy as would satisfy the most violent of the Popular party.

[i] App. *Bell. Civ.* i. 29. [k] Chapt. lv. § 5. [l] Above, § 1.

[m] "Ita fuit efferatus et pæne demens, ut auctor esset egregius et ad animos imperitorum excitandos inflammandos perfectus."—Cicero *de Harusp. Respons.* 19.

§ 8. Before the Tribunician Comitia, he was guilty of a piece of imprudence which nearly crushed his projects. Mithridates, king of Pontus, who soon after became the most formidable enemy of Rome, had at this moment sent ambassadors to Rome to satisfy complaints which had been laid before the Senate by his enemies; and Saturninus was guilty of some gross outrage towards them. The ambassadors, at the suggestion of some leading Senators, made a formal representation of his conduct, and Saturninus was indicted before the People. If he had been found guilty, all his schemes would have been frustrated: even to save his life, he must have sought refuge on foreign soil. In this extremity he adroitly determined to give a political colour to the affair. He assumed a squalid garb, let his beard grow, and exhibited himself in the Forum as a victim of Senatorial persecution. His skilful acting was successful, and, contrary to all expectation, he was acquitted.[n]

On the day of election, therefore, he appeared as candidate, and expected to carry his election by acclamation. But his connexion with the Italian cause was suspected. A man of spirit, named Nonius, rose in the Assembly, and after boldly denouncing the infamous lives of both Glaucia and Saturninus, offered himself as a candidate, and was elected to the exclusion of the demagogue. A man so reckless as Saturninus was not thus to be defeated. With a party of his adherents he set upon Nonius, and murdered him. Glaucia then called a partisan meeting early next morning, which he declared to be a regular Assembly of the Tribes; and by their votes Saturninus was elected Tribune. Strange to say, this election was not disturbed, and Saturninus was, by the sanctity of his office, protected from all question as to the murder of Nonius.

§ 9. Saturninus at once commenced a career which is a sort of caricature of the public acts of the Gracchi. He began by introducing an iniquitous Agrarian Law, by which it was proposed to divide among the soldiers of Marius the lands in Transpadane Gaul recently occupied by the Cimbrians; iniquitous, for these lands were the property of the provincials who had been dispossessed by the barbarians. He also proposed to found Colonies in various Provinces, and to employ the

[n] This occurrence is related by Diodorus, lib. xxxvi., ii. p. 631, ed. Wesseling.

"Toulouse gold" of Cæpio as Ti. Gracchus had employed the gold of Attalus.[o]

To carry this law Saturninus relied chiefly on the disbanded soldiery of Marius and a mob of Latins and Italians. To intimidate the Senate it was provided that, in case the law received the assent of the Tribes, every Senator should, within five days, take an oath of obedience to its enactments, and that any recusant should lose his seat in the Senate and pay a fine of twenty talents to the treasury.

§ 10. On the day appointed for the vote Saturninus appeared with his adherents in great strength. The opposite party endeavoured to break up the Assembly by declaring that it was thundering. "If you do not take heed," said the Tribune, "it will hail also." Stung by his scornful demeanour the opponents of the law girded up their gowns, and, arming themselves with cudgels, drove the adherents of Saturninus from the Forum. But the veteran soldiers soon rallied, and having procured a supply of similar weapons, regained possession of the Forum. The law then passed in silence. On the same day Marius, in the Senate-house, volunteered a remark that to exact a compulsory oath was an insult to the Order. Metellus and his friends, agreeably surprised, expressed their resolution to stand by the Consul in refusing the oath, and the House broke up. But late on the afternoon of the fifth day, when the time for taking the oath was just expiring, Marius hastily convened the Senate, and stated that there was reason to apprehend violence if the oath were not taken; to appease the mob he proposed that all Senators present should submit to take it; hereafter it might be declared null, as having been taken under compulsion and without regard to the omens. All saw through this hypocritical artifice: but there was no time for debate; and Marius himself, rising from his place, went forth to the front of the Temple of Saturn, and there publicly took the oath. The rest of the Senators present followed his example, all except

[o] "Saturninus . . . *Siciliam*, *Achaiam*, *Macedoniam* novis Colonis destinavit, et aurum Tolosanum scelere Cæpionis partum ad emptionem agrorum convertit." Auctor *de Viris Illustr.* 73. The MS. has *dolo an* for *Tolosanum*, but the emendation is certain. The purpose to which he applied the gold was not probably to *buy*, but (after the example of Gracchus) to *stock* the lands.

Metellus, who declared that he would submit to any penalty, rather than dishonour his name and character. Next day when the Senate met, Metellus appeared in his place; and Saturninus ordered the recusant Senator to be removed. The other Tribunes interposed; upon which Saturninus, followed by Glaucia, rushed forth and harangued his partisans, telling them that while Metellus was at Rome they would never get their promised lands. He then constituted them as an Assembly of the Tribes, and brought forward a Bill to banish Metellus from the soil of Italy. Before the day appointed for the vote, the Roman citizens armed themselves with daggers, and would have used force to defend Metellus and his friends against the partisans of Saturninus; but Metellus, with noble patriotism, thanked them for their zeal, and bade them put away their weapons; "not for him," he said, "should blood be shed in the city;" and to make good his words, he forthwith quitted Rome.

§ 11. Saturninus next brought in a Bill designed to win the favour of the Roman Populace. It was a measure for reducing the price of grain from 6⅓ ases the modius (the price fixed by C. Gracchus) to 5-6ths of an as.[p] The Senate were now roused to action. The Quæstor of the City, Cn. Cæpio,[q] made a report that the Treasury could not bear the drain which must follow; and the Senate ordered Saturninus to proceed no further. He persisted; his colleagues interposed their veto; but Saturninus scornfully ordered the ballot-boxes to be brought forward, on which the Quæstor, supported by a strong body of men, broke down the gangways and overthrew the ballot-boxes. The violence of Saturninus could not be arrested but by violence.

§ 12. The Tribunician Elections for the next year came on before the Consular. It may be conjectured that Saturninus brought them on early, in order that he might anticipate the harvest, and thus make sure of his own reëlection. At any rate this result was gained; and with him was associated one

[p] The particular change of price was caused probably by a jingle of words; corn was to be sold *semisse et triente* ($\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3} = \frac{5}{6}$) instead of *senis et triente* ($6\frac{1}{3}$). See Mommsen, *die Röm. Tribus*, p. 180.

[q] Cn. Cæpio was cousin, younger by one generation, of that Q. Cæpio who had brought infamy on the Senate. He had begun his political life, like most young men, by indicting an eminent Statesman. See above, Chapt. lv. § 3.

L. Equitius, a person who gave himself out as a son of Ti. Gracchus. Marius did not seek a seventh Consulship; and Saturninus used all his power to procure the election of his friend Glaucia, though by the Lex Annalis he was not eligible for the next four years. But Antonius the Orator, and C. Memmius who had exposed Senatorial corruption in the time of the Jugurthan War, were held sure of their election to the chief magistracy. To prevent this result Saturninus and Glaucia sent a band of ruffians, who positively beat Memmius to death in the Campus Martius before the assembled People. This brutal act broke up the Assembly. The People of the City were wrought up to frenzy, and met next day, vowing that they would have had the life of Saturninus. The Tribune, supported by Glaucia, and Saufeius, colleague of Cn. Cæpio in the Quæstorship of the City, assumed an attitude of resistance. The Senate met, and Marius offered himself as mediator. But nothing came of his negotiation; and the Senate issued a Decree putting Saturninus and his comrades out of the protection of the law, and charging the Consuls with dictatorial power. Meanwhile the insurgents had seized the Capitol, and Marius was obliged to take up arms in order to protect the State. All the chiefs of the Senate came forward to support the Consul, who thus became the unwilling leader of his political adversaries against his political friends. Scaurus, the Chief of the Senate, the Metelli, Catulus, Rutilius, Crassus the Orator, Scævola the Pontiff, and Scævola the Augur,—though the last could hardly walk from age and illness,—with all who bore a noble name, appeared in arms. Antonius the Orator, who was Consul-elect, stationed himself outside the City to prevent any more of the country people from entering the gates.[r] It might have been not easy to reduce the insurgents under a commander who was their secret friend; but some persons cut the pipes which supplied the quarter with water, and it became impossible for the insurgents to hold out.[s] Saufeius proposed to set fire to the great Temple of Jupiter; but Saturninus and Glaucia, relying on the good offices of their friend Marius, surrendered at discretion, and

[r] Cicero *pro Rabirio Perd. Reo*, 9.

[s] Cicero says *Marius* did this; but we follow Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 32.

Saufeius followed their example. The citizens would have slain them on the spot; but Marius insisted on a regular trial, and shut them up in the Senate-house. The People, however, would not be balked of vengeance. Numbers of them climbed to the top of the building, tore off the tiles, and killed all the prisoners. Thus were slain a Prætor, a Quæstor, and a Tribune, all wearing the ensigns of office.

§ 13. The proceedings against Saturninus were the same as those adopted against the Gracchi. But this demagogue had himself set the example of murdering his opponents and taking up arms; and his death was due, not to an arbitrary exercise of power on the part of the Senatorial leaders, but to a burst of popular feeling. Marius had lost all influence by associating himself with such men as Glaucia and Saturninus, by the mean and unsoldierlike arts which he used to procure the banishment of Metellus, and lastly by his dubious relations to the insurgents. The Senate and People of Rome, still allied through fear of the Italians, hated him because he had attempted to save Saturninus, whom they regarded as the patron of the Italians; and the Italians themselves did not trust him because he appeared in arms against their late leader. He proved as feeble a politician as he was a bold and skilful commander.

§ 14. All Orders now agreed in desiring the recall of Metellus, who had retired to Asia Minor, in company with L. Ælius Stilo, the founder of grammatical studies at Rome, the instructor of Varro and Cicero. Immediately after the death of Saturninus, the Tribunes Q. Pompeius and L. Cato proposed at once to rescind the law by which he was interdicted from the soil of Italy: but P. Furius, one of their colleagues, put a veto on the measure. In vain the friends and kinsmen of Metellus sought to bend him from his purpose; in vain young Q. Metellus interceded for his father so earnestly that he was known ever after by the name of Pius. Furius stood firm. But at the beginning of the next year (99 B.C.), Canuleius, one of the new Tribunes, impeached Furius for offending against the majesty of the People by factious opposition; and the wretched man was torn in pieces before his trial. The law for removing the ban from Metellus then passed by acclamation. It must be lamented that any bloodshed should have sullied the triumph

of one who had in his own person set a noble example of forbearance.

The return of Metellus was indeed a triumph. The whole City, Nobles and People, met him outside the walls. So many were the greetings which he had to receive and give that it was evening before he entered the gates. He went straight to the Capitol to return thanks to the Great Gods of Rome, and was escorted home by the multitude. His absence had lasted about a year.

§ 15. That was a bitter day for the proud spirit of Marius. He had hoped to crush the Senate by means of Saturninus, and had been used as a tool by the Senate to crush Saturninus. He could not brook to witness the jubilant return of his old commander; and therefore he left Rome abruptly and took ship for Asia, under the pretence that he had made a vow to offer sacrifice to Phrygian Cybelé. His real object was to examine the condition of the country where the next war might be expected. The ambassadors of Mithridates had been insulted by Saturninus, and the King could not be ignorant of the connexion between Marius and the demagogue. However he dissembled all anger, and received the great General with every mark of honour. But Marius answered the Oriental compliments of Mithridates with rude threats: "King," said he, "you will have to conquer Rome or to submit to her will." Plutarch avers that his purpose was to drive Mithridates to war, in the certainty that he would be invested with the command, and might then recover in arms that consequence which he had lost in peace.

§ 16. The popular taste for shows was daily increasing with the increasing wealth of the great families who supplied Ædiles to the State. There was an ancient law prohibiting the importation of elephants from Africa; but this had been set aside about the time of the Jugurthan War, and the first elephants were exhibited in the Circus in the Consulship of Antonius (99 B.C.).[t] Sylla had relapsed into easy self-indulgence after his Cimbrian campaigns. But about this time he roused himself, and appeared as candidate for the Prætorship. He had as yet only been Quæstor; as Ædile he would be called upon

[t] Plin. *H. N.* viii. 17.

to celebrate the Games of Apollo, and the People expected a magnificent show of beasts from the friend of Bocchus. Sylla therefore lost his election. But in 94 B.C. he spent large sums in bribery; and promised, if he were elected Prætor, to exhibit all that had been expected from him as Ædile. Accordingly he was elected; and in the next year the wondering People saw one hundred lions, the gift of the Moorish King, let loose in the Circus. Together with this royal present, Bocchus sent a number of skilled lion-hunters, so that now for the first time the noble beasts appeared in the arena without the chains with which former exhibitors had thought it necessary to load the limbs of the few specimens they had been able to procure.

After his Prætorship, Sylla was sent by the Senate into Cilicia with a commission to arrange the affairs of Cappadocia and other countries bordering upon the territories of Mithridates, who had already begun military preparations on a large scale. Wherever Marius went, it seemed as if he were destined to meet Sylla in rivalry.

§ 17. The anxious hopes of the Latin and Italian Allies to obtain a place in the Roman Tribes slumbered, but were not extinct. Their hopes had been revived by Marius and Saturninus; but those hopes had once more been rudely crushed. In the year 95 B.C., marked by the Consulship of Crassus the Orator and Scævola the Pontiff, it was discovered that many Latins and Italians had, by indirect and illicit means, obtained a place upon the Register of the Tribes. The Consuls promptly brought in a law, framed with the precision that might be expected from the first of Roman jurists, which provided for a close investigation of all doubtful claims, and for the expulsion of all whose claims could not be made good.[u] This law produced violent irritation in all the towns of Italy.

§ 18. If the Senate were slow in listening to the claims of their subjects, they were active in vindicating their own privileges. Of all the measures of C. Gracchus none had left a deeper sore than that which transferred the judicial power from

[u] "Lex Licinia et Mucia de Civibus redigundis" [not *regundis*], Cicero *Cornel. Fragm.* x. p. 449 ed. Orelli, and Ascon. ad l. p. 67. That the purpose of this Law was to purge the Register and not (like the Law of Pennus) to banish foreigners, appears from the words of Cicero *de Offic.* iii. 11; though he seems to forget this, *pro Sestio* 13.

the Senators to the Equestrian Order. Q. Cæpio's attempt to reverse this measure had succeeded only for a moment: disappointment aggravated the soreness of the Senate. But the popular party showed no mercy. It was ten years since Cæpio had been stripped of his ill-gotten gains: and ever since the time of his shameful defeat in Gaul, he had been left in obscurity. But in 94 B.C., C. Norbanus, a Tribune, impeached him before the People. The ostensible ground of his impeachment was his conduct in Gaul; the real cause was the bold attempt which he had made to restore judicial power to the Senate. The culprit was defended by Crassus. The great Orator had formerly delivered his most famous speech in favour of the Servilian Law of Cæpio. He now appeared in his Consular robes, and used all his eloquence to defend his client; but he spoke in vain. In vain also Scaurus lent the authority of his support; in vain two of the Tribunes attempted to interpose their veto. A tumult arose; the Senatorial party was driven from the Forum; Scaurus was struck by a stone; Cæpio was condemned and thrown into prison. He escaped, however, by the aid of a Tribune, L. Antistius, who accompanied his friend into exile at Smyrna.

In the next year a young man named P. Sulpicius Rufus, afterwards renowned for lofty and pathetic eloquence, had the courage to bring Norbanus before the Equestrian Court for abetting these tumultuous proceedings. If the Knights had doubted what verdict to give in a matter so nearly concerning themselves, they found ample excuse in the elaborate defence made by Antonius. The great Orator, on this occasion, laid aside his political feelings, and appeared as the advocate of Norbanus, though he was the enemy of the Senate, because Norbanus had formerly acted as his Quæstor, and this connexion was held to establish a relation like that of son to father. Antonius urged that popular tumults, however dangerous, were sometimes justifiable, sometimes necessary; that all the great constitutional reforms—the Tribunate, the right of Appeal, admission to the Consulate—had been gained by means of this irregular kind; and he contended that on the present occasion the tumult was justifiable, since the conduct of Cæpio in Gaul called for public condemnation at all hazards. This speech is

remarkable in many ways, but above all because it shows that a great Roman advocate could, on rare occasions, maintain a cause opposed to his own political feelings as earnestly as a modern barrister, and because from it we learn with what a lenient eye the Romans of that day were disposed to regard seditious tumults.[x]

§ 19. This affair proves that popular feeling was in favour of the Equestrian rather than the Senatorial juries; yet the Knights, as has before been noted, had their own motives for corrupt judgment. As Farmers of the Revenue, they were subject to the power of provincial magistrates; and according as provincial magistrates favoured or hindered their exactions, it was probable that they would be treated with leniency or severity at the Equestrian tribunal.

Two celebrated causes had lately occurred which proved this point to demonstration. These were the trials of M'Aquillius and P. Rutilius Rufus. Aquillius was certainly guilty, but he was acquitted. Rutilius was certainly innocent, but he was condemned.

M' Aquillius had quelled the Second Slave-war in Sicily. His father had been noted for rapacity in Asia;[y] the son followed too faithfully the example of his sire. But he was a good soldier, and had done the state service not only by dispersing the slaves, but also by the firm administration by which he restored order in the distracted Province. His advocate Antonius pleaded these services of his client as a set-off against the corrupt practices by which he had amassed a large fortune. The orator concluded a pathetic appeal to the feelings of the jury by tearing open the tunic of the old soldier and displaying the scars which seamed his breast. The effect of this dramatic scene was such that the whole audience sobbed aloud, and iron tears were seen to roll down the cheeks of Marius. Aquillius was acquitted.

P. Rutilius Rufus had displayed no small military talent as Legate to Metellus in the Jugurthan War. After his Consulship he had accompanied his friend Q. Scævola the Pontiff as

[x] A lively account of this famous pleading is put by Cicero into the mouth of Antonius himself.—*De Oratore*, ii. 48 *sqq.*

[y] Chapt. liii. § 1.

Legate to Asia. The severe spirit of justice which regulated his whole conduct could not tolerate the rapacity displayed by the Equestrian Farmers of the Revenue, and he exerted himself to protect the helpless provincials from their exactions. On his return, a person of indifferent character, named Apicius, was employed to indict him before the Equestrian Court for impeding public officers in the execution of their duty. Rutilius had, like Scipio, been a disciple of the great Stoic teacher Panætius, and he practised the rigid philosophy which he professed. He would not accept the services either of Crassus or Antonius, and prevented even Scævola, who attended him into Court, from using any of the ordinary arts of advocacy. It was his principle that the truth should be nakedly stated, and by such statement he was ready to stand or fall. As might be expected, he fell. It has been said that this verdict was due to his own pedantic obstinacy, and that Rutilius, like Socrates,[z] might have been acquitted if he had condescended to humour the weakness of his judges; but in his case probably no advocacy could have availed. The complainants and the jury belonged to the same body; and the Knights proved that they were not more fit than the Senators to be judges in their own case.[a]

§ 20. The iniquity of this sentence was so glaring that the experienced glance of Scaurus detected an opportunity for wresting the coveted privilege of judgment from the Knights. He cast his eye about for a fitting agent, and it fell on a young man named M. Livius Drusus, son of that Drusus who had served as the tool of the Senate in outbidding C. Gracchus.[b] His family was good, his wealth great, his life spotless, his mind cultivated, his eloquence remarkable, his temper fearless, and his will inflexible. The frank simplicity of his nature is

[z] Quintilian expressly compares the cases, *Institt.* xi. 1, 12. But Mr. Grote's ingenious defence of the Athenian Dicasts will not avail to screen the Roman Judices. The latter were far less excusable, because they were fewer in number, were all men of rank and property, and took advantage of their position to increase the profits of their profession.

[a] Cicero, a great patron of the Equestrian Order, declares that, "P. Rutilio damnato, nemo tam innocens videbatur, ut non timeret judicia."—*Pro Scauro*, c. 1. Compare *In Pison.* c. 39.

[b] Chapt. liii. § 16, *sq.*

proved by a well-known anecdote. He was building a new house on the Palatine (the same which afterwards belonged to Cicero), and the architect promised so to construct it that no one should be able to overlook him. "Rather," said Drusus, "so arrange it that all my life may be open to all eyes."[c] Scaurus soon found that he had chosen one who would not stoop to be the tool of a party. In ranging the field of politics, Drusus at once fixed his regard upon the claims of the Latin and Italian Allies, which had been so often postponed. Several of the Italian towns sent deputies to pray him to undertake their cause, and he eagerly agreed. Scaurus and the Senatorial leaders, to secure him for their own service in respect to the courts of justice, were obliged to support his foreign policy in respect to the Allies.[d]

§ 21. Drusus began his Tribunate like C. Gracchus and Saturninus. He resorted to the old expedient of an Agrarian Law, by which Colonies were to be largely planted on the Public Lands of Italy and Sicily, and he proposed an extension of the Laws of Gracchus and Saturninus for selling corn cheap. What provisions these Laws contained we know not; but that they were large and sweeping appears from the saying attributed to Drusus himself,—"that he had left no room for the largesse of other demagogues, unless they should propose to divide *cœnum aut cælum*."[e] Having by these measures conciliated popular favour, he proceeded to his proper work.[f]

§ 22. First, he undertook to fulfil the contract which he had made with Scaurus. He did not, however, purpose simply to repeal the law of C. Gracchus, and thus restore judicial power to the Senate; but devised a compromise by which this power might be shared between its old and its new possessors. His plan was this. The number of the Senate was to be doubled

[c] Vell. Pat. ii. 13. The praise lavished by this writer upon Drusus is no doubt partly attributable to his wish to gratify the Emperor Tiberius, whose mother Livia claimed kin with the eloquent Tribune.

[d] See Cicero *pro Milone* 7, and the Schol. p. 282 ed. Orelli.

[e] Florus iii. 17, 6.

[f] In Liv. Epit. 70, there is a pithy statement of the policy of Drusus: "Senatus . . omni vi niti cœpit ut ad se Judicia transferrentur, sustinente causam ejus M. Livio Druso, Trib. Pl., qui, ut vires sibi acquireret, perniciosa spe largitionum Plebem concitavit."

by the addition of three hundred members, to be chosen from among the Knights; and from these six hundred Senators the Judges were to be chosen. He hoped that the Senate would be content to relinquish half of their claims, and that the Knights would be content to retain half. But, as is usually the case in attempts at compromise, this plan failed to satisfy either party. The Knights, as a body, had no wish to transfer the privilege they now possessed to three hundred of their Order, who would soon become Senators in feeling as well as name. The Oligarchy were loud against Scaurus for betraying his Order. That Cn. Cæpio, who had so effectually stopped the Corn-law of Saturninus, formed a coalition with the Equestrian malcontents against Drusus and Scaurus, to prevent the passing of a Law hateful to both Orders.

§ 23. The high oligarchical party was still more irritated by the proposal to enfranchise the Italians. Deserted by Scaurus and the moderate party in the Senate, they won over the Consul Philippus, a cross-grained man of ready speech, who had once been suspected of democratic tendencies;[g] and he appeared in the Forum to oppose the Law. But Drusus ordered the Consul to be removed, and the order was executed with so little regard that blood burst from his mouth.[h] After this Philippus declared in open Forum, that he "must seek help where it could be found: with such a Senate as they now had it was impossible to carry on the Government." The Senate was summoned by Drusus to meet on the next day, the Ides of September, and the Tribune rose to complain of the attack made by the Consul on the Senatorial Order. He was seconded by Crassus in a speech so eloquent that he was thought to have surpassed himself. Philippus replied in a furious invective, and declared that he would exact pledges for good conduct from the Orator. This called up Crassus again, and he attacked the Consul in a strain of vehement indignation not usual to his gentle nature. "Do you," he exclaimed, "who have pledged the authority of our whole Order to the Populace, expect to frighten me by pledges? You must first cut out this tongue; and even then, love of liberty will find means to testify against depraved license." The great Orator sat down amid general applause;

[g] Cicero *de Orat.* iii. 2. [h] Florus iii. 17, 8.

but his exertions brought on an attack of pleurisy, and in a week that eloquent tongue was mute for ever.

§ 24. It is plain, however, that even Scaurus and the Senate did not heartily approve the policy of Drusus. Many of his special clients, the Italians, disapproved of his sweeping Agrarian Laws.[i] He found himself in the thankless position of a person who attempts to satisfy all claims, and cannot fully satisfy any. His Laws indeed were passed, all except the measure for enfranchising the Italians; but they were passed by violence, and their execution promised to be full of difficulty. What might have been the result of the present complication of parties is impossible to guess; for all further proceedings were cut short by the assassination of the Tribune. Drusus knew that his life was in danger. For some time he had avoided public places, and received those who came to transact business with him in a covered walk behind his house. One evening, as he was dismissing his visitors, he cried out that he was stabbed, and fell to the ground. A leather-cutter's knife was found planted in his loins; but it was never known who gave the fatal blow. He expired soon after, mournfully saying that "it would be long before the Republic would have a servant disinterested as himself."[k]

§ 25. The Consul Philippus immediately issued a proclamation declaring that all laws passed by Drusus were null and void. At Rome the death of the Tribune caused little regret. The Oligarchical party, the Knights and the People in general, wished to wipe out all memory of a man who had satisfied none; nor did Scaurus and the Senate offer any opposition.

But in the towns of Italy, the rage and the excitement produced by this last disappointment of their hopes was great. It was greater still when a Tribune named Varius, a native of Sucro in Spain, who had become a Roman citizen, introduced a Law by which it was declared that all who favoured Italian claims had been guilty of high treason against the people of Rome. The Knights and others beset the voting-place armed with daggers, and the Law passed. Under this Law Scaurus and the leading Senators of the moderate party were at once impeached. C. Aurelius Cotta, the successor of Crassus at the

[i] Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 36. [k] Vell. Pat. ii. 14.

Roman bar, and others with him, sought safety in exile. Antonius stood his trial, and defended himself in a speech of passionate vehemence, and was acquitted. Scaurus was impeached by Varius himself before the People for having been in league with Drusus, and also remained at Rome to meet the charge. There was no evidence against the wary old Statesman, but the word of the accuser; and Scaurus contented himself with saying in defence: "Q. Varius, the Spaniard, says that M. Scaurus, the Chief of the Senate, has endeavoured to excite the Allies to rebellion. Choose ye, Quirites, which ye will believe." He was acquitted, and this is the last we hear of a man who for thirty years or more had been the virtual Chief of the Roman Government.

These proceedings drove the Italians to despair; and before the end of the year (91 B.C.), news arrived which showed Rome that she must prepare for war with her bravest and best Allies.

CHAPTER LVII.

THE SOCIAL WAR. (B.C. 90, 89.)

§ 1. Anger of the Italians: outbreak at Asculum. § 2. Organization of the Italians: Consuls, Prætors, &c. § 3. Defeat and death of one of the Roman Consuls, Rutilius Lupus. § 4. Inactivity of Marius. § 5. New Consuls: Pompeius Strabo. § 6. Compromise proposed: Julian Law. § 7. Submission of many of the Allies: bitter enmity of the Samnites: their embassy to Mithridates. § 8. Second Campaign: great successes of Sylla in Campania and Samnium. § 9. Pompeius Strabo invests Asculum, and takes Corfinium. § 10. Attempts at negociation: Sylla takes Bovianum: answer of Mithridates. § 11. Capture of Asculum, &c.: Submission of all the Allies except the Samnites and Lucanians: great losses on both sides. § 12. Plotian and Papirian Law. § 13. Admission of New Citizens. § 14. Difficulties and dangers in the new state of things. § 15. State of the Law-courts: proposal for Reform. § 16. Interrupted by Civil War.

§ 1. The advocacy of Drusus, together with the apparent favour of the Senate, had buoyed up the Allies with confident hopes of obtaining the boon which for the last thirty years had seemed within their grasp. But the assassination of their patron, and the easy concessions made by the leaders of the Senate to the united clamour of the Roman Citizens,—all classes joining for once in a unanimous expression of opinion,—showed them that once more their hopes were doomed to disappointment, and that once more the cup was to be dashed down from the very lip.

The effect of this disappointment soon showed itself. The Senate heard with alarm that meetings were held in all their principal cities, and that hostages were being interchanged as mutual pledges of good faith. It was evident that the question could not be settled without recourse to arms. Yet the Italians had no settled plan of action. An unworthy scheme to assassinate the Consuls of the year 91 B.C., as they were celebrating the Latin Festival on the Alban Mount, was frustrated or abandoned.[a] The outbreak of war was precipitated by an unpremeditated act of violence.

[a] Florus iii. 18, 8.

Italy was at that time subject to the government of Proconsuls.[b] One of these officers, named Servilius, stationed in the Picenian territory, received information that the citizens of Asculum had been exchanging hostages with another community. He immediately entered that city with a small retinue, and finding the citizens assembled for some festal purpose, he assailed them with vehement threats. The people, supposing their insurrectionary designs betrayed, set upon him and slew him on the spot. When once blood had been spilt, free vent was given to passion. All Romans who fell into their hands were massacred and their goods confiscated.

The news spread like wild fire. Unprepared as they were for action, the Italians saw that no longer any delay was possible: everywhere they rose. In Lucania the Proconsul Galba was only saved from death by a compassionate woman. A general meeting of the Allies was called. Deputies attended from eight nations, from the Picenians, from the Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, and Vestinians, from the Samnites, from the Apulians and the Lucanians.[c] A formal statement of their claims was drawn up and despatched to Rome:—"They had," they said, "long done faithful service to the Republic; they had furnished two-thirds of her armies; they had conquered the world for her, yet they were still treated like mere aliens." The Senate stiffly replied, "that no embassies could be received till reparation was made for the late acts of unprovoked violence."

§ 2. The steps taken by the Allies showed the nature of the impending struggle. The question had now assumed a more threatening and perilous form: it was to be decided, not whether the Italians were to become citizens of Rome, but whether Rome was to continue mistress of the Italian Confederation.

The measures of which we speak were these. The Allies declared Corfinium, a strong city in the Pelignian Apennines, the capital of the new Italian League: henceforth it was to be called Italica.[d] Two Consuls were to be the chief officers of

[b] Appian *Bell. Civ.* i. 38.

[c] Liv. *Epit.* 72. He does not mention the Apulians; but Appian (i. 39) speaks of the people of Venusia and Iapygia.

[d] Coins of the Confederacy are found with the legend ITALIA. But whether

the League, each having six Prætors under his command. A Senate was formed for managing public business: everything showed the determination of the insurgent Communities to supersede the authority of Rome.

No time was lost in debating. Q. Pompædius Silo, a Marsian, and C. Papius Motylus, a Samnite, were elected Consuls.[e] In every quarter able officers started up who had learned the art of war in the Roman armies, some of them under Marius. The most eminent names are C. Judacilius a Picenian of Asculum, Herius Asinius a Marrucinian, T. Lamponius of Lucania, with Vettius Scato, Marius Egnatius, and T. Afranius, all three of Samnite blood. The meagre accounts which remain to us of the Social War[f] make it difficult to distinguish between the merits of these commanders. Their proceedings seem to have weakened by want of concentration, and forcibly recall to mind the straggling and indecisive conflicts which characterised the earlier part of our own Civil War, before the genius of Cromwell gave unity of purpose to the armies of the Parliament.

§ 3. The outbreak of the war (90 B.C.) evidently took the Senate by surprise. The Consuls, P. Rutilius Lupus and L. Julius Cæsar,[g] were at Rome levying troops when news arrived that the allied leaders had assumed the offensive in every quarter, from Picenum and Campania southward. On receiving this intelligence, the Consul, L. Julius Cæsar, collected what troops he could and pushed straight into Samnium, but was so shamefully routed by Vettius Scato, that he was obliged to

this refers to the statement in the text (which rests on the sole authority of Diodorus, lib. xxxvi.), or to the determination of the Allies to merge Rome in Italy, is doubtful.

[e] Papius, however, is the only magistrate whose name appears on any known coins.—See below, note on § 6.

[f] This is the name given by Florus, Eutropius, &c. Cicero and others call it *Bellum Italicum*. Horace, Strabo, and Plutarch call it *Bellum Marsicum*. The Romans possessed very full accounts of this terrible conflict. Livy devoted Five Books to its history. Plutarch (*Vit. Lucull.* 1) quotes a Greek narrative by Lucullus. We have now to rely for details almost entirely upon Appian, whose *military* statements are always confused and often unintelligible.

[g] Many writers date the commencement of the War from the Consulship of L. Philippus and *Sextus* Cæsar, 91 B.C. But it is clear that hostilities did not begin till the magistracy of P. Rutilius and *Lucius* Cæsar, 90 B.C. Appian uniformly confounds the two Cæsars.

fly to Æsernia, whence he escaped into Campania in the disguise of a slave.

But Campania itself, the favoured and favourite land of the Roman nobles, was already in the hands of the enemy. Before P. Rutilius Lupus, the colleague of L. Cæsar, had taken the field, the Samnite Consul, Papius Mutylus, descended into the valley of the Vulturnus, and compelled Perperna, Legate of Rutilius, to retire behind the Liris with great loss. The Prætor Postumius, who had thrown himself into Nola, was compelled to surrender, and was put to death. Stabiæ, Liternum, Salernum, followed the example of Nola, and opened their gates to the enemy: Acerræ was closely invested by the Samnites. The Consul Cæsar, having collected fresh troops, threw himself into this place, while his colleague Rutilius advanced with a regular army, with Marius for his Legate, to the Liris. Here he was met by Pompædius Silo, the Marsian Consul, who had also descended into Campania from the hills. The Roman army was in two divisions, Rutilius himself commanding on the left, while Marius led the right to a point nearer the sea. No sooner had Rutilius crossed the river with negligent haste, than he was assaulted by Pompædius: the Roman army was utterly defeated, and the Consul himself slain. Cn. Cæpio, to whom the command fell after the Consul's death, rallied the fugitives and effected a retreat across the river. Meanwhile Marius had been apprised of the Consul's defeat by the number of dead bodies that came slowly floating down the stream of the Liris. The old General immediately crossed the river and drove back the victorious enemy. The body of the Consul was recovered and sent to be interred publicly at Rome. But the consternation which already prevailed there was raised to its height by this fatal sight; and the Senate issued a Decree, ordering that henceforth the bodies of the slain, however illustrious, should be buried in the place where they had fallen.

§ 4. Some consolation for these losses was given by the news that Cæpio had recrossed the Liris, and gained an advantage on the Marsian leader, and that the Consul, L. Cæsar, had made a successful sally from Acerræ, and defeated Papius the Samnite with heavy loss. On this good news, the citizens of Rome laid

aside the military dress which all had worn from the beginning of the war.

But their joy was scarcely warranted.

Cæpio was presently after enticed into an ambuscade by Pompædius, and his whole army was cut to pieces. Marius came up too late to save his brother Legate, but maintained his reputation by foiling the enemy in all attempts to force on a general action. Pompædius, flushed with success, called on him,—"If he were the great General he was reported, to come out and fight." "Nay," retorted Marius, "if *you* are the great General you would fain be thought, make me come out and fight." Plutarch attributes his inactivity to his age (he was now sixty-five), his corpulence, and the luxurious habits he had of late adopted. But subsequent events showed that he could be active enough when he pleased; and it is more than probable that Marius purposely abstained from acting with energy against the Italians, who had fought his battles in the field and supported his political agitation in the City, and who at a future time took arms in his cause against the Senate.

The Consul Cæsar, also, notwithstanding his victory, could not prevent Papius from maintaining the siege of Acerræ; and, in a fresh attempt to invade Samnium, was so beaten by Egnatius, that he was obliged to fly in all haste to Teanum. The fatigue and anxiety he had undergone was so great, that he was carried in a litter to Rome to preside at the elections.

§ 5. The persons elected for the next year were, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompey the Great, and L. Porcius Cato. Pompeius was one of the Lieutenants of L. Cæsar, and had raised a considerable force by his personal influence in the Picenian territory, where he had large possessions. He was a greedy and selfish, but able man; and he served the Republic well in the ensuing campaign. Cato had just rendered a great service to the State by checking a threatened rising in Etruria.

§ 6. But the Senate trusted not wholly to military ability. During the autumn serious deliberations were held as to the expediency of a compromise. Statesmen of the school of Scaurus advocated the affirmative side. The Consul-elect, Pompeius, one of the Senators who had been impeached under

the Varian Law, was of this class; and his brother Sextus, a man who, with tastes very uncommon among the Romans of the day, shunned public life for mathematical studies,[h] came forth from his retirement to argue in favour of just concessions. Besides the losses in Campania, all Samnium, except the Colony of Æsernia, was in the hands of the enemy; in Apulia, even the Colonies of Venusia and Luceria had been taken by C. Judacilius, and T. Lamponius had driven the Prætor Crassus, son of the Orator, out of Lucania. Unfavourable reports also came in from Etruria, notwithstanding the successful management of Cato, and from Umbria; it seemed not unlikely that the Sabellian insurrection might spread northward over the whole of Italy. The Consul L. Cæsar, who, more than any other person, had felt the strength with which the enemy dealt their blows, strongly advocated concessions; and he was by the Senate empowered to draw up a Law, called by his name the Julian Law, for granting the Franchise to such of the Allies as had either taken no part in the Social War, or as now ceased to take part in it, on the necessary condition that their respective countries should become integral portions of the Roman Territory.[i] To show that the Law was to be a reality, L. Cæsar himself, with his Legate Crassus, were elected Censors for the year 89 B.C. to enrol the new citizens, though it was but eighteen months since the last Censors had laid down their office.

The effect of this timely concession immediately appeared: the Etruscans laid aside all thoughts of joining the insurgents, and threw their whole weight on the side of Rome, and a division of opinion was created in many of the insurgent Communities. But the Chiefs showed a more vigorous determination. At first, the coins issued from the Mint of the Confederates bore Latin Legends: but as the contest became embittered, the Oscan character was adopted, as if to show that the language of Rome was to be henceforth disused by the friends of Italy.[k]

[h] Cicero *Brut.* 47, *de Oratore* i. 15, *de Offic.* i. 6.

[i] "Recipiendo in civitatem, qui arma aut non ceperant aut deposuerant maturius."—Vell. Pat. ii. 16. "Lex Julia quâ lege civitas est Sociis et Latinis data; qui fundi Populi Romani facti non essent, civitatem non haberent."—Cicero *pro Balbo*, 8.

[k] It is impossible to say *when* this change took place. The first coins of the Confederacy bear on the obverse the head of Italia, on the reverse Eight Allied

§ 7. But while the Senate prudently disarmed the wavering or the lukewarm, they made strenuous exertions to crush those who should continue the war. The Samnites, above all, showed no inclination to accept favours from Rome: the deadly hostility of ancient times again broke out; and they scrupled not to send an embassy to the court of Mithridates, King of Pontus. The fame of this monarch's genius had already reached Italy; and he was known to be jealous of Roman dominion in Asia. Desperate resolution could not be more strongly shown than by calling in an Oriental despot to share in the spoils of Italy. A like spirit was shown by proclamations issued in Campania by Papius, and in Apulia by Judacilius, in which rewards were offered for the heads of Roman citizens, and freedom promised to all slaves who should join the Italian cause.

§ 8. Soldiers were raised during the winter by every means; private exertions, as well as public, being put forth by every one who had influence. Levies of Gallic auxiliaries had been already made by a young man serving as Quæstor in Cisalpine Gaul, who was destined to become famous under the name of Q. Sertorius. Foreign princes vied with each other in furnishing aid to the Republic. In the African troops which arrived in large numbers we may trace the influence of Sylla. Early in the spring of the next year (89 B.C.) the campaign began. The Consul Pompeius moved northwards into the Picenian territory, while his colleague Cato covered the passes leading down from the Apennines into the Campagna of Rome. But Cato fell at the very outset of the campaign in a skirmish, and the chief command on the south of the Apennines fell to his Lieutenant, Sylla.

Marius was not employed at all in this second campaign, and Sylla exerted himself to the utmost, in the first independent command which he had held, to eclipse the military renown of his old Commander. He took the field with a small Roman division, supported by a strong auxiliary force of Numidians and Moors. With these troops he advanced within sight of the

Nations, represented by figures raising their right arms (in token of an oath) over a prostrate figure. In later coins, the Eight Nations become Four. In the latest, only Two remain; and it is these which bear the name of Papius in Oscan characters.

enemy's entrenched camp in Campania. The Marsian leader treated him with so much contempt, that he shifted his quarters to the distance of but half a mile from the Roman camp. A gigantic Gaul in his army came out and challenged any of Sylla's men to single combat. The challenge was accepted by a Numidian, whose adroitness enabled him to lay low his huge antagonist. On this, the enemy's host, in which (it appears) there were many Gauls, fled in consternation towards Nola; and Sylla followed so closely, that the garrison of that city were obliged to close the gates which they had opened to admit the fugitives, and a great part of the flying troops was cut to pieces. The active Roman followed up his first success so vigorously, that Stabiæ was recovered in the month of April;[l] Pompædius was obliged to leave Campania, and Papius, at length compelled to raise the siege of Acerræ, retired into Samnium. Sylla was now joined by Munatius Magius, a burgess of Æculanum in the Hirpinian country. This man claimed descent from that Decius Magius who had maintained the cause of Rome at Capua in the times of Hannibal,[m] and was grandfather of the historian Velleius, who records his fidelity to the Republic with suitable pride.[n] As soon as the open country of Campania was cleared of the enemy, Sylla left part of his army to invest Nola, and under the guidance of Magius, appeared suddenly before Æculanum, which was taken and given up to plunder. The whole Hirpinian country at once submitted; and Sylla prepared to pass into the Pentrian valleys, the last and strongest holds of Samnite freedom.

§ 9. Meanwhile, the Consul Pompeius had been pursuing a course no less successful in the North. He had at first been defeated by Judacilius, and compelled to take shelter beneath the walls of Firmum. Judacilius left Afranius to hold the Consul in check, while he repaired to Apulia. Pompeius, meantime, continued to communicate with P. Sulpicius, his Legate, who had advanced towards Corfinium; and while that officer fell upon the rear of the enemy's lines, he himself attacked them in front. Afranius fell, and his army fled in disorder to Asculum; and this place, the first seat of the insurrection, was now closely invested by the Consul. As soon as this ill news

[l] Plin. *H. N.* iii. 5. [m] Chapt. xxxi. § 29. [n] ii. 17.

reached Judacilius, he fled to the relief of his native city, but only succeeded so far as to cut his way through the Roman lines and enter the gates with a few brave men. Pompeius left his lieutenants to blockade the place, which was desperately defended, and himself moved southwards. Corfinium fell into his hands, and the seat of the insurgent government was shifted to Bovianum, the chief stronghold of the Pentrian Samnites.

§ 10. Here the war was to be decided. While Sylla advanced from the South, Pompeius was descending from the North. Pompædius stationed himself on the Calor to watch Sylla, while Scato and Egnatius defended their country against the Consul.

At this moment an attempt was made to negotiate. Pompeius and Scato had an interview, at which Cicero — then a youth of seventeen, serving his first campaign in the Consul's army—was present. Sextus, the Consul's brother, who was (as we have said) an advocate for concession, came expressly from Rome to lend his good offices for promoting peace. "I am," said he to the Samnite Chief, "by choice your friend, your enemy by necessity." But the attempt proved unavailing.[o]

Meanwhile, Sylla had turned the position of Papius on the Calor by means of an unfrequented path, and fell suddenly upon his rear. The brave Samnites, taken at a disadvantage, were entirely routed, and their General escaped severely wounded to Æsernia. Sylla pushed on straight to Bovianum, where he was in correspondence with some persons attached to the Roman interest, and the place was betrayed to him.

About the same time an answer arrived from Mithridates. He bade the Samnites hold out firmly: he was, he said, at present engaged in expelling the Romans from Asia; when that work was done, he would cross the sea, and assist them in crushing the she-wolf of Asia.[p] But promises at such a juncture were equivalent to refusal.

§ 11. On all hands, the fortune of Rome was in the ascendant. Marius Egnatius, the Samnite, was overpowered and slain in Apulia by Lucceius and Cosconius, two Consular Legates.

[o] See the interesting narrative given by Cicero himself, *Philipp.* xiii. 11.

[p] Diod. xxxvii. The term *she-wolf* is borrowed from the famous speech transcribed by Justin (xxxviii. 4) from the history of Pompeius Trogus.

Judacilius, finding that he could hold Asculum no longer, raised a funeral pile in sight of his banqueting-hall, and after a sumptuous entertainment given to his friends, drained a poisoned cup of wine to its dregs, ascended the fatal pile, and bade his guests set fire to it. Asculum now surrendered, and the Consul Pompeius treated the citizens with ruthless severity; the richer sort were beheaded; the rest sold as slaves; the houses rased to the ground. Among those reserved to grace his triumph was a boy named P. Ventidius Bassus, who afterwards became one of the best officers in the Roman army, and himself enjoyed a triumph for avenging the defeat of Crassus upon the Parthians. The Vestinians and Pelignians submitted to the Consul; and Sulpicius accepted the surrender of the Marrucinians.[q] The brave Marsian Chief, Pompædius, fled into Apulia, pursued by Metellus Pius; and venturing to give battle, he was defeated and slain. After his death, the Marsians also acknowledged the prevailing fortune of Rome, and made submission to Metellus.[r] In Apulia, Venusia returned to its allegiance. But Canusium in the same country and Nola in Campania were still held by Samnite garrisons; and the Samnites themselves, in their mountain fastnesses, with a portion of the Lucanians, still defied the Roman arms.

The successful issue of the campaign was not purchased without heavy losses on the side of Rome. It is computed that in the whole of this deadly struggle not less than 300,000 of the youth of Italy fell. The greater part of them belonged doubtless to the enemy. But when we speak of the enemy, it must be remembered that in every man who fell—whether Roman, Latin, or Italian—the Republic lost a soldier.

§ 12. When it was too late, the Senate had shown themselves forward in concession. Liberality was now the order of the day. The Julian Law, as we have stated, had been passed at the close of the first campaign. In the early part of the second year, the Tribunes, M. Plotius Sylvanus and C. Papirius Carbo,

[q] It must have been after the submission of these four nations that the Samnites struck money with four figures instead of eight.

[r] The important part they played is shown from the fact that one of the Italian Consuls was a Marsian, and that the war was often called "Marsian." It was a proverb that "neither without Marsians nor against Marsians were Triumphs to be won."

brought in a law supplementary to the Julian Law, by which its privileges were granted not only to the Italian Allies, but also to the burgesses of all Allied Cities in the Provinces, who were at that time domiciled in Italy, provided that they registered their names before the Prætor of the city within sixty days.[s] The Consul Pompeius emulated his predecessor by proposing a third law for investing all the citizens of the Gallic Communities beyond the Po with the peculiar privileges of Latin Towns.[t]

There can be no doubt that these concessions had a material influence in bringing the war to a conclusion. Only at Asculum, in Samnium, and in towns held by Samnite garrisons, had a desperate resistance been offered. Elsewhere submission was easy.

§ 13. The practical question that remained was the mode of admitting the new citizens. It is evident that there were two distinct ways in which this might be accomplished. First, the number of Tribes might have been retained as it was, and the Italians might either have been distributed through the whole Thirty-five, or have been confined (like the Freedmen) to a certain number. Of these plans, the former mode would have made the Italians masters of the Comitia on all occasions; the latter would have looked like an insult and a degradation. Or, secondly, the number of Tribes might have been increased, and the new Tribes reserved for the Italians. This was the plan adopted. The Censors, L. Cæsar and P. Crassus, entered on their office during the present year; and in the course of the year 89 B.C., they created probably ten new Tribes (for our accounts differ[u])

[s] The argument of Cicero in his well-known speech for the poet Archias turns upon this law. See Chapt. iv. and the Schol. p. 353 ed. Orelli. Gades was one of these cities, as appears from the speech *pro Balbo*.

[t] Asconius *in Pisonianam*, p. 3 ed. Orelli: Comp. Plin. *H. N.* iii. 24.

[u] Appian (*Bell. Civ.* i. 49) gives, as is usual in his *political* statements, a clear and consistent account of the matter. He says that it was resolved to create *Ten* New Tribes *in addition* to the Thirty-five old Tribes. Velleius (ii. 20) says,—"Cum ita civitas data esset, ut in *octo* Tribus *contribuerentur* Novi Cives," where it does not appear whether the *Eight* Italian Tribes were to be additional or not: for the word *contribui* simply means that the New Citizens were thrown into a limited number of Tribes, instead of being *distributed* among all. It is probable that several plans were afoot; and as none was actually carried into effect, it is not surprising that we should have different accounts.

for the Italians alone, and prepared to register all their names as Roman citizens of these Tribes. It was further arranged that the citizens of these ten new Tribes were not to be called unless the thirty-five old Tribes were so divided that the ten would give a majority to one side or the other. Having therefore only ten suffrages in forty-five, the influence exercised by the Italian suffrages could not be great; nor would they be called upon to vote at all except when, in the thirty-five old Tribes, the minority consisted of at least thirteen Tribes against twenty-two—a case which hardly ever occurred: for it is well known that the vote of the Prerogative Century was a fair index of the way in which almost every Tribe would vote. The Italians therefore would have gained rather the show than the substance of political power by this adroit contrivance of the Censors. As it happened, the completion of the Censorial Register was prevented by the outbreak of Civil War.[x]

§ 14. The difficulties attached to the question of enfranchising the Italians were now brought out, and showed that it was not a merely factious opposition which had hitherto been offered. The Senate indeed, formerly under Scipio and lately under Scaurus, had shown an anxious disposition to settle the matter peaceably; and the passing of the Law to extend the Franchise on a large scale, even before arms were laid down, proves that in this matter they were not acting on the stern maxim of the old Republic, "Spare the submissive, and war down the proud." It was in fact impossible to adapt a Constitution originally fitted for a small civic community to a great country. It was manifest that the Italians would not rest satisfied with the scanty share of direct power granted to them; and yet it was hardly safe to grant them more, unless, indeed, some statesman in advance of his time had suggested a plan resembling the modern system of Representative Parliaments. But no such plan was thought of. No Italian could exercise his new prerogative without appearing at Rome in person; and when he did appear, it was doubtful whether he would be called upon to vote at all. Yet, long before this, at the time when Tiberius Gracchus first stirred questions of Reform, the presence of the Italians in Rome was not without its weight upon the issue of

[x] Cicero *pro Archia* 5.

political strife. It could not be less now. The discontent caused by disappointment was likely to place them at the beck of any chief who should promise to increase their political prerogative. And so it proved before many months were over. It has been said that the partial admission of the Italians to the franchise annulled the old Roman Constitution, and made an absolute Monarchy almost a political necessity.

§ 15. The Social War, then, had compelled a settlement of the great question of Italian Enfranchisement, though the final adjustment of this question was again postponed by Civil War. But the other political question which had agitated Rome herself, and which had set the Senate against the Knights, and divided the People, was yet untouched. During the Social War the High Courts of Justice had been closed.[y] Of the great advocates, Crassus was dead, Antonius was absent from Rome, Cotta, who had aspired to succeed to their fame, was in exile. Hortensius, who was fast establishing his claim to be considered the first orator of his day, was employed in the first year of the war as a Legionary Tribune, in the second as a Tribune. Sulpicius, another eloquent speaker, had served as a Legate of the Consul Pompeius. Cicero, not yet eighteen, had in a single campaign of the Social War imbibed that distaste for a military life which attached him ever after to the Forum.

But the Courts were now opened again, and men remembered that when Drusus fell he had been engaged in an attempt not only to enfranchise the Italians, but also to reform the Courts. In 89 B.C. the Tribune Plotius, encouraged by his success in extending the Julian Law, brought forward a Bill by which it was proposed to enact that the Jurymen should be chosen not from any special Order in the State, but indiscriminately from a body elected by the Tribes. Each Tribe was to choose fifteen members, and out of the whole number thus chosen the Jurymen for each Court were to be taken by lot. The Nobles, despairing of their power to retain exclusive possession of the judicial prerogative, supported this proposal,—a fact which shows the bitter animosity which must have subsisted between them and the Equestrian Order.[z]

[y] "Judicia intermissa bello," Cicero *Brut.* 88.

[z] Cicero *pro Cornel.* with the comment of Asconius, p. 79 ed. Orelli.

§ 16. But all attempts at peaceful legislation, in this and other matters, were suddenly cut short by the outbreak of the First Civil War. Blood had been shed with little scruple in the streets of Rome in every party-struggle from the time of Ti. Gracchus. But now for the first time a Consul led a regular army to assault Rome; and the public places became scenes of regular battle. It must be owned, however, that the Consul who resorted to this desperate step was almost compelled to adopt it as a measure of self-defence. The real author of the Civil War was not Sylla, but Marius.

CHAPTER LVIII.

FIRST CIVIL WAR. (88—86 B.C.)

§ 1. Sylla appointed to the command against Mithridates. § 2. Attempt of the young Nobles to relieve themselves of debt. § 3. The Tribune Sulpicius. § 4. He proposes to distribute the Italians among all the Tribes. § 5. Riots: the law is passed, and Marius chosen to supersede Sylla. § 6. Sylla flies to his army at Nola. § 7. Marches upon Rome: joined by the other Consul, Q. Pompeius Rufus. § 8. Battle in streets of Rome. § 9. Marius and eleven others outlawed by the Senate. § 10. Death of Sulpicius. § 11. Adventures of Marius: he reaches Africa. § 12. Unpopularity of Sylla: Octavius and Cinna, Consuls: oath of Cinna. § 13. Metellus Pius sent to Samnium: Pompeius Strabo: murder of Pompeius Rufus: Sylla leaves Italy. § 14. Cinna puts himself at the head of the Italians: he is driven out of Rome, and deprived of the Consulship. § 15. The army at Nola declares for Cinna: the Italians again rise in arms. § 16. Marius returns to Italy: Cinna joins him. § 17. Efforts of the Senate: Pompeius Strabo enters Rome. § 18. Blockade of Rome by four armies. § 19. Death of Pompeius: surrender of Rome. § 20. The Marian Massacre. § 21. Sertorius slaughters the slaves of the Marian party. § 22. Death of Catulus and others. § 23. Seventh Consulship and death of Marius.

§ 1. MARIUS was the cause of the First Civil War; but the person who gave occasion to its outbreak was Mithridates, King of Pontus. In the second year of the Social War this remarkable man encouraged the insurgents to hope for support from him, as soon as he had expelled the Romans from Asia. The details of this enterprise will be given in the next chapter. Here we must be content with stating that, before the end of the year 89 B.C., the Senate had determined upon war, and a Commander was to be chosen. In the mind of Marius, this Commander could be none other than himself. He had long fixed his eye upon the East, and had done what in him lay to hasten a rupture. On his return from Asia he found that Sylla had been sent to govern Cilicia, with a commission to unite the independent chiefs of Cappadocia and other districts of Asia Minor against Mithridates.[a] His jealousy was further roused

[a] See Chapt. lvi. § 16.

by hearing that Bocchus of Mauritania had lately been made the ally of the Roman people, and that the monarch had solemnised this great occasion by sending to the Capitol a votive tablet, on which was represented the surrender of Jugurtha to Sylla. The old General perceived that the profligate Noble, whom he hated, might become a formidable rival; and he left the sumptuous villa which he had lately erected at Misenum for a house adjoining the Forum. He daily frequented that busy place, and notwithstanding his increasing age and corpulence again joined in the military exercises of the Campus, trusting that thus he should be always in the sight, and therefore in the mind, of the People. It is probable that if the Mithridatic War had broken out before the Social War, the command would have been conferred on one who had as yet no peer in the military art. But in the Social War he had, from whatsoever cause, been tried and found wanting;[b] and the chief glory had been won by Sylla, who was Consul-elect for the ensuing year. Both by merit, therefore, and by right of office, the command was due to Sylla. He had lately united himself with the Senatorial Nobility, by divorcing his third wife to marry Cæcilia, daughter of old Metellus Numidicus, and widow of Scaurus. The People well understood that the marriage had political purposes, and it was celebrated by pasquinades more witty than complimentary. Sylla, however, had not yet taken any decided part in politics. His appointment to the Eastern command was regarded as a matter of course. In the heart of Marius hatred was made intense by disappointment; and he determined, cost what it might, to secure the command for himself.

§ 2. Circumstances favoured his design. The business of farming the revenue, protected in all its abuses by the Equestrian Law-courts, every day increased the wealth of the Equestrian Order. They had become the Capitalists of Rome. To their Order all who needed money resorted. They demanded high rates of interest: but lavish expenditure was the fashion among the young Nobles, and most of those who hoped for office were compelled to borrow largely. The greater part of the ambitious Nobles, therefore, were indebted to the Knights.

[b] Chapt. lvii. § 4.

Some of those who were most heavily burthened contrived an ingenious mode of repudiating their obligations. They raked up an old law, by which usurious interest was forbidden, and refused to pay more than was by this law allowed.[c] A case was brought before the Prætor Asellio; and this judge admitted the right of the noble debtors to prosecute their creditors for illegal usury. The fury of the Knights rose to the utmost. As Asellio was making a libation in front of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, he was assailed by a shower of stones; the sacred patera was dashed from his hands, and he fled for refuge to the neighbouring Sanctuary of Vesta. But, unable to obtain admittance, he was pursued to a tavern and murdered. In vain the Senate offered rewards for information against the murderers,—money to free men, liberty to slaves, indemnity to accomplices. All were bribed or intimidated into silence.

§ 3. Among the Tribunes of the year was P. Sulpicius, who is mentioned by Cicero as a master of lofty and pathetic eloquence.[d] He had constantly taken part against the Knights, and had been a close friend of the unfortunate Drusus. In the late Civil War he had shown military ability of no mean kind. He was a man of strong personal feelings, and was animated by bitter enmity against Q. Pompeius Rufus, Sylla's colleague in the Consulship.[e] This was the person whom old Marius now selected as his political agent, as he had formerly chosen Saturninus. At the present juncture all the sympathies of Sulpicius were on the side of the debtors, and against their Equestrian creditors. Marius held up before his ardent imagination the treasures of Mithridates, promising that if the command were transferred to himself, he would employ the wealth of the Pontic King to relieve the Roman debtors. Sulpicius caught eagerly at the offer.

§ 4. There was no inclination among the People of Rome to supersede Sylla. But if the Italians lately admitted to the franchise could exercise a weight in the Comitia proportional to their numbers, it would be easy to overbear the will of the Old

[c] See Chapt. xi. § 3; xvii. § 4.

[d] "Maxime omnium grandis et tragicus Orator."—Cicero *Brut.* 55.

[e] Cicero *Laelius* 1.

Citizens; and Marius, always a favourite with the Italian countrymen, would be secure of the appointment. The Censors elected to register the New Citizens had not, as we have noticed, completed their work. But it was well understood that the plan which they would adopt would not be of a very liberal description.[f] Sulpicius, therefore, boldly gave notice of two measures: one by which it was proposed that the Italians were to be distributed evenly through all the Tribes; and a second, by which all Freedmen who had served in the Italian wars were to be placed on a level with the Old Citizens. The effect of these measures was certain. In every Tribe the New Citizens, comprising Italians and Freedmen, would form a majority, and the votes of the chief legislative body would be, for a time at least, at the disposal of Marius and Sulpicius.

§ 5. It was not to be expected that the Old Citizens would tamely submit to be overridden. Violence had become familiar in the Forum; and as the time for voting on the bills of Sulpicius drew nigh, battles with stones and staves were of daily occurrence. The Consuls endeavoured to postpone the day of conflict by proclaiming a Justitium or General Holiday, the effect of which was to suspend all public business.[g] But the Tribune was not to be thus baffled. He avowed admiration for the political sentiments of Saturninus, but expressed contempt for his want of resolution. He declared his intention to proceed to a vote on the appointed day, just as if the Consuls had issued no proclamation; and ordered a body of three thousand young men, whom he had formed into a sort of body-guard for himself, to attend him with concealed daggers in the Forum: they were to strike when he commanded, not sparing even the Consuls, if need were. On the appointed day the Tribune rose, and declared the proclamation of the Public Holiday illegal, on the ground that there was no special cause for it.[h] He then turned to the Consuls, who were both present, and ordered them to cancel their proclamation, that the voting might proceed in due order. A loud outcry arose from the Old Citizens;

[f] See Chapt. lvii. § 13.

[g] Appian translates it by ἀργία, Plutarch by ἀπραξία.

[h] A Justitium was proclaimed in case of some great triumph or great disaster. In the former case it was accompanied by a Supplicatio or Public Thanksgiving.

upon which, at a sign from the Tribune, his adherents drew their daggers. Their opponents fled. The Consuls were both in imminent danger. Pompeius only escaped by hiding himself: his son, who was married to Sylla's daughter, fell into the hands of the Sulpician mob, and was ruthlessly murdered. Sylla fled into the house of Marius, which faced the Forum. His person was safe, for Marius was no assassin; but he was obliged to return and declare the Justitium at an end.[1] The Laws then passed without opposition.

A third Bill was at once introduced, and passed as a matter of course, by which the command in the Mithridatic War was transferred to Marius.

§ 6. Sylla went straight from the Forum to his camp before Nola (for the Samnites had not yet surrendered that town), with the purpose of hurrying to the East before any steps could be taken to supersede him. But he was immediately followed by the news that he had already been superseded; and two officers arrived in camp bearing a commission from Marius to assume the command. Sylla was now compelled to take a decisive part. Either he must submissively resign, or must vindicate his right by force. The name of Civil War was not yet familiar to Roman ears; and, before he committed himself to actual hostilities, he resolved to sound the inclinations of his troops. He summoned them to the Prætorium. He enlarged on the insults that had been offered to himself; gave them to understand that unless he remained in command, their hopes of booty from the Mithridatic War must end, for Marius would no doubt levy a new army to reward his own adherents; and concluded by a hope that they would obey his orders. The men gave a ready interpretation to his last words by calling upon him to lead them to Rome, and proved their zeal by stoning to death the officers sent by Marius. Sylla, now fully assured that he would find no hindrance from the scruples of his men, ordered six Legions to get under arms. The superior officers, however, shrunk from lending countenance to Civil War; and all, save one Quæstor, fled to Rome.

[1] This was his own account, as Plutarch tells us (*Vit. Mar.* c. 35), and Appian follows it. Plutarch himself, however, preferred a more romantic story.

§ 7. In the City the consternation was great. The Senate, however much it might have been inclined to take part with Sylla, was powerless; for all authority was in the hands of Sulpicius. The audacious Tribune had enrolled a body of six hundred Equites, whom he called his Senate,—a measure which served at once to make his peace with the Equestrian Order, and to hold out a significant threat to the existing Senatorial Body. With feelings doubtless of a very mixed kind,—for whichever of the rivals prevailed, Senatorial authority must suffer,—the Senate sent to demand of Sylla why he was in arms against his country. "To set her at liberty," was the only answer he vouchsafed. The Prætors then went out, attended by their Lictors, and invested with all the ensigns of their office; but when they appeared in the ranks of the army, the soldiers broke their fasces and stripped them of their robes. Sylla, indeed, pledged himself to comply with all demands of the Senate, if he could be assured that a free debate should be held in the Campus Martius. But, meantime, he continued to advance. The officers who had deserted him were mostly replaced by persons of note, who fled from Rome to his army. Above all, he was joined by his colleague and kinsman, Q. Pompeius Rufus; and henceforth all his acts ran in the joint name of the two Consuls of the year,—a fact which no doubt had great authority over men's minds.

§ 8. The prompt audacity of Sylla took Marius and Sulpicius by surprise. They had not calculated on his daring to march a Roman army against Rome. To gain time, they sent a last embassy, in the name of the Senate, requesting the Consuls to stop the march of the army till the Fathers had come to some resolution. Sylla, who was then about five miles from the gates of the city, promised to comply: but no sooner had the envoys turned their backs, than he despatched two officers with a detachment to occupy the high ground adjoining the Esquiline. They marched so rapidly that they seized the Colline Gate, and penetrated into the City, before notice was given of their approach; but their progress was stopped by the People, who threw tiles and stones upon them from the house-tops. Meantime, the Consuls had come up with their whole force. Pompeius pushed forward with one Legion to support the troops at

the Colline Gate; another Legion seized the Cælimontane Gate; a third turned the Aventine, and occupied the Sublician Bridge; a fourth remained in reserve before the walls; while Sylla with the remaining two entered the City. The People again threatened to stop his march; upon which he took a torch into his own hand, and declared that he would fire the City if any opposition was offered. He was then permitted to advance unmolested through the streets.

His opponents, meantime, had assembled a considerable force; and in the district between the Cælian and the Esquiline armed soldiers for the first time encountered in the streets of Rome. Sylla's men were beaten back, till seizing an eagle he threw himself into the thick of the fray. Meanwhile, his reserve Legion entered the City and attacked Marius in flank from the Suburra. The old General, finding his position turned, retreated to the Capitol,[k] whence he issued a proclamation offering liberty to all Slaves who would join his banner. But this desperate act only revealed his weakness, and even those who had hitherto supported him dispersed. Marius, Sulpicius, and all their chief friends, sought safety in flight.

§ 9. Meantime, Sylla had marched his Legions in good order down the Sacred Way into the Forum. He exerted himself to restore public confidence by inflicting summary punishment upon all plunderers. During the night he patrolled the City in company with his colleague. Next morning he called an Assembly of the Tribes, and addressed them in a set speech, deploring the extremity to which he had been forced by profligate demagogues.[l] From the Forum both Consuls proceeded to the Senate-house. A Decree was issued, by which twelve persons were proclaimed traitors and a price set upon their head. Among these the most eminent were Marius, his son, his son-in-law L. Granius, and the Tribunes Sulpicius and Albinovanus. Against this arbitrary Decree no one had courage to raise a voice except Q. Scævola, the Pontifex. "Never," said the old lawyer, "will I consent to declare Caius Marius an outlaw."

§ 10. All the proclaimed persons had escaped. But Sulpicius,

[k] Oros. v. 19.

[l] Appian (i. 59) adds that he now brought in various measures, which no doubt belong to the later period of his Dictatorship.

who had secreted himself in a villa near Laurentum, was betrayed by a slave and slain. His head was exposed upon the Rostra, from which his eloquence had so often moved the people to tears,—the first example of a barbarous practice which became common in after years. The treacherous slave was rewarded by Sylla for doing his duty to the State, and then thrown down the Tarpeian Rock for betraying his master,—a perfidious judgment, characteristic of a country where slaves are numerous and held in fear. The masters dare not recognise them as free men, even where the public interest is most concerned.

§ 11. Marius himself ran through a series of adventures strange as ever were coined by the brain of a romancer. He reached Ostia in company with Granius, his son-in-law, and a few slaves: hence they proposed to take ship for Africa, where Marius had much influence derived from the times of the Jugurthan War. When young Marius, who had taken a different route, arrived at Ostia, he found that his father had put to sea. By a lucky chance, however, he found another vessel sailing for Africa, and reached that Province in safety. Meantime, old Marius was by stress of weather driven to land near Circeii. From this place the party wandered southward along the desolate shore in great distress, till some herdsmen, who recognised the old General, warned him of the approach of a party of cavalry. Not daring to keep the road, the fugitives plunged into the forest which still covers the coast. Here they passed the night in great misery, and next morning continued their forlorn walk. Marius alone kept up his spirits and encouraged his attendants by assurances that a Seventh Consulship was yet in store for him. In the two following days they had dragged their weary limbs over a space of about forty miles direct distance, when they saw a body of horse coming towards them. It happened that two merchant vessels were passing southward close in-shore. The fugitives plunged into the sea, and made for the ships. Granius reached one of them, and was put ashore in the island of Pithecusa (Ischia). So exhausted was Marius, that he was hardly kept above water by two slaves, till the seamen got him on board the other vessel. Meantime, the horsemen rode down to the water's edge, and calling out to the captain, demanded the person of Marius. With tears the

old General besought protection from the seamen; and after much wavering the captain continued his course. When they reached the mouth of the Liris, he persuaded Marius to go ashore, as it was necessary to lay to till the land-wind rose. But no sooner was his boat returned, than the faithless captain got under way, and Marius was left absolutely alone upon the swampy beach. He walked wearily to an old man's hut, who concealed him in a hole near the river, and covered him with reeds. Presently the horsemen came up, and demanded where Marius was. Afraid of being discovered, the fugitive rose from his hiding-place and dashed into the river. He was perceived, and dragged ashore; and the horsemen conveyed him, nearly naked, and covered with mud, to Minturnæ. Here he was given over to the magistrates of the town, who had received a circular letter from the Consuls, ordering them to put Marius to death if he should fall into their hands. But the magistrates, not liking to incur such responsibility, referred the matter to the Town-Council, and Marius was confined in the house of one Fannia till his fate was determined.

The Council voted that Sylla's orders should be obeyed, and a Gaulish slave was sent with orders to put the old General to death. It was dark, and, as the man entered the room where Marius was lying, he saw the old man's eyes glaring through the darkness, while a deep voice exclaimed: "Fellow, darest thou slay Caius Marius?" He threw down his sword and fled, crying: "I cannot slay Caius Marius."[m] By the connivance of the Magistrates, the fugitive escaped to Ischia, where he joined Granius, and a friendly ship was found to convey him to Africa.

But his dangers were not over. The ship touched at Erycina for water; and one of the Sicilian Quæstors happening to be there, fell upon the party, slew sixteen, and almost captured Marius. But again he escaped, and this time reached Africa in safety. Hearing that his son and other friends had already arrived, he was emboldened to land near the site of ancient Car-

[m] "A *Gaul*," says Appian. "A *Gaulish* or *Cimbrian* horseman," says Plutarch. "A *German*, who perhaps had been taken prisoner by him in the *Cimbric* war," says Velleius. The man doubtless was a *Gaul*; but poetic justice required that he should be a *Cimbrian* or *Teuton*.

thage. But the Prætor Sextilius sent him orders to quit the Province without delay. Marius with silent indignation gazed fixedly on the messenger, till the man demanded what answer he should take back to the Prætor. "Tell him," said the old General, "that you have seen Caius Marius sitting among the ruins of Carthage."

Soon after, he was joined by his son, who had endeavoured to gain support from Hiempsal, King of Numidia. The young man had been received with outward kindness, but was in fact detained as prisoner, till he was taught to escape by the compassion of the King's daughter. After this, Marius remained in Africa without molestation.

§ 12. Meanwhile Sylla at Rome was not without his difficulties. He found both Senate and People so shocked by the yet unknown intrusion of armed legions within the sacred precincts of the City, that he thought it prudent to send back the troops to their old quarters in Campania, while he remained himself to settle matters as much in his own favour as was practicable, before he took his departure for the East. The Senate, on his motion, issued a Decree, by which the laws of Sulpicius were declared null and void; and thus the Italian voters were again deprived of the advantages granted to them by the Tribune, while Sylla's appointment to the Oriental command resumed its force. By another Decree, the noble debtors, who had unwittingly given occasion to the revolutionary attempts of Marius and Sulpicius, were relieved of a portion of their accumulated interest.

But Sylla, though he was thus ready and forward to gratify the Romans by degrading the Italians, had gained no hold on the affections of the People. Those of his partisans, who were candidates for the Tribunate, were rejected, and several known friends of Marius were chosen. Nor was he able to influence the Consular elections. The choice fell upon Cn. Octavius, a feeble nobleman, lame of a leg, and given to superstitious reverence for astrologers,[n] and L. Cornelius Cinna, who had served as Consular Legate in the Social War. It is plain that the latter was an object of suspicion to Sylla's observant eye; for before he assumed office he was compelled by the General to

[n] "Chaldæans," as they were called. See Juven. vi. 554, x. 94.

repair to the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter, and there, holding a stone in his hand, solemnly to pray, that if he disturbed the existing order of things, he might be cast out of the City with the same violence with which he dashed that stone upon the ground.

§ 13. Sylla remained at Rome till the new Consuls had entered upon office (87 B.C.), busy with preparations, political and military. To raise money he obliged the Senate to sell a portion of land consecrated (so said tradition) by Numa. A detachment of his army was left to continue the siege of Nola. Metellus Pius, son of old Numidicus, was commissioned to complete the conquest of the Samnites. Cn. Pompeius Strabo, still serving as Proconsul in Apulia, was superseded by Q. Pompeius Rufus, Sylla's kinsman and late colleague. But no sooner had Strabo left his army, than a mutiny broke out, and Rufus was murdered by the soldiers. The wily Proconsul immediately returned to the camp, and after rebuking the mutineers with apparent sternness, quietly resumed the command; nor was Sylla strong enough to take notice of this piece of preconcerted treachery.

Indeed his own position at Rome was very insecure. Plots were formed against his life by Marian agents, and the murder of his colleague was a token of what might next be his own fate. Cinna had already shown his turbulent disposition, by urging one of the new Tribunes to impeach Sylla for violating constitutional Law by bringing an army within the walls of Rome. The General, mistrustful of his own strength in the City, and impatient of further delay, hastened to Campania, and shipped his troops for Greece, leaving the Senate and the Aristocracy to fight their own battle.

§ 14. His departure was the signal for a fresh outbreak of Civil War. Cinna, an ambitious, unprincipled and reckless man, perceived that he could at once raise himself to importance by putting himself at the head of the New Citizens or Italian party, who had been left without leaders by the death of Sulpicius and the flight of Marius. He at once gave notice of a Bill for again distributing the Italians and Freedmen through all the Tribes; and also moved that old Marius and his fellow-exiles should be restored to their civic rights. These measures were warmly opposed by the leaders of the Senate

and by the old Roman citizens. The Consul Octavius showed more vigour than he had been thought to possess. On the day of voting, Cinna's party occupied the Forum, armed with concealed daggers; and when it appeared that a majority of the Tribunes were about to stop all proceedings by their veto, they drew their weapons upon those officers. Upon this Octavius entered the Forum at the head of an armed body of the Old Citizens. Unwilling to join personally in the fray, he retired to the Temple of the Dioscuri; but his retinue joined the Old Citizens, and a furious battle ensued, which ended in the Italians being driven from the Forum.[o] In vain Cinna offered liberty to all slaves who would rise and join him. He was obliged to quit Rome, accompanied by several Tribunes. The Senate immediately deprived him of the Consular office, and conferred it, by their own authority, on L. Cornelius Merula, Flamen of Jupiter, an inoffensive man, who allowed the perilous honour to be thrust upon him, though he was ill-suited for such times.

§ 15. Cinna was now completely compromised. He had already been joined by all the active spirits of the Italian party. He now took the bold step of trusting himself to the army left by Sylla before Nola, which was probably discontented at being excluded from all hope of participating in the expected gains of the Mithridatic War. Cinna came into camp as a private man. With passionate words he told the soldiery that he had, by the arbitrary will of the Senate, been stripped of the high office which had been conferred by the votes of the People. As he concluded his harangue, he rent his robe and threw himself on the ground. The unwonted sight of a Consul in this attitude of humiliation moved the susceptible feelings of the men. All took the oath of obedience to him as Consul. More than this. He addressed himself not only to the Roman soldiers who were beleaguering Nola, but as the chief of the Italian party, he declared to the Samnite garrison of Nola that he had no cause of quarrel with them, and invited them to make common cause with him against the

[o] With the loss of 10,000 men, according to Plutarch *Vit. Sertor.* 4. This period of the Civil War was called *Bellum Octavianum* by Cicero *de Divin.* i. 2, *de N. D.* ii. 5.

old Roman citizens. In a similar strain he declaimed in each of the disaffected towns of Italy which had lately been engaged in the Social War. Everywhere he was received with enthusiasm. Even Tibur and Prænesté, Latin cities, remembered their old jealousy of Rome, and were forward in promising him aid. The Social or Italian War was revived under a different aspect. A Consul now appeared as their leader, and Marius, the greatest General of Rome, was known to favour their claims.

All at Rome who were friendly to Marius or ill-disposed to the Senate now joined Cinna. He was soon at the head of a formidable army, and many able officers, formed in the late wars, accepted commissions from him, thus acknowledging his right to be considered as Consul. Among these may be named Cn. Papirius Carbo and Q. Sertorius, men who played a great part in the following years.

§ 16. News of these proceedings soon reached old Marius in Africa. He at once assembled in that Province a force of about a thousand desperate men, and landed at Telamo in Etruria. Like all the partisan leaders of this period, he offered liberty to slaves, and soon found himself at the head of a large force, which was brought into comparative order in a few weeks by his habits of command. He also made himself master of a small but well-appointed fleet. He was now in a condition to treat with Cinna, and opened negotiations by offering to accept a commission under him as Consul. Cinna's officers advised him to close with this offer, all except Sertorius. This sagacious man, who had served under Marius in the Cimbrian War and had gained distinction in the war against the Allies, feared the savage temper of his old general, and knew his political incapacity; and he advised Cinna not to compromise his cause by uniting it to that of Marius. But when Cinna confessed that he had opened a correspondence with Marius, even before the old General had quitted Africa, Sertorius withdrew his objections. Cinna offered to Marius the rank and power of Proconsul. But the old man grimly refused all marks of honour till the day of vengeance should arrive.

§ 17. Meanwhile the Senate had been exerting themselves to raise a force for the defence of the City. They hired mer-

cenaries in Gaul. They sent orders to Pompeius Strabo to bring up his army from Apulia. They directed Metellus Pius, who was still employed in reducing the Samnites, to make what terms he could with the enemy, and hasten to Rome. Metellus lingered, in the hope either of finishing his work, or because he could not move in safety. Pompeius advanced to the Colline Gate, where he encamped, and maintained an obstinate silence as to his purposes. It seemed uncertain whether he would join the Senate or go over to Cinna and Marius. But these commanders had no mind to concede such terms as were likely to be demanded by Pompeius; and after some intrigues which came to naught, Cinna and Sertorius united their forces and fell upon his army. A desperate but indecisive conflict ensued. But if the sword of Cinna was not effectual, his liberal offers of bounty and reward so shook the fidelity of the enemy's soldiery, that to prevent his whole army from deserting, Pompeius at length entered Rome, and united his troops to the scanty force of the Consul Octavius.[p]

§ 18. The armies of the assailants now drew close round Rome, so as to invest it on every side. Cinna took his post near the Colline Gate, with a division on the road to Ariminum, so as to intercept communications with the north and north-east. Carbo lay on his left, so as to command the Appian and Latin and other roads, which approached Rome from the east; Sertorius on his right, so as to bar all passage from Etruria and the north-west. Marius himself took up his position on the Tiber, across which he threw a bridge, so as to communicate with Carbo on the one side and Sertorius on the other. Thus placed, with large forces at their command, the allied generals calculated on reducing the City by famine.

But Marius was not content with a mere blockade. He displayed a vigour worthy of his best days, and of a better cause. His ships cruising off the Tiber intercepted the corn-vessels coming from Africa and Sicily; his troops took Ostia by

[p] Appian merely says that Pompeius was sent for and encamped at the Colline Gate with Cinna at his side. Orosius (v. 19) mentions the hesitation of Pompeius to join either side, and the battle. The disaffection of his army is noticed by Plutarch (*Vit. Pomp.* c. 3), who attributes to young Pompey (afterwards *the Great*) the credit of preventing a general mutiny.

assault, in which lay stores of grain for the supply of the City. Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and other places, yielded to force or persuasion. At length he contrived to open communications with App. Claudius, who commanded the Senatorial forces on the Janiculum, and that officer admitted the besiegers within the walls. But Pompeius Strabo fell upon them suddenly with his best troops, and they were driven out with great slaughter.

§ 19. Presently after this success; Pompeius died very suddenly,[q] and a plague broke out which decimated the Senatorial army. But by this time Metellus had quitted Samnium. He advanced towards Rome, and encamped upon the Alban Hills. Here he was visited by some of the soldiers of Pompeius, who were filled with contempt for the Consul Octavius, and entreated Metellus to take the chief command, a request which he with more magnanimity than prudence declined. He was unable to do more than threaten Cinna's rear; but when the troops of Marius, flushed with victory, joined the Consul, Metellus was not strong enough to attack the combined force of the enemy; great part of his troops either gradually deserted or returned home; and the Senate, left almost defenceless, determined on attempting negociations. A deputation of Senators arrived in the camp of Cinna, who prefaced all proceedings by asking whether they were prepared to treat with him "as Consul." They had no instructions on this point, and returned to Rome. But Cinna's army was every day being increased by crowds of slaves, and he advanced his camp within a dart's throw of the gates. A second deputation arrived, and humbly saluted him as Consul. He received them sitting in his chair of state, with his Lictors on either side. The Deputies asked nothing more than that before entering the city he would take an oath not to suffer a general massacre. Cinna waived the oath, but promised not to authorise any slaughter, and recommended the Consul Octavius to save himself by flight. Any hopes inspired by the moderation of his language were damped by the aspect of old Marius. He stood behind the Consul's chair, in mean apparel, with his hair and beard rough and long, for they had

[q] "Afflatus sidere," says Obsequens. He was hated by all parties for his selfish greediness, and the Senate allowed his body to be dragged through the streets by a hook.

been left untrimmed ever since the day on which he had fled from Rome, and with a sullen frown upon his brow, from which nothing but evil could be augured. But the Senate had little room for choice. Hastily they passed a Decree, inviting Cinna, Marius, and their partisans to enter the City. Marius ironically replied, that he had been formally proclaimed a traitor, and must be formally restored to his rights. But before a second Decree could issue, he had entered the City with the army.

§ 20. Rome was treated as a conquered city. The soldiers, consisting of slaves and vagabonds of all kinds, combined with Italians smarting from the late war, were let loose to plunder. The unfortunate Octavius, assured by his astrologers, neglected the advice of Cinna, and was slain while seated upon his Consular chair in the Janiculum. His slaughter was but the prelude to a series of horrible butcheries. Marius had returned to Italy full of the memory of his ignominious flight and painful sufferings. He was attended everywhere by a band of ruffians, known by the name of Bardiæi,[r] who had orders to strike down any person of rank whom their master passed without the courtesy of a salute. The Senators who had opposed his recall from exile were among his first victims. Brutal officers, devoted to his service, such as Cosconius and Fimbria, rode through the streets hunting down their enemies like game. Q. Lentulus, C. Numitorius, M. Bæbius, and others were cut down, and their bodies dragged through the public places. P. Crassus, seeing his eldest son slain by Fimbria, put an end to his own life. L. Cæsar, author of the Law for enfranchising the Italians, and his brother Caius, were murdered in their own houses. Q. Ancharius came in suppliant guise to Marius, when he was sacrificing on the Capitol; but the relentless old man ordered the suppliant to be cut down in the very precincts of the Temple and his body cast into the street. The example of Marius was followed by all who had private wrongs to avenge, or debts to cancel. Many Knights were massacred, doubtless by their creditors. The slaves, drunk with passion and license, wreaked a less discriminating vengeance upon all

[r] Probably part of these ruffians consisted of an African Tribe, bearing this name.

who fell in their way. But here it must be recorded, that many were saved by the devotion of their household slaves. Cornutus was pursued to his house by some of the gang of Marius; his slaves hung up one of the corpses, which were but too plentiful, with their master's gold ring upon the hand; and when the murderers burst into the house these faithful slaves pretended that they had anticipated the deed of blood, and by this pious fraud saved their master. The orator Antonius had incurred the special wrath of Marius, by an eloquent speech in which he had opposed his recall to Rome. For some time he lay concealed in a country-house by the care of his slaves. Unfortunately one of these simple men, in buying wine for him, told the vintner that he must have good liquor, since it was (he whispered) for the special use of the great orator M. Antonius. The treacherous dealer hastened with the news to Marius, who sprang up with savage glee, and sent a legionary Tribune with a body of troops to murder Antonius. The house was surrounded, and a party of the soldiers were sent in to do the bloody work. But the Orator addressed them with eloquence so pathetic, that they stayed their hands, till the brutal officer, irritated by the delay, went in and slew the eloquent old man with his own hand. His head was carried to Marius, who placed it before him on the supper-table as the chief ornament of the banquet.

§ 21. Cinna appears to have taken no part in these atrocities. Sertorius looked on with deep disgust, especially when he saw the enfranchised slaves giving a loose to every licentious passion with a Bacchanalian glee, which excites pity, not only for the sufferers, but also for those who by ill-treatment had been degraded into savages. By the permission of the Consul, Sertorius fell upon them with a body of his own troops, and slew several thousands. By this rude justice order was in some degree restored.

§ 22. But some persons who had escaped the massacre had been too conspicuous to remain unpunished; and against them the mockery of legal forms was put in motion. The most eminent of these were L. Cornelius Merula, Flamen of Jupiter, and Q. Lutatius Catulus, colleague of Marius in his Cimbric triumph. Merula was a quiet and respectable man, whose only

offence was that he had unwillingly superseded Cinna in the Consulship. But this was enough. He was indicted; and knowing that indictment was equivalent to condemnation, he repaired to the great Temple on the Capitol, and opening his veins bled to death. The character of the man was shown by the fact, that even in death he was scrupulous in observing the forms of religion: a tablet was found by his side, with a written notice that before blood had flowed he had carefully laid aside the cap which was the emblem of his sacred office. Catulus, like Antonius, had offended Marius by opposing his recall from exile. Some influential friends endeavoured to awaken in the breast of the stern old man some generous memory of the days when he had refused to triumph over the barbarians without Catulus to share his triumph. But in vain. "He must die," was the only answer vouchsafed.[1] Catulus, certain of his fate, shut himself up in a newly-plastered room, lighted a charcoal fire, and died by easy suffocation. Sylla himself was beyond reach; but his house was rased to the ground, his property confiscated, and himself proclaimed a traitor. His wife Cæcilia and his children escaped from Rome, and soon after joined him in Greece.

Of all Senators put to death in these days of Terror, the heads were exposed upon the Rostra beside that of the Consul Octavius, a ghastly tribute to the manes of the Tribune Sulpicius, who was the first Roman citizen thus dishonoured. The bodies of all were left unburied, to be devoured by dogs and birds. But it must be observed, that the Massacre of Marius differed widely from the Proscriptions of later times. It was a burst of savage passion, which lasted for a few hours, and was not marked by any systematic rules of murder and confiscation.

§ 23. The short remainder of the year passed in gloomy tranquillity. News of Sylla's victories in the East from time to time disturbed the satisfaction of the conquerors. But for the present they were absolute. Cinna remained sole Consul till the Calends of January of 86 B.C., when Marius for the seventh time, and Cinna for the second, assumed the fasces, without going through the needless formalities of election. On the first day of his authority, Marius ordered one Sext. Licinius, a

[1] Cicero *Quaest. Tusc.* v. 19.

Senator, to be thrown down the Tarpeian Rock, without even the form of a trial. Sad presages arose of what might follow. But Marius, since his return, had given himself to wine and riotous living; and his iron constitution, worn out by former labours, and especially by his late strange sufferings, sank under an inflammatory fever. The hero of six Consulships died in less than two weeks[t] after he had seen his cherished expectations fulfilled by the seventh tenure of that high office,—hated by his enemies, feared even by his friends.

[t] "Idibus Januariis (Jan. 13th) decessit."—Liv. *Epit.* 80. Plutarch represents him as holding the Consulship for seventeen days.

CHAPTER LIX.

FIRST MITHRIDATIC WAR. (88—84 B.C.)

§ 1. Rise of kingdom of Pontus: ancestors of Mithridates. § 2. His youth, education, and character. § 3. His conquests from Pontus to the Borysthenes: alliance with Tigranes of Armenia. § 4. Seizes Cappadocia: intervention of Sylla. § 5. Encourages Italians during Social War: seizes Bithynia, while Tigranes invades Cappadocia: Aquillius sent to restore Nicomedes. § 6. Mithridates invades Roman Province: treatment of Aquillius. § 7. Honours paid to Mithridates: Massacre of Italians. § 8. Athens revolts: Archelaus sent by Mithridates to garrison Piræeus. § 9. Sylla lands in Epirus: assaults Piræeus, in vain. § 10. Besieges Piræeus: gallant defence of Archelaus. § 11. Siege of Piræeus raised: fall of Athens. § 12. Archelaus retires by sea: fall of Piræeus. § 13. Sylla defeats Archelaus at Chæronea. § 14. Marches to intercept Flaccus: returns and defeats Archelaus at Orchomenos: winters in Thessaly. § 15. Flaccus murdered by Fimbria at Nicomedia. § 16. Fimbria nearly surprises Mithridates at Pergamus. § 17. Negotiations of Sylla and Archelaus. § 18. Sylla advances into Thrace: meets Mithridates in Troad: Peace concluded. § 19. Attacks Fimbria: his death. § 20. Leaves Murena in Asia: spends remainder of 84 B.C. in Greece.

§ 1. IT will be necessary to go back in order to gain a clear perception of the causes which led to the Mithridatic War.

After the battle of Magnesia, the Macedonian monarchs of Syria lost all their dominions in Asia Minor, and this country was broken up into a number of petty principalities, jealous of one another, and looking to Rome either with hope or fear. Eumenes of Pergamus was rewarded by the addition of all Lydia and some other districts to his rule; but soon after the death of Attalus Philometor, the fifth King, the kingdom of Pergamus became a Roman Province under the proud title of Asia,[a] just as the name of Libya or Africa had been bestowed on the Province formed out of the territory of Carthage. Bithynia to the north, subject to Kings of Macedonian origin,

[a] Sometimes called Proconsular Asia. Hence it is that persons, being already in Phrygia or Galatia, speak of going into *Asia*, as in the Acts of the Apostles, xvi. 6; compare xix. 22, 26, 27, &c.

had, since Prusias declared his inability to protect Hannibal, fallen completely under Roman influence. At this time it was governed by Nicomedes II., grandson of Prusias. Cappadocia was governed by a prince named Ariarathes. Galatia, united into one principality, was ruled by a native chief named Deïotarus.

But a country beyond even these distant realms demands our chief attention. During the weakness of the later Persian monarchy, the Satraps of the district named Pontus, that is the mountainous country along the north shore of the Euxine from the Halys eastward, were enabled to assert their independence. These Satraps claimed descent from one of the noblest families of Persia. In the wars between the Macedonian Kings who divided the Empire of Alexander, the ruler of Pontus, Mithridates by name, raised his principality to a kingdom. His descendants extended their power over part of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, till Mithridates V., commonly called Euergetes, entered into alliance with Rome, and assisted them in their war against Aristonicus. For his services he was rewarded by the Roman Proconsul Aquillius with a considerable portion of Phrygia, while his neighbour Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, received the provinces of Lycaonia and Cilicia. Mithridates V. was assassinated at Sinopé, his capital, about the year 120 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Mithridates VI., commonly called Dionysos, or Eupator, who was then a boy of about twelve years old.[b] This was the man who became famous as the competitor of Rome for the sovereignty of the East.

§ 2. In later times it was remembered that at his birth a comet blazed in the heavens so large in size as to reach from the zenith to the horizon,—a sign, it was afterwards interpreted, of his destined greatness. But during his boyhood the fates seemed adverse. The Senate revoked the gift conferred by Aquillius upon his father. His guardians attempted his life both by poison and the dagger. But he escaped all perils marvellously. It was commonly believed that his constitution was enabled to defy the insidious attacks of poison by the habitual

[b] On his coins the name is spelt Mithradates. The Romans changed it, as was their wont. So, for instance, Μασσαλία became Massilia, and Μασσανίσσας Massinissa, &c.

use of antidotes. What education he received was given by Greek masters at Sinopé. Probably his quick faculties enabled him to make much of little teaching. So excellent was his memory that he is said to have been master of five-and-twenty languages, so as to be able to converse in their own tongue with all the tribes who composed his motley Empire. His appreciation of Hellenic superiority is attested by the employment of Greeks both for military and civil administration; and his cultivated taste is disclosed by the artistic skill displayed in the execution of his coins. The great silver piece bearing the head of Mithridates is one of the most admirable medals that came from the ancient mints. Yet he is said to have devoted the greater part of his youthful years to hunting in the mountains of Pontus: thus he obtained vigour of constitution, quickness of eye, and promptness of decision. In all respects he stood far above the common run of Oriental despots.

§ 3. When he undertook the government, he secured himself at home, after the usual fashion of the East, by the murder of his nearest relatives,—his mother the Regent and his younger brother. Finding his neighbours, Nicomedes of Bithynia and Ariarathes of Cappadocia, secured by Roman protection, he sought scope for his military ambition in the North. There he formed an alliance with Parisades, King of Bosporus, as the eastern portion of the Crimea was then called, and assisted him in reducing the whole of that Peninsula to submission, as also in repelling the assaults of the Roxolani, a Sarmatian tribe.[c] At the death of Parisades, Mithridates took possession of the Crimea, and coins bearing his name are still found about Kertch and Kaffa.[d] The whole coast-land between Pontus and the Caucasian range, long known to the Greeks under the name of Colchis, as well as the country between the Kuban and the Borysthenes, or even further, owned his sway. On the East he strengthened himself by alliance with Tigranes, King of Armenia, who married his daughter; and having thus, in the course of about thirty years from his accession (120-90 B.C.), raised himself to the possession of a formidable

[c] The name of the *Russians*, which some trace in this word, is no doubt of Scandinavian origin.

[d] Dr. Clarke's *Travels in Russia*.

Empire, he considered himself not unequal to a conflict with Rome herself.

§ 4. So early as the year 93 B.C. family feuds in the royal family of Cappadocia invited the interference of its neighbours. Ariarathes, lately King, had married a sister of Mithridates, but was put to death by the agency of that monarch. Then followed a quarrel for Cappadocia between Mithridates and Nicomedes. Sylla (as we have said) became Proprætor of Cilicia in 92 B.C., and was commissioned by the Senate to settle these disputes. Consulting the wishes of the Cappadocians, he restored Ariobarzanes, a nobleman of the country whom his compatriots had chosen to succeed Ariarathes, to the throne. For the time Mithridates submitted in silence, but the arrogant language of Marius more than ever confirmed him in the resolution to make war with the proud Republic.[e]

§ 5. Two years later the Social War broke out. Mithridates availed himself of the opportunity afforded by the disturbances in the West to extend his own power in the East. Nicomedes of Bithynia was just dead, and the King of Pontus seized his kingdom; while he induced his son-in-law Tigranes to invade Cappadocia, and expel Ariobarzanes, the protégé of Rome, for the second time. The Senate were too much occupied at home to attend to these proceedings till late in the year 89 B.C., when M' Aquillius, the conqueror of the Slaves in Sicily,[f] was sent out at the head of a Commission to restore the son of Nicomedes to the throne of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes to that of Cappadocia. Mithridates again yielded, and the fugitive Kings again took possession of their thrones; but Aquillius gave young Nicomedes to understand that a largess must be paid to those who had restored him, and urged him to raise the necessary money by an inroad into the dominions of the King of Pontus. Mithridates at once despatched envoys to Rome to make complaints of the conduct of the Senatorial Commissioner.

§ 6. The Social War had now well nigh spent its force, and the Senate dismissed the Pontic envoys without a satisfactory answer. Mithridates expected this result; and considering his preparations to be adequate for a war with Rome, he resolved to take the law into his own hands. His Generals, Archelaus

[e] Chapt. lvi. § 15. [f] Chapt. lv. § 17.

and Neoptolemus, fell upon Nicomedes while he was plundering the valley of the Amneius, south of Sinopé, and utterly defeated him. A similar fate befel Aquillius, who had advanced hastily to support the Bithynian King; and Cassius, the Prætor of Asia, who endeavoured to raise an army in Phrygia, was also compelled to take refuge at Apamea. Thus the road to the Roman Province lay open to Mithridates.

Without hesitation he pushed forward at the head of his victorious troops. Almost everywhere his advent was welcomed as that of a deliverer. Cassius fled to Rhodes; and the honest people of that island kept their faith to Rome by protecting the Prætor. Aquillius sought shelter in Mitylené; but the Lesbians, remembering the oppressions of his father, delivered him up to Mithridates. The Laodiceans also surrendered the person of Oppius, another of the Senatorial Commissioners. The latter was treated with kindness; but Aquillius was sent round the cities of the Province seated upon an ass, with a proclamation stating that to his covetous dealing alone the war was due. To express the same accusation with a barbaric vigour not unusual with Oriental despots, he was put to death by having molten gold poured down his throat.

§ 7. To justify the character of Deliverer, which he had assumed, Mithridates set free all prisoners of Asiatic race, excused all who submitted quietly from military service for five years, remitted all taxes due to the Roman Government, and cancelled a portion even of private debts. All that Asiatic enthusiasm could bestow of honour was heaped upon him. He was welcomed at the gates of every city by festal processions, which were attended by the citizens in their holiday attire. He was saluted as the preserver of Asia, as the father of her people, as Dionysos her present and protecting Deity. During the winter he took up his residence at Pergamus, and celebrated his nuptials with Monima, a young Greek of Stratonicea. But while he seemed to be given up to enjoyment, an edict went forth to every city in the Province of Asia, ordering the people to massacre all Italians who might be found within their borders. This savage order was everywhere obeyed with alacrity. On one day no less than 80,000 persons were slaughtered. Not even women and children were spared; neither hearth nor temple, friendship

or affinity, were allowed to shelter those who appealed to these sacred names. Many were put to death by torture. The zest with which the Asiatics executed the orders of Mithridates shows how great was the hatred entertained of the name and dominion of Rome.

Meanwhile the few recusant cities on the mainland had been subdued by the King's officers. A fleet and an army were sent to reduce Rhodes, but the islanders repelled all the assaults of the Pontic commanders with the same bravery and energy which two centuries before had foiled the skill of Demetrius Poliorcetes.[g]

The effect of these sudden and terrible events was felt at the centre of the Empire. The loss of Asia gave a shock to credit even at Rome.[h]

§ 8. A wider field now opened itself to the ambition of Mithridates. Aristion, an Epicurean philosopher of Athens, persuaded the people of that famous city to rise against Rome, and himself assumed sovereign power. The chief citizens fled to Italy; and Aristion, as Sovereign of Athens, invited Mithridates to support the revolt. Archelaus, the King's best General, was at once despatched to Piræeus at the head of a large force. He seized Delos, where he plundered the Temple of Apollo, and delivered the island to the Athenians. Most of the Greek communities joined in the Athenian insurrection. Italians were everywhere seized and massacred, as in Asia.

§ 9. Such was the state of things when Sylla landed in Epirus. He brought with him five legions, some Italian cohorts, and a small force of cavalry, in all about 50,000 men. He spent some time in Ætolia and Thessaly to collect supplies,[i] and then advanced to Athens. There he divided his army into two corps. The smaller force watched Aristion in the city; the larger was destined for the assault of Piræeus, where Archelaus commanded. In the latter case, a regular investment was out of the question, because the Pontic General was master of the sea, and could

[g] Dr. Smith's *Hist. of Greece*, p. 562.

[h] Cicero *pro Lege Manilia*, c. 7; Vell. Paterc. ii. 23.

[i] Lucullus, one of his Legates, was of great service in this department. A quantity of money was struck for the use of the army under his authority, and the coins were called *Lucullians*.

pour in unlimited supplies by means of his ships. Sylla therefore attempted to take the place by escalade; but the walls were the walls of Pericles, nearly eighty feet high and regularly built of massive stone. The rash attempt was easily repulsed. The Roman General now found it necessary to besiege the place in form, according to the art of ancient engineers.

§ 10. The winter was at hand; and to make preparations for the siege, he drew off his army to Eleusis and Megara. All Greece was laid under contribution. Workmen, with iron and catapults and other siege-material, were brought from Bœotia; the scanty woods of Attica were laid low to furnish wood for the battering-towers and engines; not even the sacred groves of the Academia and Lyceium were spared. The stones of the Long Walls were used to construct two great embankments sloping upwards from the plain against the walls. When all was ready, two huge tortoises or battering-towers were brought up each of these inclined planes, and began to play upon the walls; but Archelaus had raised two counter-embankments inside the walls, with towers high enough to command the towers of Sylla; and little progress was made. Meanwhile the Pontic General had received large reinforcements from Asia. He made a sortie by night and burnt one of Sylla's battering-towers; but in ten days another was constructed. The troops who had by negligence allowed this loss to take place were ordered to bear the brunt of the next engagement, and that without their shoes. They had not long to wait for their revenge. Archelaus himself made a grand attack upon Sylla's lines, and a desperate conflict ensued. The Romans had at one time given way, when Murena, one of Sylla's Legates, at the head of the troops who had been dishonoured, made an assault so fierce that the enemy fled precipitately; and Archelaus himself, while covering the retreat, was shut out of the gates, and obliged to be drawn up by cords.

The siege was now pressed with redoubled vigour. A sufficient breach being made in the main wall of Piræeus, the Romans ventured upon an assault; but they soon found their way barred by a second wall, which Archelaus had constructed in an inverted curve from end to end of the breach. As the assailants advanced, their flanks were exposed to a galling discharge of

missiles from both extremities of this crescent-shaped wall, and they were obliged to retire discomfited.

§ 11. Winter was now far spent; and Sylla, despairing of the capture of Piræeus, unless he were able to invest it by sea as well as by land, sent Lucullus to Rhodes to bring over the ships of the islanders for this purpose; but they declared themselves unequal to contend against the fleet of Archelaus without assistance, and the Roman Legate was obliged to repair to Egypt. The fear of the King's agents compelled him to use disguises, and his adventures form a strange chapter in the history of this war.

While expecting his return, Sylla determined to employ his whole force in taking the city of Athens. During the siege of Piræeus, the blockade of the City itself, distant about five miles, had been steadily continued. Aristion and his courtiers lived in luxury: but the people were reduced to the extremity of feeding on the liquor boiled from hides and skins; and, but for the strength of the walls, they could have offered little resistance. After some time, a weak place was found between the Eleusinian and Piraïc Gates. Here an escalade succeeded, while at the same time a breach was effected in another part of the walls, and the whole besieging army poured in. Sylla, enraged by the part taken by the Athenians, left the soldiery to wreak their passion on the miserable city. Aristion with a few troops had withdrawn into the Acropolis. But want of water soon obliged him to surrender at discretion. For the present he was spared; but soon after he was put to death, together with all his chief officers.

§ 12. Athens was taken on the 1st of March, 88 B.C.; and Sylla's whole force being now available for a renewed attack upon Piræeus, he determined to attempt a fresh assault upon that place, though Lucullus had not yet returned with a naval force. By a desperate onset the crescent-shaped wall was carried; but a third wall was found to have been built up behind it. Sylla, resolved to succeed at any cost, renewed the attack day after day. Archelaus had been expecting succours sent through Bœotia under command of the King's son Arcathias. But the young prince had died, and Taxiles, the general left in command of the troops, had halted in Thessaly.

Archelaus, therefore, in despair of holding out much longer, shipped his army on board the fleet, and sailed to Thermopylæ, where he joined Taxiles. Piræeus now surrendered, and Sylla avenged himself for his long disappointment by burning the dockyards and arsenals, and all the buildings of old historic fame in that celebrated place.

§ 13. Meanwhile, Archelaus and Taxiles had advanced with their combined forces, in the hope of surprising Sylla within the confines of Attica. But the active Roman was in Bœotia before them, and effected a junction with his Legate Hortensius, who had just brought 6000 fresh troops over from Italy into Epirus. Thus strengthened, Sylla was enabled to seize Elateia, well known as the key of Bœotia,[k] and Archelaus retreated towards the Euripus, closely followed by the Romans.

The army of the Mithridatic Generals is stated at 100,000 men, with 10,000 horse and 90 scythed cars; that of Sylla was reduced to 30,000 men, with a small body of cavalry. After some manœuvring on the part of the Romans to avoid a battle on the plain, the armies met at Chæronea, nearly on the same ground on which, two hundred and fifty years before, Philip of Macedon had overthrown the Athenian army and made himself master of the liberties of Greece. A desperate conflict ensued, in which Sylla displayed more personal bravery and activity than strategic skill. But the steady discipline of the Roman Legionaries prevailed, and the battle ended in the complete overthrow of the Pontic army. Archelaus endeavoured to force his men to fight, by shutting the gates of the camp against the fugitives; but the only effect of this desperate measure was to multiply their slaughter. He was not able to collect above 10,000 men out of the vast host, and with these he made good his retreat across the Euripus to Chalcis. The Roman loss was small.

§ 14. After the battle of Chæronea, Sylla heard that L. Valerius Flaccus, who had succeeded Marius as Consul, and had been sent to supersede himself in the command, had landed in Epirus. With his accustomed promptitude he at once marched northwards to meet him. But at Melitea he heard that Mithridates had sent Dorylaus with 80,000 men to reïnforce Archelaus in Bœotia. Leaving Flaccus to work his will,

[k] See above, Chapt. xxxix. § 18.

Sylla returned rapidly and encamped near Orchomenus. The Pontic army lay southward of that place, on the edge of a plain very favourable for the action of their great force of cavalry. Archelaus used every effort to dissuade his new Colleague from venturing on another battle; but Dorylaus was obstinate. To impede the movements of the enemy's cavalry, Sylla employed his men in cutting deep trenches across the plain, of ten feet wide. An attack made by the enemy upon the working parties brought on a conflict, in which the barbarians were driven with much loss into their camp. Next morning, the Romans assaulted their entrenchments, carried them, and drove the mass of the enemy into the marshy swamp of Copaïs. Archelaus rallied a small remnant of the Pontic army, with which he made good his retreat to Chalcis. Bœotia was now given up to plunder, and the Roman army passed into Thessaly for winter quarters.

§ 15. Meantime, Valerius Flaccus, a man without energy and of no military skill, had found his men more inclined to join Sylla than to fight him. Part of them, indeed, deserted; the rest had been kept under their banners by the active exertions of his lieutenant, C. Flavius Fimbria, a daring and unscrupulous man, who had taken a foremost part in the massacres of Marius.[1] To avoid a conflict with Sylla or to keep their men from desertion, Flaccus and Fimbria directed their march through Macedonia and Thrace towards the Hellespont, with the intention of assailing Mithridates in Asia, where he had but a small force remaining. But the lieutenant could not brook to submit to the authority of a Consul whom he despised; and when Flaccus crossed over from Byzantium to Chalcedon, leaving Thermus in command during his absence, Fimbria appealed to the army and was unanimously chosen to the command. The Consul instantly returned in high dudgeon; but found that Fimbria was all powerful with the army, and fled across the Hellespont into Asia. Fimbria pursued him to Nicomedia, and found him concealed in a water-tank. Disre-

[1] "Hominem longe audacissimum . . et insanissimum." Cicero pro *Sex. Roscio Amerino* 12. He stabbed Q. Scævola at the funeral of Marius, and presently brought an accusation against him, because he had not died of the wound.

gardful of his rank and authority, the reckless Fimbria beheaded him and left his corpse unburied.

§ 16. In the spring of 85 B.C., Fimbria, having collected considerable reïnforcements, threw himself suddenly into Asia, defeated the son of Mithridates, and advanced rapidly upon Pergamus, where Mithridates himself was keeping his court. Surprised by this unexpected attack, the King took refuge at Mitylené, where he was safe from the pursuit of Fimbria, who had no ships. But Lucullus, who had by this time collected a respectable fleet, was in the neighbourhood. He might easily have invested the island and terminated the war by possessing himself of the King's person. But, fearful of playing into the hands of Fimbria, he suffered Mithridates to escape again unmolested to the mainland; and Fimbria, balked of the prize which he had so nearly won, revenged himself by plundering and committing great atrocities in the Province of Asia.

§ 17. The presence of Fimbria was embarrassing to Sylla. His wife Cæcilia Metella had escaped from Rome with her children, and urged the necessity of a speedy return to Italy; and the advice of his friends from all quarters was no less urgent. During the winter he had held a personal interview with Archelaus at Delium, in which that able officer proposed that Sylla should leave Asia in the King's possession, on condition that Mithridates should assist him in conquering his enemies at home. Sylla made no reply, except by offering to make Archelaus King of Pontus, on condition that he should become the ally of Rome. Archelaus indignantly refused to break faith with his master; upon which Sylla quietly asked: "If treason seems so base to you, how dare you suggest treason to a Roman General?" The two commanders, however, continued to be good friends; and when Sylla was preparing to march eastward, Archelaus joined him at Larissa. Here he fell ill, and Sylla delayed his march for some time to wait his recovery. This and other circumstances raised suspicions that Archelaus had been secretly won over by the gold or the persuasions of the adroit Roman.

§ 18. The year 85 B.C. was passed by Sylla in Macedonia, where he was detained by the necessity of subduing the barbarous Tribes on the northern frontier of the Roman Province,

the Dardanians, Scordiscans, Sarmatians, and others, who were probably urged on to attack him by the gold of Mithridates. But the rapid successes of Fimbria in Asia inclined Sylla to peace, and he moved into Thrace. Mithridates, also, was well inclined to treat. His fleet, hitherto master of the sea, had been encountered by Lucullus off Tenedos and utterly defeated, and the passage of the Hellespont was thus laid open to Sylla. When Sylla, therefore, arrived at Philippi, he was met by envoys from Mithridates, bearing propositions for a treaty. But the terms offered were so little acceptable, that Sylla despatched Archelaus to acquaint the King with his resolution to prosecute the war with vigour, if better conditions were not immediately offered. Meanwhile, he ordered Lucullus to occupy Abydos with his ships, preparatory to an invasion of Asia. But before the Proconsul left Philippi, Archelaus returned with proposals for a personal conference between the Roman General and the King. They met at Dardanus in the Troad. Mithridates began the negotiation with a long preface. But Sylla cut short all diplomatic arts by stating the least that he would accept; and Mithridates, an acute judge of character, gave way to the peremptory Roman. It was agreed that the King should abandon all his conquests in Asia and resume the position in which he had been before the war. He was to pay two thousand talents to indemnify Rome for her expenses, and surrender a fine fleet of seventy ships.

§ 10. This settlement was made in the winter, and Mithridates withdrew to Sinopé. Early in the next year (84 B.C.) Sylla advanced against Fimbria, who had thrown himself into Thyatira, and began to draw lines of blockade round the place. Fimbria's men deserted in great numbers; and notwithstanding his efforts, the reckless adventurer soon perceived that his case was desperate. As a last resource, he proposed an interview with Sylla, who replied by sending Rutilius to inform him that he had free permission to leave Asia if he pleased. Fimbria now fled to Pergamus, where he took refuge in the Temple of Esculapius, and attempted to put an end to himself. But the wound was not mortal; and he was obliged to resort for this last service to a faithful slave, who slew himself upon his master's body.

§ 20. It was now open to Sylla to return to Italy. He had in the course of three years completely humbled the powerful King of Pontus, had expelled him from all his recent conquests, and compelled him to accept a peace dictated by himself, though under the pressure of circumstances he left him in full possession of his patrimonial territories. The fourth year since his departure from Italy was now far spent. To supply money for his Italian enterprise, as well as to punish the Asiatics, he forced the Communities which had joined Mithridates to pay him very large sums of money. Of these sums, part was paid down at once, Lucullus was left to exact the rest. This officer discharged his task with much consideration and gentleness. But to raise the money at all, the unfortunate Provincials were obliged to resort to Roman money-lenders, who advanced what they required at usurious interest. Murena was left in Asia with the troops of Fimbria, but received strict injunctions not to renew hostilities with Mithridates. Sylla set sail from Ephesus, and returned to Greece, where he spent the remainder of the year 84 B.C., engaged in active preparations for the invasion of Italy next spring. But before we follow him in his great adventure, it will be necessary to trace the fortunes of Cinna and his partisans at Rome.

CHAPTER LX.

RETURN OF SYLLA: SECOND CIVIL WAR. (83, 82 B.C.)

§ 1. Rome after the death of Marius. § 2. Cinna and Carbo, Consuls. Message from Sylla to the Senate: their reply. § 3. Death of Cinna. § 4. Carbo continues as sole Consul. § 5. Rejoinder of Sylla to the reply of the Senate. § 6. Scipio and Norbanus elected Consuls for 83 B.C. § 7. Agrarian Law. § 8. Enfranchisement of Freedmen. § 9. Sylla lands in Italy. § 10. Metellus Pius, Crassus, Pompey, join Sylla. § 11. Defeat of Norbanus and Scipio by Sylla. § 12. Exploit of Pompey in Picenum. § 13. Efforts of Sylla and Carbo during the winter: Carbo and young Marius Consuls for 82 B.C.: fire in the Capitol. § 14. Position of the armies at the beginning of the next campaign. § 15. Battle of Sacriportus: young Marius shut up in Prænesté. § 16. Massacre of Senators at Rome. § 17. Sylla enters Rome: marches to attack Carbo at Clusium: fails: advance of Samnites. § 18. March of Sylla to cover Prænesté. § 19. Metellus and Pompey complete the conquest of Northern Italy. § 20. The Samnites advance upon Rome: Sylla follows: battle of the Colline Gate. § 21. Battle renewed next morning: total defeat of the Samnites. § 22. Death of young Marius: end of the War.

§ 1. AFTER the death of Marius, Cinna remained absolute master of Rome. He had, as we have had occasion to notice, associated with himself in the Consulship L. Valerius Flaccus, —chiefly (as it seems) because that nobleman had been colleague of Marius in his sixth Consulship. Flaccus signalised his office by a law of general insolvency, by which all debts were at a stroke reduced to one-third part of their original amount.[a] He was himself deeply involved in debt, and profited by this iniquitous measure. Acts of general insolvency are common in the earlier history of the Republic. But at the present time such a measure is one among many proofs of the complete disorganisation which then prevailed. The fact that the Marian party, which under Sulpicius had set up the Equites against the Senate, countenanced such a measure, shows that it had now thrown itself completely on the populace.

[a] "Turpissimae legis auctor, quâ creditoribus quadrantem solvi jussit."—Vell. Pat. ii. 23.

Flaccus left Rome before the termination of his Consulship, and was murdered, as we have recorded, at the instigation of Fimbria. In the next year (85 B.C.) Cinna declared himself Consul for the third time, with Cn. Papirius Carbo. Sertorius was at the same time nominated to the Prætorship, with a promise of the government of the two Spains.

§ 2. The year passed away quietly; and again, in the year 84 B.C., Cinna assumed the Consulship for the fourth time, again taking Carbo for his colleague. Tidings from the East made it plain that the Mithridatic War was drawing towards its close, and that Sylla's return to Italy could not be long delayed. The Consuls were busily employed in collecting troops and ships in Sicily and Italy, with the design of attacking Sylla in Greece. While they were absent from Rome on military business, envoys arrived with a message from Sylla himself to the Senate. This important document began by recapitulating the services which he had rendered to the State from the Jugurthan war to the present time. In return for these services "his enemies," he said, "had placed him under the ban of the State, his house had been rased to the ground, his friends massacred, his wife and children forced to flee for their lives." "Presently," he concluded, "I shall return to execute vengeance on the guilty. But let it be understood that I intend not to interfere with the rights of any Citizens, New or Old." The Senate were thrown into great perplexity by this message. They feared to offend Cinna, and yet wished to return a favourable answer to Sylla. At length it was agreed, on the motion of another L. Valerius Flaccus, who was Chief of the Senate, that they should send a deputation to Sylla, with proposals "to mediate between him and those whom he styled *his enemies*, and to guarantee his personal safety if he would return to Rome." At the same time they mustered courage enough to order the Consuls to suspend their military preparations till Sylla's answer was received.

§ 3. This order met with little respect. The Consuls had now completed their preparations. An army was assembled at Ancona,[b] and transports were collected in that harbour to carry

[b] Auctor *de Viris Illustr.* 69.

it across the sea to Dalmatia. The first division was landed without difficulty. The second likewise embarked, but was driven back to Italy by a storm; whereupon the men deserted their ships and dispersed, declaring that they would not make war upon fellow-citizens. Disaffection spread in the ranks of the troops that remained at Ancona; and when Cinna, enraged at their mutinous conduct, called the leaders before his Tribunal, their gloomy looks portended mischief. As the Lictors were making room for the Consul, one of them struck a soldier. The blow was returned; and when Cinna ordered the man to be arrested, a tumult arose. A shower of stones was discharged at him. He fell, and those nearest to the spot despatched him with their swords.

Such was the end of Cinna, a man who for three years had been absolute Lord of Rome and Italy. Elected to the Consulship at the critical moment when the Italian party had lost its leaders, he stepped into the vacant place. The course of events proved that he was not able to make a dexterous use of this fortunate chance. Audacity he possessed, and was not without ambition. But his audacity wanted constancy; and his ambition was obliged to seek the support of more vigorous minds, such as he found in Sertorius and Carbo. He treated the Senate with contempt, and yet allowed them to negociate with Sylla. He affected to lead the popular party, yet he nominated himself and his colleagues to the Consulship, without deigning to take the votes of the People. He collected forces large enough to have crushed Sylla, yet was unable to control even his own soldiers. He died, disliked rather than detested by most men, regretted probably by none.

§ 4. His colleague Carbo, a man who possessed considerable talents, succeeded in quelling the mutiny, but gave up all thoughts of crossing the sea. The troops which had already landed in Dalmatia were recalled, and all future preparations were made with the view of carrying on a defensive war within the limits of Italy. But it was not in the army alone that difficulties had arisen. The Tribunes insisted on the return of Carbo to Rome, that Cinna's successor might be regularly elected; and when he hesitated, they threatened to depose him. This is the first indication of any popular feeling since

Rome had been taken by Marius and Cinna; and it shows the discontent that had been caused by the long suspension of all constitutional government. Carbo at length obeyed; but by means of the Augurs he contrived that the day appointed for the election should be declared inauspicious. On the day to which it was adjourned two temples were struck by lightning, so that proceedings were again suspended; and finally Carbo contrived to continue sole Consul for the remainder of the year 84 B.C.

§ 5. Meanwhile the Senatorial Deputies had returned with Sylla's reply. "He could never," he said, "make terms with men who had been guilty of such outrages as the Marian leaders; but if the Senate chose to spare their lives, he should not object. With regard to personal safety, he was in a condition to provide this for himself and for all who sought refuge in his camp. As a preliminary, he required immediate restoration of himself and his friends to all the property and honours of which they had been deprived." Envoys from Sylla himself had been sent with the returning deputies to open negociations with the Senate. But at Brundusium they heard of Cinna's death, and at once returned to their master in Epirus. This circumstance, coupled with Sylla's haughty language, enabled Carbo to carry a motion in the Senate for refusing to take the message into consideration. War on the soil of Italy was inevitable.

§ 6. After what had passed Carbo thought it necessary to convene the Centuriate Assembly for the election of Consuls to succeed himself. The choice of the voters fell on L. Scipio and C. Norbanus, both adherents of the Marian party, but men of little mark. It is probable that the rejection of the most able man of the party, Q. Sertorius, was due to the jealousy of Carbo, who, by the election of two feeble magistrates, himself retained all substantial power.

Many circumstances, however, showed him that this power was not firmly founded. The Italians of Central Italy, satisfied with Sylla's late promise to confirm their possession of the Franchise, showed little disposition to support the Marian chiefs. The Samnites and Lucanians, who had never laid down the arms which they had taken up in the Social war, were not displeased to see their enemies wasted by mutual slaughter. It was only

in Etruria, where Marius had established great personal influence by enfranchising the serfs, that the Marian cause was embraced with political zeal. And so long as Carbo had the Treasury at his command, he was secure of large supplies of mercenary troops from the North of Italy. But Sylla's attitude encouraged the Senate again to interfere with the late Consul's military preparations. Threatening symptoms appeared here and there in the Italian towns. At the old Latin Colony of Placentia, the chief magistrate, M. Castriccius, refused to give hostages for the fidelity of his town; and when Carbo attempted to intimidate him, he replied:—"If you have many swords, I have many years."[c]

To meet these mutterings of discontent, and revive their drooping popularity, the Marian leaders took the course which had been followed regularly since the time of the Gracchi, and brought forward two highly democratic measures: one an Agrarian Law, the other a large extension of the Franchise.

§ 7. The Agrarian Law was moved by L. Junius Brutus, one of the Tribunes of the year, father of Cæsar's murderer. By its provisions the rich public lands of Campania, which had been reserved for purposes of revenue even by the Gracchi, were to be distributed to a number of needy citizens,—a number so large that Cicero characterises the measure as a transference of Rome to Capua. Young Cicero was himself residing at the latter place, when the duumviri appointed to execute the law arrived there, and assumed the state and dignity of Roman Prætors. Crowds of expectants followed them, but their proceedings were cut short by the appearance of Sylla; and the law slumbered till it was revived twenty years later in the Consulship of Cicero himself.[d]

§ 8. By the second law it was proposed to extend the Roman Franchise to the mass of liberated slaves and adventurers who had swelled the armies by which Marius and Cinna conquered Rome. The rights of the new citizens had been expressly reserved by Sylla in his message, and therefore Carbo had nothing to offer to the Italians which they might not expect from his opponent. By this new measure he threw all elective and legislative power into the hands of a mob devoted to himself. For

[c] Valer. Max. vi. 2, 10.

[d] Cicero *de Lege Agr. Oratio* II. 33-35.

the time, it answered. P. Popillius, a Tribune in the Marian interest, ordered one of his predecessors, suspected of intriguing with the opposite party, to be thrown down the Tarpeian Rock, and expelled from Rome those of his colleagues who attempted to bar this arbitrary act. No further attempt was made to thwart Cinna and his party till Sylla entered Rome.

§ 9. During the winter of 84 B.C. Sylla had assembled in Greece the army destined for the invasion of Italy. They consisted of five Italian Legions and six thousand cavalry, which with auxiliary troops amounted to about forty thousand men,—a small force to oppose the two hundred thousand men who had been armed by Carbo. Sylla had some fears that his Italian soldiers, who had been so long absent from home, might disperse as soon as they touched their native soil. But they presently gave the strongest proof of their fidelity by offering to contribute money to fill his military chest. The spoils of the Mithridatic armies, however, and the tribute levied in Asia put the General above need. He thanked the men for their offer, and accepted only an oath that they would stand by him in his enterprise, and would refrain upon Italian soil from that license which in the East they had been suffered freely to indulge. Early in the following spring (83 B.C.) he embarked his whole force at Patræ,[c] in a fleet of more than 1200 transports, and landed at Brundusium without opposition.

§ 10. As soon as it was known that he had landed, several eminent persons, who had not joined him in Greece, repaired to his camp. Metellus Pius, who after the failure of his attempt to raise the siege of Rome, had been engaged in fruitless enterprises in Africa, Spain, and Liguria, came to add the weight of his unblemished name to the cause of the invader. Sylla, who had served with him in the Social War, greeted him by the title of Proconsul, and gave him a command commensurate with the dignity. Young Crassus, the future Triumvir, who had escaped from Fimbria's ruffians when his father and elder brother were sacrificed, and who, like Metellus, had been making bootless attempts in various parts of the West, also came. Sylla desired him to repair to the Mar-

[c] Appian *Bell. Civ.* i. 79. Plutarch says *Dyrrhachium*, which was the usual place of embarkation.

sian valleys, where his family was influential, and to raise troops there for his service. The cautious youth asked for a guard. "I give you," said Sylla, "your father, your brother, and your friends, whose murder I am come to avenge." Before Crassus, abashed by these words, had reached the Marsian hills, a young man, destined to be the foremost man at Rome, had of his own accord begun to levy troops for Sylla in the neighbouring district of Picenum. This was Cn. Pompeius, son of the Proconsul Cn. Pompeius Strabo, who died during the siege of Rome. After that event he had remained at Rome quietly, till he was accused by one of the opposite party of embezzling moneys paid to his father for the service of the army. He was extremely young, but showed the dexterity of an older head in eluding the charge. Not satisfied with retaining the services of Philippus and Hortensius, the two first Advocates of the day, he wooed and wedded the daughter of Antistius, the presiding Judge. The motive of this marriage was so well understood, that when a verdict was given in his favour, the people in court broke out with the cry common at weddings, "Talasio! Talasio!" [f] When Sylla landed, young Pompey was but three-and-twenty; but from the school-room he had gone into the camp; his father's influence and long command in Picenum, with his own popular manners and soldierlike bearing,[g] secured him the favour of the country-people of that place; and he soon found himself at the head of a considerable force.

§ 11. The Consuls made no attempt to arrest the progress of Sylla in Lower Italy. Perhaps they trusted to the Samnites and Lucanians to bar his march through the defiles of the Apennines. But these people, as we have said, showed no present disposition to take share in this party-strife. Sylla was welcomed at Tarentum, and passed quietly along the Appian Way into Apulia. The Consul Norbanus had taken post in an entrenched camp on Mount Tifata, so as to cover Capua and the Appian Road; while his colleague Scipio, nearer Rome, watched the Latin Way. Sylla directed his march across the

[f] Plutarch does not profess to understand the word.

[g] Plutarch, in his life of the great commander, represents him as taking a prominent part in several military enterprises before this time;—but with little probability. See Drumann, *Geschichte Roms*, ii. p. 590.

Apennines, probably by the gap to the west of Venusia,[h] into Campania.

As he advanced, he took care everywhere to conciliate the people. His soldiers, mindful of their oath, observed strict order: no injury was done to lands or buildings, men or women. He came suddenly upon the camp of Norbanus; and in the battle which followed his veterans gained an easy victory.[i] Norbanus, with his shattered army, sought refuge in Capua.

Leaving him there unmolested, Sylla marched rapidly towards Rome to intercept Scipio, who was on his way to support his colleague. At Teanum, on the Latin Way, the two armies met, and Sylla proposed an armistice in the hope (he said) of coming to an amicable settlement. Sertorius, who was serving as a Legate in Scipio's army, strongly dissuaded his chief from listening to such a proposal, knowing that "in Sylla," as Carbo used to say, "they had to contend with one who was as much fox as lion." Taking advantage of the suspension of arms, Sylla's men mixed with those of the Consul, exhibiting the booty which they had won in the East, and vaunting their leader's generosity. During this dalliance, the town of Suessa, which lay close at hand, declared for Sylla; and Sertorius promptly occupied it with a body of troops. This was treated by Sylla as a breach of the armistice; and he demanded satisfaction. The Consul now perceived that he had been tricked, and suddenly broke off negotiations. His army, however, had become disaffected. Persuasion and bribery had done its work. When Sylla, at the head of twenty cohorts, appeared before the camp, he was joined by Scipio's whole force. The Consul with his son were surprised in their tents. But at this time it was Sylla's policy to appear humane, and the prisoners were dismissed unhurt. Sertorius also escaped; but despairing of a cause in which the leaders were so incapable, he left Italy and repaired to the government of Spain, which had lately been

[h] Introduction, Sect. i. § 10. Plutarch speaks of him at Silvium, which lies a little way from Venusia.

[i] Appian represents the battle as fought at Canusium, which may be an error of the copyists, but is more likely a blunder of the author. That the battle really took place near Capua is proved by an inscription in the Temple of Diana there, which was seen by Velleius.

conferred upon him by Carbo; and there we shall hear of him hereafter.

Sylla now returned to Capua, where he endeavoured to beguile the Consul Norbanus into submission. But that place was full of needy Romans, expecting their portions of the Public Land of Capua,—and the Marian party were completely in the ascendant. Whatever might be the wishes of Norbanus, he did not dare to listen to Sylla's advances in face of the democratic rage which prevailed around him. As Sylla had no means of besieging the place, he was compelled to content himself with ravaging the lands of his adversaries, while they retaliated by wasting the property held by Senators and rich men in the neighbourhood.

§ 12. Meanwhile, young Pompey had been assailed in Picenum at three points by three Marian officers who had been detached by Carbo to crush him,—L. Junius Brutus, C. Albius Carrinas, and M. Cælius Caldus. He now gave the first sample of that military genius which presently afterwards raised him to be the first General of Rome. The young leader threw himself, with a strong body of cavalry, upon Brutus, whose force consisted of Gallic horse, and with his own spear unhorsed the Gallic Chief. When the Chief fell, his followers fled; and the Marian leaders retreated, quarrelling among themselves. But at this juncture the Consul Scipio arrived and took the chief command; and Pompey would have been overpowered, had not Sylla himself hastened to his relief. On his approach the unlucky Consul was again deserted by his whole army; and Pompey, set free from all danger, rode into Sylla's camp to offer, not his single sword, but an army raised by his unassisted efforts. He appeared before Sylla; and the General, rising from his chair of state, greeted the young officer by the honourable title of Imperator.

§ 13. The remainder of the year was spent by Sylla in establishing the influence of his party among the Italians of Central Italy. Hopes and fears were excited. Money was freely lavished. A treaty was offered to all who would accept it, by which the rights of citizenship conferred by Cinna were fully confirmed. To mark his confidence in the issue of the conflict, Sylla ostentatiously adjourned certain law proceedings,

till the time when he could deliver judgment in the Roman Forum.

Nor was Carbo idle. The ignominious failure of the Consuls Norbanus and Scipio had restored his influence at Rome. He was elected Consul for the third time, and with him was associated young Marius, though he was but twenty-seven years of age and had not yet served any of the subordinate offices required by law. This young man, of whom nothing has been heard since his flight into Africa, seems to have possessed all the ferocity of his father without his experience in war. But it was hoped that his name might work like a spell upon the memory of the Italians. Before Carbo quitted Rome, he induced the Tribes to declare that not only Sylla, but also Metellus, Pompey, Crassus, and all who had joined him, were public enemies. But such votes were of no avail. Rome was every day more deserted, and Sylla's camp more thronged, by men of rank and station. A terrible fire broke out in the Capitol, and burnt its august temples to the ground. Some attributed the fire to Carbo, some to Sylla. It was no doubt accidental, but its effect was sinister to the party in possession of the government.

§ 14. The winter had been unusually severe; but as soon as the weather permitted in the next spring (82 B.C.) hostilities were resumed. Sylla stationed himself in the Latin town of Setia. Metellus took the chief command in Umbria, supported by Pompey and Crassus in Picenum and the Marsian country.

Carbo himself was able to dispose of an immense army. He showed great activity in collecting troops, but little skill in handling them. He seems to have been conscious of a want in strategic power; for he remained stationary in a strong entrenched camp at Clusium on the Clanis, in the heart of the country most devoted to the Marian cause. Hence he sent forth armies under his lieutenants to combat the enemy, and collected reserves to support them. Young Marius was opposed to Sylla, and fixed his head-quarters at the strong city of Præneste, to which he carried all the gold deposited in the Treasury of Rome. Carrinas and Marcius were sent to make head against Metellus and his young lieutenants on the northern side of the Apennines.

§ 15. The campaign opened by the advance of young Marius towards Setia at the head of 40,000 men. When he came in sight of Sylla's army, he fell back to Signia. Sylla followed closely, notwithstanding the heavy rains and the difficulty of forcing roads occupied by the enemy, till late in the afternoon he halted at a place called Sacriportus; and here, unwillingly yielding to his officers, who advised against an immediate attack, he began to form his camp. But when Marius drew out his army in battle-order, the veterans of the East, worn out as they were by their weary march, threw away their pickaxes and spades, and charged sword-in-hand. A desperate conflict ensued, which remained doubtful, till five cohorts of the army of Marius threw down their standards and passed over to the enemy. Then the whole line broke and fled to Prænesté. So hotly were they pursued, that the Prænestines, fearing that Sylla's men might press into the city together with the fugitives, closed the gates, and Marius himself, with great part of his army, was shut out. The young Consul was drawn up within the walls by a rope; but of his soldiers, not less than 20,000 were cut down by the enemy, and 8000 taken prisoners.[k] Among them were found some of Samnite race, who were instantly butchered in cold blood.

§ 6. By the battle of Sacriportus Marius was reduced to act on the defensive for the rest of the campaign. He perceived that Rome lay open to the conquerors, but with the true instinct of his race he determined to anticipate their triumphal entrance by a deed of blood. Scarcely had he entered Prænesté, when he despatched a confidential messenger, ordering L. Damasippus,[l] the Prætor who was left in command of the City, to put to death all who remained there of the friends of Sylla. Damasippus was a fit instrument for such cruelty. He

[k] According to Sylla's own account, he lost only twenty-three men.—Plutarch, *Vit. Sull.* c. 28. But Appian represents the battle as severely contested; and this is only one of many instances in which Sylla misrepresents facts in his own favour.

[l] Liv. *Epit.* 86, Cicero *ad Fam.* ix. 21, &c. Appian alone attributes the bloody work to a Brutus. Hence Pighius conjectured that Damasippus was a surname of the Junii Bruti. But the only gens which is known to have borne this family-name is the Licinian (Cæsar, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 44); and as Brutus was a well-known Marian leader, it is probable that Appian introduced his name erroneously.

summoned the relics of the Senate to meet as if for business, and at a given signal a band of assassins rushed in to massacre. Then perished P. Antistius, L. Domitius, and C. Carbo, the Consul's brother. The aged Pontifex, P. Mucius Scævola, who had once been saved from the sword of Fimbria, again escaped to the Temple of Vesta; but here he was overtaken and ruthlessly cut down. The bodies of all who thus fell were dragged through the streets, and thrown into the Tiber; for "it had become an established custom," says Appian, "not to bury the victims of party strife."

§ 17. This butchery was hardly finished, when the van of Sylla's army appeared on the road leading from Prænesté. The Latin cities, terror-stricken at his approach, furnished supplies to his troops; and the Prætor Damasippus, with his friends, fled precipitately from Rome by the road leading to Etruria, while Sylla, leaving his troops in the Campus Martius, entered the City. But he did not loiter there. News received from Metellus informed him that he had been so successful in Umbria that he had driven the enemy across the Æsis; that Carbo had crossed the Apennines to support his lieutenant, but on receiving tidings of the battle of Sacriportus had contented himself with throwing a strong garrison into Ariminum, and then returning to Clusium; and that Pompey and Crassus, taking advantage of his departure, were blockading Carrinas in Spoletum. Leaving a strong detachment under the command of Lucretius Ofella, an old Marian officer who had joined him, to mask Prænesté, he resolved to march straight up the Clanis and attack Carbo. He found the Consul's camp so strongly defended, that it was almost impregnable. But at this moment news reached him from the South of an alarming character. The Samnites and Lucanians at length perceived that the Marian leaders were incapable of making head against Sylla, and they dreaded seeing the destinies of Italy placed by conquest in the hands of one who was likely to prove their bitter enemy. Hitherto (as we have said) they had held aloof, well pleased to see their Roman masters worn out by mutual conflict. They had no wish for the triumph of either party; but if one must prevail, that one must not be Sylla. A body of Samnites had joined Marius before the battle of Sacriportus.

And now it was reported that a large army of the brave mountaineers, under C. Pontius of Telesia,—a name which recalled the memory of one of the gloomiest days in the Roman annals,—a force of Lucanians under T. Lamponius, and a division of Campanians under Albius Gutta, were in full march towards Prænesté.

§ 18. In this emergency, Sylla chose the boldest course, and threw himself against the strong entrenchments of Carbo. From morning to evening he renewed his desperate assaults, but in vain. The Etruscan peasants, though they could not stand in the field against the well-trained legions of the East, proved themselves well able to hold their own behind fortifications. Every attack proved fruitless, and Sylla was obliged to draw off his troops at nightfall.

Nor did he dare to weaken his army further by renewing the assault next day. It was necessary, at all hazards, to seize the passes which led from the mountains into Latium, before the Samnites gained them, and Sylla commenced a rapid march southward, while the enemy were advancing towards Prænesté. It was a race for empire between the Roman and the Samnite.

Strange to say, Carbo made no direct attempt to hinder his retreat. He sent a detachment to relieve Carrinas at Spoletum, and ordered Marcius, with eight legions, to make a detour by the north of the Tiber, so as to coöperate with the Samnites. But both these expeditions failed. The detachment sent to relieve Spoletum was intercepted; and Carrinas, taking advantage of a stormy night, evacuated the town and joined Carbo at Clusium. This left Pompey and Crassus at liberty to combine their forces so as to check the advance of Marcius, a service rendered with so much effect, that out of eight legions he carried only seven cohorts back to Carbo's head quarters.

Meantime Sylla's march southward had been so rapid, that when Pontius reached the passes which led down from the mountains to Prænesté, he had the mortification to find them already occupied by the Roman general, who was soon after joined by young Crassus at the head of his Marsian recruits.

§ 19. In this position things remained for some time, Sylla and Pontius each watching their opportunity. But in the

North, the vigour of Sylla's lieutenants brought the war in that quarter to an unexpected conclusion.

Metellus had taken ship from Ancona, and landed at Ravenna, whence he advanced to Placentia, so as to intercept Carbo's communications with Cisalpine Gaul. The Consul, roused to action by this bold movement, crossed the Apennines and attacked the camp of the enemy near Placentia. He was repulsed with great loss; and so large a number of his remaining force deserted, that he returned to Etruria with only 1000 men. A series of disasters followed. M. Licinius Lucullus, an officer of Metellus, cut to pieces a detachment of Marian troops. C. Verres, the Consul's Quæstor, began his infamous life by deserting to the enemy with the military chest in his possession.[m] Albinovanus, one of the oldest of the Marian party, seeing the cause to be desperate, offered to desert; and Sylla promised to receive him if he would do something worthy of favour. To execute this suggestion he invited his brother officers to a banquet. All came, except Norbanus, who had left Capua and joined the army in the North. At a given signal, a body of ruffians rushed in and massacred the guests. Norbanus fled, and took command of the garrison of Ariminum. Albinovanus received the reward of his perfidy. Carbo's army at Clusium still numbered 30,000 men; but thrown into despair by these disasters, and without giving notice to any one, he departed by night and took ship for Africa, where for a time he succeeded in rallying the remains of the Marian party. P. Servilius and Pompey attacked the camp at Clusium. The men, though deserted by their commander, still made a desperate defence; and it was not till two-thirds of their number had fallen that their lines were forced. Even then, Marcius, Carrinas, and Damasippus contrived to keep a considerable body together, with which they marched southward in the hope of joining the Samnites.

§ 20. Pontius and Lamponius, informed of their march, contrived to elude the vigilance of Sylla, and effected a junction with the shattered relics of Carbo's great army, probably by a flank march into the valley of the Anio. Thus united, the enemy poured down the Tiburtine road to Rome, and encamped

[m] Cicero *in Verr.* i. 13.

at nightfall before the Colline Gate. It was the last day of October by the Roman calendar (probably our 23rd of August) of the year 82 B.C. The adherents of Sylla in the City passed the night in an agony of fear; and even the most devoted adherents of Marius might have trembled at the thought that next day Rome would in all likelihood fall into the hands of her oldest and most inveterate foes. At daybreak Pontius addressed his men. "Rome's last day," he said, "was come. The city must be annihilated. The wolves that had so long preyed upon Italy would never cease from troubling till their lair was utterly destroyed." As he led his troops to assault the gate, it suddenly opened, and a body of young men, under App. Claudius, rode out with useless gallantry to charge the Samnite host. They were beaten back, and the assault began; but presently, on the Prænestine road, appeared a large body of horse, which, after a short halt to recover breath, charged the enemy. Pontius well knew that they were the advanced guard of Sylla's army, and he prepared for a battle. Soon after noon the General arrived; but his troops had been exhausted by a rapid march; and here, as at Sacriportus, his officers advised him to put off the attack till next morning. But on this occasion he only replied by ordering an immediate attack. It was past three o'clock in the afternoon when the trumpets sounded for a general attack. Sylla, arriving by the Prænestine Way, faced the north, so that the left wing, commanded by himself, rested upon the Agger of Servius. He stood facing the Samnites, while Crassus, who commanded the right wing, was opposed to the relics of Carbo's army. Sylla rode a white horse, and was in the thick of the fight, the mark of every javelin. He exerted himself to the utmost, but in vain. When night closed, he had been forced back against the walls, and it seemed as if nothing remained for his brave veterans but to sell their lives dearly when assaulted next morning.

§ 21. But when he was awaiting the dawn of day in an agony of suspense, he was surprised by a message from Crassus to announce that on his side he had been completely successful, and had pursued the routed enemy to Antemnæ, a place just below the junction of the Anio and Tiber. His joy may be

imagined. With prompt dexterity he contrived to march round the enemy's camp, so as to join Crassus at Antemnæ, and at daybreak they advanced again to renew the battle. At that moment a division of 3000 men deserted from the enemy,—a circumstance which shook the confidence of their leaders; but the brave Italians sold their lives dearly. It was not till 50,000 men on both sides had fallen, that victory declared for Sylla. Among the slain was found the brave Pontius, still breathing, with a look of triumph in his eye. Gutta the Campanian also fell fighting gallantly. Lamponius escaped. Marcius, Carrinas, and other Roman officers were taken prisoners, and at once put to death. Their heads, with those of the Italian leaders, were sent to Ofella, who paraded them on spear-heads round the walls of Prænesté. Of the common sort about 8000 were taken, of whom 6000 were Samnites. Sylla at once summoned the Senate to meet in the Temple of Bellona, outside the walls, having ordered the Samnite prisoners to be taken to the Circus Flaminius, which lay hard by. As the Senate were proceeding to business, cries of death were heard, and those who were not in Sylla's confidence rose in alarm. "Be seated," said he, "what you hear need not trouble you. It is but some wretches undergoing punishment by my order." The 6000 Samnites were all massacred.

§ 22. The battle of the Colline Gate ended the war. Norbanus, who had been compelled to abandon Capua early in the year, had taken command of the garrison in the strong city of Ariminum; but finding his men disposed to mutiny, he took ship for Rhodes. Marius attempted a sally from Prænesté, but was repulsed with loss; and finding his case desperate, endeavoured to escape by a subterranean passage in company with a younger brother of the brave Pontius, who had joined him before the battle of Sacriportus. Finding the passage obstructed, they agreed to kill one another. Pontius received the point of his friend's sword, and fell dead: Marius, being only wounded, caused a slave who had attended them to despatch him. Prænesté was then surrendered to the conqueror. Rome, Italy, and the World lay at his feet, and men awaited with trembling expectation the announcement of his will.

CHAPTER LXI.

SYLLA'S DICTATORSHIP AND DEATH. (82—78 B.C.)

§ 1. Sylla's return to the City: his rage against the memory of Marius. § 2. Extermination of opponents: Proscription at Rome. § 3. Similar scenes in Italian cities. § 4. Absence of constituted authority: Sylla declared Perpetual Dictator. § 5. His absolute power: control of Elections. § 6. Mithridatic Triumph. § 7. New Constitution. § 8. Sale of property of the Proscribed. § 9. Military Colonies. § 10. Great changes in the Register of Citizens. § 11. Power of Tribunes, and consequently of Comitia Tributa, reduced to nothing. § 12. All real power entrusted to Senate. § 13. Laws for regulating tenure of Magistracies, for altering Judicial bodies, for the Augurate, &c. § 14. Tendency of Sylla's Political legislation. § 15. Criminal legislation. § 16. Increasing moderation of the Dictator: Pompey and Cæsar. § 17. Cicero's defence of Sext. Roscius of Ameria. § 18. Sylla resigns Dictatorship. § 19. Quiet state of Rome and Provinces, except Spain. § 20. Sylla retires to his villa at Puteoli: his mode of life there. § 21. Death of Sylla. § 22. His character. § 23. Durability of the changes made by him.

§ 1. Presently after his second entrance into the city, Sylla addressed the People in a set speech. He enlarged upon his own services, held out promises to the obedient, and to the disobedient threats. But for his declared enemies no hopes were left: all were doomed to death who had taken any part publicly against him since the day on which the Consul Scipio broke off the armistice at Teanum. The memory of Marius excited in Sylla's breast passions absolutely ferocious. Not only were the trophies upon the Capitol, recording the African and Cimbrian triumphs, destroyed, but the ashes of the old General were torn from their sepulchre near the Anio, and scattered in the stream. L. Sergius Catilina, afterwards notorious, sought to win the conqueror's favour by seizing the person of M. Marius Gratidianus, a nephew of the old hero by adoption. Catiline calculated justly. By Sylla's order the unoffending prisoner was carried to the tomb of Catulus, and there his eyes were plucked out, limb severed from limb, and death delayed with horrid ingenuity. A Senator, who fainted at the cruel sight, was slain upon the spot,

for showing sympathy with a Marius. Soon afterwards Ofella sent to Rome the head of the old General's son. Sylla, with grim delight, gazed on the youthful face, and said:—"Those who take the helm should first serve at the oar." Now, he said, his fortune was accomplished; and henceforth he took the name of Felix.[a]

§ 2. He went on to fulfil literally the stern announcement which he had made to the People of Rome. Every hour was marked by slaughters. But some who had taken no part whatever in the late war were put to death, and no one knew whether he was safe. At length Q. Catulus, son of the great nobleman who had fallen in the Marian massacre, rose in the Senate and asked: "Who will remain to share our triumph, if we slay the armed in war and the unarmed in peace?" One of the great Metellus family followed in the same strain, and asked that the names of the guilty should be made known: "It is not," he said, "that we would shorten the arm of vengeance, but men would fain be relieved from uncertainty." Sylla assented to their request by adopting the suggestion of L. Fufidius, a favourite Centurion.[b] A formal list of the doomed was made out and published; and this was what was properly called the Proscription. But even then the uncertainty remained. The first list of eighty names was followed by a second of one hundred and twenty; and each succeeding day produced a horrid supplement. To make the sentence sure, a price of two talents was set on the head of every proscribed person; and this sum was paid alike to the slave who slew his master or the son who murdered his own father. All who harboured or favoured the escape of the Proscribed became liable to their fate; and wives were found heartless enough to refuse shelter to their husbands.[c] But what most gave security for vengeance was the knowledge that the property of these unhappy men was to be confiscated to reward the zealous agents of the conqueror. Those who coveted the possessions of others contrived to have their names placed

[a] In letters to Greek communities he translated this by *Epaphroditus, the favourite of Venus.* Venus Victrix, the goddess of pleasure and of fortune, was the common device upon his coins.

[b] Oros. v. 21. Plutarch, by an error of himself or his copyist, calls the man Ἀφίδιος.

[c] Liv. *Epit.* 89.

on the Proscription-lists. Unfortunate men guiltless of party quarrels came unsuspectingly to read those lists, and found their own names there. "Ah," exclaimed one such, "it is my Alban villa that murders me." A noisy partisan of Sylla's was maliciously exulting over the doomed, when his eye fell upon his own name written in the list. He fled; but the bystanders remarked the cause, and with not unrighteous satisfaction fulfilled the sentence. Here again Catiline bore away the palm of iniquity. He sought to legalise a murder he had committed, by having the name of his victim placed upon the proscribed list; and that victim was his own brother. The heads of the slain were first placed in the hall of Sylla's house, and when it was full, in places of public resort.[d]

For how many days these butcheries continued we know not, nor what was the exact number of the victims. The most probable account states that the whole number of the Proscribed amounted to fifteen men of Consular rank, ninety Senators, and two thousand six hundred of the Equestrian Order.[e] Many fled. But in exile they were not safe. The Ex-consul Norbanus, hearing at Rhodes that he was proscribed, put an end to his own life.

§ 3. These scenes of terror were not confined to Rome. Prænesté had been an ancient foe of Rome; at times it had disputed the supremacy of Latium with the City of the Tiber. In the past war it had been the first to welcome Cinna; the son of Marius had made it his head-quarters; a Samnite force had been allowed to recruit its garrison. Such offences called for no common measure of punishment. As soon as the citadel surrendered, Sylla went in person to execute vengeance upon its luckless inmates. All Roman Senators taken within the walls were summarily put to death. Sylla then took his seat on the Tribunal, proposing to hear each man's case separately. But this proved a wearisome task, and a more speedy process was adopted. All who could prove that they had been against the Marians,—a small minority,—were ordered to stand aside. The remainder was divided into two classes. Citizens of Rome con-

[d] As at the Servilian fountain. See Cicero *pro Sext. Roscio Amerino* 32.

[e] These are Appian's numbers. Valerius Maximus (ix. 2, 1) swells the sum to 4700.

stituted the first; the second was made up of the Prænestines themselves and their Samnite allies. The Romans he addressed with great severity, but ended by sparing the lives which had (he said) been justly forfeited. The Prænestines and Samnites were ruthlessly shot down.[f] One person, whom he had known of old, he offered to pardon; but the man rushed into the condemned ranks and perished with his friends. The women and children alone were spared. The town was given up to be plundered by the soldiery. Norba, another Latin town, which still held out, was betrayed to Lepidus; but the greater part of its inhabitants, after a defence of desperate gallantry, warned by the fate of the Prænestines, set fire to their city, and sought a voluntary death. Nola was still held by the same gallant Samnites whom Sylla had left unconquered before the Mithridatic war: nor did it now fall without an obstinate defence. Several of the fortress-cities of Etruria, garrisoned by the remains of Carbo's army, also defied the conqueror, but were one by one levelled with the ground, so that at the present day they are only known by the heaps of ruins which encumber their ancient sites. Volaterræ alone, protected by the Cyclopean walls of which the huge remains still attract the notice of the traveller, held out till, after a siege of two years, it was allowed to capitulate on honourable terms. But to all other cities which had taken part with the Marians the Proscription was extended, and the same direful scenes were repeated in each place, varying with the temper of the Syllan agents. To have lost men or spent money, to have offered hospitality or shown kindness, in such a cause, was held to be a crime. And here, as at Rome, the lust for other men's property swelled the numbers of the slain. It was chiefly the rich who were sought after; the poorer sort, however guilty, were neglected.

§ 4. All this was done without any semblance of legal authority. There was in fact no executive government in existence. Sylla himself, by entering the City, had lost his Proconsular dignity. One Consul, young Marius, had died at Prænesté. The fate of his colleague Carbo may be shortly told. It has been said that he crossed over into Africa. Here he assembled

[f] Plutarch estimates the number of the slain at 12,000.

a considerable force and returned to Sicily. To arrest his progress there young Pompey had been detached, as soon as his services in Italy were no longer needed. Carbo retired before him to Lilybæum, and from thence endeavoured to make his escape back again to Africa. But he was overtaken at sea, and brought back in chains to Pompey. All his comrades were at once put to death; but Carbo, still Consul, had formerly protected Pompey, and begged for his life on bended knees and with abject supplication. The young judge, however, suffered no feelings of respect or humanity to sway him; and Carbo's head was sent, like that of Marius, to Rome. The Prætors and all other magistrates had likewise fallen, or had fled.

But in virtue of military conquest Sylla was supreme. The Senate obeyed him in all matters, and set up a gilded equestrian statue to him in the Forum, with the inscription Cornelio Sullae, Imperatori, Felici, which of itself shows that they could give him no recognised title of civic authority. He desired however to have some definite power. The battle at the Colline Gate was fought on the 2nd of November (Roman style); and before the end of the year, he represented to the Senate, that it would be proper to appoint an Interrex as provisional head of the Government. They at once named that L. Valerius Flaccus, who had already signalised his attachment to the cause of Sylla,[g] in the hope that he would be allowed to hold Comitia for the regular election of Consuls. But to their chagrin, Flaccus assembled the Centuries, and read to them a letter from Sylla, in which he stated that he deemed it expedient, at the present emergency, to revert to the ancient office of Dictator, which had been in abeyance since the Second Punic War for a period of one hundred and twenty years; and whoever was named, ought to be named, not (according to the old constitutional rule) for six months, but till he should have succeeded in restoring order to the City, to Italy, and to the whole Empire. No one could doubt who was the person thus designated. But Sylla disdained innuendoes, and added that "for the services demanded of the Dictator he thought himself fittest to be chosen." The terms of this imperial mandate, for such it was, were echoed in the bill immediately introduced by the Interrex.

[g] Chapt. lx. § 2.

By this Valerian Law, all Sylla's acts in the East and in Italy were confirmed: he was declared Dictator for so long as he judged fit: and in virtue of this office he was in express terms authorised to make laws, to put citizens to death without trial, to confiscate property and distribute public lands, to destroy old colonies and to found new, to transfer the sceptres of dependent monarchs from one claimant to another. More absolute powers were never entrusted to one man by a formal act of law.

§ 5. Sylla at once assumed his office. He appointed Flaccus his Master of Horse. He appeared in public,—an unprecedented assumption,—with four and twenty Lictors; and besides these constitutional attendants he was surrounded by a military body-guard. These precautions were necessary, we may suppose, for his safety; for display was no part of the character of the man. But though to Greek minds this, more than any thing, identified Sylla with the Tyrants of their own history,[h] he at once gave proof that he had no intention of superseding the old forms of the Constitution: for he summoned the Comitia for the election of Consuls. At the same time he intimated that no one was to appear as Candidate except by his permission. And what he said he meant. Lucretius Ofella, presuming on his services at Prænesté, came forward without Sylla's leave, and entered the Forum on his canvass while the Dictator was seated on his Chair of State before the Temple of the Dioscuri. Sylla at once ordered T. Bellienus, a centurion of his guard, to cut down Ofella. After this, it may be presumed that Candidates were not eager to thrust forward their claims upon public notice. And, to prevent any show of independence in the Centuries, he made use of a terrible apologue:—"A husbandman," he said, "was troubled with vermin. Twice he shook his tunic to get rid of them; but they still continued to annoy him, and the third time he burnt it. Let those," he added, "who had twice been conquered by arms, beware of fire the third time." The persons elected, Cn. Dolabella and M. Decula, were mere cyphers, who served to give a name to the year.

§ 6. Early in the following year he celebrated a splendid Triumph for his successes in the Mithridatic War. The

[h] See Appian, *Bell. Civ.* i. 100.

obedient Senate suspended the old rule by which a General who had once entered the City forfeited all claim to a Triumph, and two days in the last week of January, 81 B.C., were devoted to the spectacle.[1] The first day was occupied by a long procession of captives and treasure defiling through the City. On the second, the Dictator himself ascended to the Capitol, preceded by his veterans, and followed by a crowd of Senators and Nobles, wearing chaplets in token that they acknowledged Sylla as their saviour. Large sums of money were paid into the Treasury. To the treasure of Mithridates, amounting to 15,000 pounds of gold, and 115,000 of silver, was added the precious metals carried off by young Marius and recovered at the capture of Prænesté. In after years, it was remarked that Mithridates himself, who ought to have been the central figure of a Mithridatic Triumph, was absent. But none could doubt that the Triumph was well earned. Splendid spectacles followed. Greece was obliged to suspend her Olympian games, all except the horse-race, that her athletes and trained combatants might exhibit their skill and strength before the Roman People. Young men of the noblest family, contrary to old custom, did not disdain to drive chariots at these games.

§ 7. Sylla now threw himself into the true work of his Dictatorship, and proceeded to issue a series of Laws by which the Constitution of Rome was entirely remodelled. Our knowledge of these enactments is imperfect; but enough remains to show that the Cornelian Laws, taken as a whole, form a Constitutional Code of rigorous unity.

§ 8. His first measure was doubtless that which confirmed the Proscription. He had cleared the stage of all antagonists; and he now endeavoured to prevent the families of the Proscribed from ever regaining influence and power. To this end he first tried the useless experiment of an unalterable Law, by which all members of those families were to be deprived for ever of their civic rights. The second measure to gain this end was more efficacious: he ordained that all their property should be sold by public auction, and the sums received placed to the public account.

Even if this sale had been fairly conducted, it is clear that

[1] *Fasti Capitolini* ap. Fischer *Röm. Zeittafeln* a. 673.

the Treasury would have received far less than the value of the property sold. Forced sales, limited by law to the space of a few weeks, at a time when credit had been almost destroyed and the moneyed classes decimated by Proscription, must have been very unproductive. But these necessary hindrances were increased by artificial means. It was ordered indeed in the Law that all goods should be sold by public auction, and that public accounts should be kept of the produce of every sale. But publicity was of little use, when the auction was held before the Dictator's chair. His favourites were the chief bidders; and if persons unconnected with his party ventured to enter the lists against them, he broke out into angry menace. So little did he regard appearances, that he used to talk of selling his "booty." Often he remitted payment altogether; at other times he bestowed what ought to have been sold upon his wife Cæcilia, upon his mistresses or freedmen, upon favourite actors, dancers, and musicians. In one case made familiar to us by a speech of Cicero, Chrysogonus, a favoured freedman, caused a wealthy citizen to be murdered, and took possession of his goods, though the man was not on the Proscription-list, and though the time prescribed in the Law for the sale of confiscated property had gone by.[k] The spirit in which the sales were conducted appears from a story preserved by Cicero. A sorry poet handed an epigram to the Dictator as he was presiding over the auction. Sylla laughed, and ordered that the man should have a sum of money from the proceeds of the sale then in progress,—on condition that he should write no more poetry.[l]

The measures thus enforced at Rome were executed with the same undeviating rigour in every town of the Italian Peninsula. The amount of property which changed hands was very large, as may be judged from the fact, that notwithstanding the state of the market, the intimidation, and the various abuses encouraged or connived at, the sum paid into the Treasury amounted to thirty-five millions of sesterces (about 350,000*l.*).

§ 9. But of the confiscated lands of the disaffected towns

[k] Cicero *pro Sext. Roscio Amerino*, 43-45.

[l] Cicero *pro Archiâ Poetâ*, c. 10.

great part was not sold at all. These reserved lands were destined to reward Sylla's soldiery, and by their means to create a new constituency for the Comitia. Not less probably than 150,000 men who had served under Sylla or his lieutenants in the East and in Italy received allotments.[m] The Valerian Law specially empowered him to found Colonies, and this power he exercised without sparing. Legions, or parts of Legions, were settled in old Italian towns, and became citizens of those places, holding their lands by a sort of military tenure, and of course interested by the nature of their title in upholding the Dictator's measures. The disbanded veterans of Cromwell's army were, as is well known, the most industrious, orderly, and useful citizens of the towns to which they retired. It was far otherwise with the licensed soldiery of Sylla. They wasted their newly acquired property in riotous living; the Cornelian soldiers became the terror and disgrace of their neighbourhood, and in after times supplied the ready instruments of sedition to Catiline and Clodius.

From this time forth, the depopulation of Italy, deplored by the Gracchi and by Drusus, proceeded with accelerated rapidity. From this time forth, may be dated the decay of distinct nationality in the several districts of the Italian Peninsula. Parts of Samnium and Lower Etruria became almost desolate. Apulia was given up to shepherds. From this time forth, also, a common language began to prevail throughout the country towns of Italy. The disbanded soldiery had all learnt to speak a species of Latin. In all the towns in which they settled, they mingled with the relics of the old population, and introduced a general use of the Latin language, modified by various peculiarities of dialect and idiom.

§ 10. Having disposed in this summary fashion of the enormous mass of property confiscated by his sole will throughout the length and breadth of Italy, the Dictator proceeded to mould anew the Political Constitution of Rome.

The Italians and others who had received the suffrage by successive Laws from the time of the Social War to the time of Carbo were left in possession of their right, unless they had

[m] Twenty-three Legions, according to Appian; Forty-seven according to Livy *Epit.* 89.

taken part with the Marians in the late war. The exception, however, was at least as comprehensive as the rule; for it was precisely among the Italians that the strength of the Marian party lay. Multitudes therefore lost their franchise, which was transferred to the dissolute soldiers who settled in their towns.

At Rome itself, a mass of slaves and adventurers of all kinds had been enfranchised by Cinna and Carbo. Many of these had fallen in the Civil war, and many were now disfranchised. But to secure personal influence in the Tribes, Sylla resorted to a similar measure. He selected from among the slaves of the Proscribed 10,000 of the youngest and most active men; and by a stroke he made them Citizens of Rome. All the men thus enfranchised considered themselves as Freedmen of the Dictator, and assumed his name. These Cornelii proved a strong support of the Syllan Constitution in the years that followed. Thus, by various contrivances, a very large portion of the constituency for the election of Consuls and other officers of state was entirely devoted to the Dictator, while those of the adverse party were almost eliminated from the Tribes.

§ 11. But while he thus filled the ranks of the Tribes with his creatures, he took away from the Tribes all real and substantive authority. Since the time of the Gracchi, the Tribunes and the Tribes had learnt their strength, and had gradually absorbed more and more, not only of the Legislative, but also of the Executive power.

Sylla struck a determined blow at this democratic power. He ordained that Candidates for the Tribunate should necessarily be Members of the Senate; that no one who had been Tribune should be capable of holding any curule office; that no Tribune should have power to propose a Law to the Tribes; and lastly, that the right of Intercession should be limited to its original purpose, that is, that it should not be available to stop Decrees of the Senate or Laws brought before the Senate, but only to protect the personal liberty of Citizens from the arbitrary power of the Higher Magistrates.[n] The Tribunes were thus effectually shackled, and their power returned to the low condition in which it had been during the earlier period of its existence.

[n] Cicero *de Legg.* iii. 9, Liv. *Epit.* 89.

These measures restored Legislation to the Centuriate Assembly, from which of late years it had passed away. But Sylla was jealous of the predominance of the wealthy classes. The Knights were for the most part Marians. It was therefore ordained that the old rule should be strictly enforced, by which no measure could be submitted to either of the Popular Assemblies till first it had received the sanction of the Senate.[o] Thus the Assembly of the Centuries, as well as that of the Tribes, was placed under the direct control of the Oligarchical Council.

§ 12. The crowning work of his Political Reforms was the reconstitution of the Senate. Its numbers had been greatly thinned by war, massacres, and proscriptions. To fill up its ranks to the old complement of Three Hundred, he first named the wealthiest and most dignified of his own adherents. A large proportion of these were taken from the Knights, and he thus detached from that Order a number of its most influential members.[p] Some members who obtained seats by wealth had begun service with Sylla as common soldiers, and were no doubt devoted to his interests.[q] The number of Quæstors was at the same time raised to twenty, so that, for the future, members would never be wanting to supply vacancies. Sylla did not employ Censors to make out the list in due form, but submitted it to the approbation of the Centuries. Indeed, he tacitly abolished the Censorial office. The last Censors had held office in the year 86 B.C.; the next belong to the year 70 B.C., in which the most important of Sylla's political regulations were set aside.

§ 13. To regulate the tenure and order of the Magistracies, Sylla ordained, not only that there should be twenty Quæstors instead of eight, but also that there should be eight Prætors instead of six. He also required the strict observance of the Lex Annalis. Every one who aspired to the Consulship was compelled to go through all the inferior grades with fixed intervals between each. As in every succeeding year the costly spectacles, which were expected by the People, became more costly, these offices were now more effectually than ever

[o] See above, Chapt. xxxv. § 15.

[p] "Senatum ex Equestri Ordine supplevit," Liv. *Epit.* 89.

[q] Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* 37.

confined to a limited number of old families; and for a New Man to obtain the highest offices, became more difficult than ever.

It was not to be expected that Sylla would leave the Judicial power, as C. Gracchus had placed it, in the hands of the Knights. There had, as we have seen, been a constant struggle to deprive them of it in whole or in part; and Sylla now at once restored this power absolutely to the Senate. Thus once more the Senators became the judges of their own Order. The evil result of this measure is painted in strong colours by all writers; and of all the Laws of Sylla there was none of which the repeal was more loudly demanded than this.

He also repealed the Domitian Law, by which the election of Augurs and Pontiffs was transferred from the Colleges themselves to the Tribes. The sacred Colleges recovered their ancient right of coöptation.

§ 14. Such then were the chief Political measures of the Dictator. The general purpose and effect of the whole was manifest, namely, to restore the Constitution in all points as nearly as possible to the condition which it had assumed before the time of the Gracchi. It was still a Republic in outward form, but in reality a close Oligarchy. The Popular Assemblies still existed, but were made completely dependent upon the Senate. That Great Council, composed chiefly of those alone who by their wealth or credit could win the votes of the People by bribing freely and by exhibiting costly shows, concentrated all the powers of the State in its own hands.

Though the Dictator was by the Valerian Law invested with power to legislate of his own will, he thought fit to submit his measures to the vote of the Centuriate Assembly. Of course this was a mere form. But it served to commit the People at large to his Legislation; and this probably was the object he had in view in deigning to consult them. Otherwise this mock authorisation of the Dictator's will was a mere piece of hypocrisy; and whatever were Sylla's faults, at least he never affected to screen under false pretences even his most ruthless acts.

§ 15. A number of other Cornelian Laws preserved the Dictator's name. One defined more clearly the Law of Treason

against the Majesty of the Republic, originally passed by the Tribune Saturninus. In the Tribune's mouth, the Majesty of the Republic meant the Majesty of the People; in Sylla's mouth, it meant the Majesty of the Senate; under Tiberius and his successors, it was taken to mean the Majesty of the Emperor's person. But if this Law was susceptible of great abuse, it appears that most of Sylla's Criminal Legislation was well calculated to repress the disorders which had become so rife in consequence of the Civil Wars. The prevalent crime of assassination was sternly checked. Generally the enactments of the Criminal Code of Sylla were well suited to their end, and they long survived his Political measures.

§ 16. In the next year (80 B.C.) the Dictator condescended to fill the Consulship in company with Metellus Pius; but in the following year (79 B.C.) he declined to submit his name again to the Comitia, thus obeying his own Law, which prohibited reëlection to the Consulate within the limit of ten years' time.

Generally speaking, it may be said that his Dictatorial government, after the sale of the property of the Proscribed, became more lenient. He was perfectly indifferent to justice and equity in awarding public honours. L. Licinius Murena, as before stated, had been left as his lieutenant in Asia with strict orders not to renew hostilities with Mithridates. The ambitious officer disobeyed and invaded the dominions of the King with indifferent success, till fresh orders from home put an end to what was called the Second Mithridatic War. On his return to Rome, Murena claimed a triumph, and his claim was allowed by the careless indulgence of the Dictator. But when Pompey, returning victorious from Sicily and Africa, desired to triumph, Sylla refused to gratify him. The young General was not yet twenty-five years of age, and had filled no office of State; and the Dictator, who was anxious to restore the old regulations of the Republic, attempted to satisfy his ambitious aspirations by saluting him by the name of Magnus.[r] Pompey, however, was obstinate: his army was encamped outside the walls; and Sylla, not choosing the risk or trouble of a possible struggle

[r] Pompey's descendants retained this title as a Family Name in place of Strabo, till they were ordered to drop it by the Emperor Caligula.

with the rising General, gave a contemptuous permission: "Well, then, let him triumph." To crush the Marian party effectually, he had ordered all persons connected with it by marriage to divorce their wives. Pompey, who had married Antistia from policy rather than affection,[s] readily obeyed; and espoused Æmilia, daughter of the Dictator's wife by her first marriage with Scaurus. But there was another young man who was less compliant. This was C. Julius Cæsar, then a youth in his nineteenth year. He had married Cornelia, daughter of Cinna; and he boldly refused to put away his wife. Not only was Cæsar the son-in-law of Cinna, but also the nephew of Marius; and this refusal would have cost him his life had not powerful friends and kinsmen interceded for him with the Dictator. "You know not what you ask," replied the Dictator; "that profligate boy will be more dangerous than many Mariuses." By purpose or negligence Cæsar was allowed to escape, but was for some time obliged to leave Rome and skulk in fear of his life among the Sabine mountains.

§ 17. Another circumstance more strongly shows the greater indulgence which was now shown by the Dictator. Young Cicero, who was exactly of the same age as Pompey, had returned to Rome from his academical studies in Greece; and in the year 81 B.C. began that brilliant career which made him one of the great men of Rome. His first known oration, for P. Quinctius, contains little of public interest. But the second which he delivered was in favour of Sext. Roscius of Ameria, a young man who was accused by a notorious informer of having murdered his own father; whereas, the fact was that the guilty person was Chrysogonus, one of Sylla's favourite Freedmen.[t] Young Cicero undertook the defence; and the boldness with which he conducted it is quite as remarkable as the skill. Cicero lashed the favourite with all the vigour and energy of youthful eloquence, while he dexterously excuses Sylla from all share in the blame by a compliment which is almost blasphemous:—"As Jupiter the supreme lord of all," he says, "notwithstanding his universal beneficence, is still obliged to allow the existence of pain and suffering in the universe, so Sylla, the lord of the Roman world, with all his

[s] Chapt. lx. § 10. [t] Above, § 8.

anxiety to prevent injustice and oppression, yet cannot be so ubiquitous as to see his will executed everywhere and always." The jury, composed of Senators though it was, took part against the Dictator's Freedman, and Roscius was acquitted. It must be observed, however, that Cicero quitted Rome immediately, and returned to his studies at Rhodes for two years.

§ 18. It is manifest that Sylla was weary of the labour which is required by the exercise of supreme power, and had already taken his part. His increasing moderation may have surprised many. But all were much more surprised when, early in the year 80 B.C., he abruptly laid down his Dictator's office, which he had held for little more than two years, and appeared in the Forum as a private man. Before the astonishment had subsided, he ascended the Rostra, where in a set speech he rehearsed his acts, and desired any one who had reason to complain to come forward and speak. No one answered the challenge. However audacious it seems, it was safely made. The blood of his opponents could not speak from the ground where it had fallen. The disfranchised and the exiled had no place in the Assembly. Yet there were many, doubtless, who would gladly have raised their voices against his political measures. But it was hazardous to accept the challenge thrown down by a man who, though no longer Dictator, still had the Senate and the whole authority of the State waiting on his nod.

§ 19. Rome and Italy were now in complete tranquillity, and the clouds in the more distant horizon seemed not very threatening. After the death of Carbo, young Pompey had, by politic clemency, rapidly reduced, first all Sicily, and then Africa to submission. Mithridates showed no present intention to resume war against Rome. In Spain alone the Marian party, under the able conduct of Sertorius, maintained a threatening attitude. But Metellus Pius had already been despatched as Proconsul to that Province, with orders to quell the insurrection; and no doubt it was expected that he would execute his commission with the same ease and rapidity with which Pompey had suppressed the Marian enterprises in Sicily and Africa.

§ 20. All therefore seemed tranquil or likely to be tranquil; and Sylla left Rome for ever, to seek at his villa near Puteoli on the Bay of Naples that which he loved better than political

power or military glory,—a life of voluptuous ease. Here he amused himself at will. Among his own immediate supporters none could be called his friend. He allowed Crassus, like other favourites, to enrich himself by buying up the property of the Proscribed: he satisfied Pompey with commands, and titles, and a triumph. But he trusted neither of them, and disliked the last. Metellus Pius, who had served him well in Italy, was absent in Spain. L. Lucullus, who had been one of his chief lieutenants in the Mithridatic War, and was found to be named executor of his will and guardian of his children, was still in the East. But if they had been present, they were not men with whom Sylla could sympathise. He loved not statesmen, nor soldiers, nor earnest men of any kind. He was fond of genial humour and unrestrained licence, and therefore admitted jesters, actors, and humourists to unreserved intimacy. He was fond of sensual pleasure; and therefore, though he always treated his wife Cæcilia with respect, his doors were open to dancing girls and singing girls.[u] He was fond of literature and philosophic discussion, and therefore gave free invitation to men of letters. In company of this various kind he passed hours lounging in a boat upon the Bay of Naples, and hours at table or over his wine, sometimes conversing on art and literature and science, sometimes engaging in licentious jesting or coarse buffoonery. At such times and in such company he would not suffer business to be named. Perfect self-indulgence and amusement were what he sought. In such a man, nothing resembling real love or true friendship could find place.

At times, however, his passions broke out; and without any authority, he put to death an unfortunate magistrate of Puteoli, who had offended him.

§ 21. But he did not long enjoy this life of luxurious ease. Ten years before, during his campaigns in Greece, he had been threatened with paralysis. Since that time he had gone through great labours and great anxieties; and the habits in which he was now indulging proved too great a contrast to his late life. About a year after he had resigned the Dictatorship, he was attacked by a complication of disorders, which ended (it is

[u] Cæcilia died about this time, and he forthwith married a noble damsel of the great Valerian gens.

said) in a loathsome disease. His body, distempered by debauchery and labour, is said to have engendered vermin. Thus miserably died the great Dictator in the 60th year of his age.

§ 22. Sylla was eminently what we call a man of genius. Nothing seemed difficult to him. In war and politics, in literature and encounters of wit, he was a match for the masters of each art at their own weapons. That which gave him advantage was his perfect knowledge of men, and his just confidence in self, unalloyed by any tincture of personal vanity. In the art of war he was no doubt inferior to Marius, and probably to many of his own officers. But the command which he gained over the soldiery by his free and genial manners, and the adroitness with which he corrupted his opponents, generally enabled him to weaken them before the actual shock of battle, and to avert impending disasters. His rapid audacity sometimes gave him unexpected successes, although his temerity often exposed him to perils which a more cautious commander would have provided against. In the diplomatic arts by which men are guided or deluded he was unequalled. But with all these qualities to fit him for active life, his inclinations lay not that way. He was poor at first, and his family was somewhat obscure. It is not surprising, therefore, that he roused himself from time to time to gather wealth and gain distinction. But he never continued his exertions for a longer time than was required for his immediate object. Circumstances compelled him to assert his claim to the command in the Mithridatic war, to continue that war for several years, to engage in a hard struggle on his return to Italy, and after conquest to assume dictatorial power. But triumphs and power were not the objects for which he fought and laboured. Properly speaking he was not ambitious. He desired wealth and power, but only as a means; his proper end being the facility of absolute self-indulgence. Nor, properly speaking, was he cruel. His passions were by nature fierce, and they were made fiercer by a distempered frame of body and by unjust opposition. Before Marius endeavoured to rob him of the Mithridatic command, we hear not of any barbarities that can be attributed to him; and after he had destroyed the party which had excited his

fury, he relapsed into the easiness of temper which best suited his Epicurean principles.

§ 23. The Constitution which he left was adapted to his personal inclinations. Exasperated by the long toils and perils to which Marius and his party had exposed him, he endeavoured to sweep away all opposition by the atrocious Proscription, and then so to organise the State as at once to cripple the democracy and secure the power of the Senate. He was probably far too sagacious to believe that his work was durable. If he, or some man of commanding talents, had remained for several years at the head of the government, it might have been possible to establish an Oligarchy such as would have endured for a long period. But the Nobles to whom he transmitted his authority were feeble and disunited, and their fall was rapid. Eager for enjoyment, Sylla was satisfied with knowing that, so long as he lived, his influence, even in the distance of Puteoli, would support the Senate as materially as the counsels of Charles V. in his conventual retirement supported his less able successor. "A quiet life while I last, and after me the Deluge," was the real, if not the avowed, principle of the constitutional changes wrought by Sylla.

BOOK VII.

SECOND PERIOD OF CIVIL WAR.

CHAPTER LXII.

REVOLUTIONARY ATTEMPT OF LEPIDUS: SERTORIUS: SPARTACUS: CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS. (78—70 B.C.)

§ 1. Early symptoms of decay in the constitution of Sylla: Catulus and Lepidus, Consuls. § 2. Revolutionary attempt of Lepidus defeated. § 3. Adventures of Sertorius. § 4. His remarkable government of Spain. § 5. Metellus Pius fails in crushing him: Pompey sent to his aid. § 6. Sertorius maintains his superiority: treaty with Mithridates. § 7. Sertorius assassinated by Perperna. § 8. Sertorian war concluded by Pompey. § 9. Gladiatorial war breaks out in Italy: Spartacus. § 10. He becomes almost master of Italy. § 11. Crassus appointed to command against him: his skilful measures. § 12. Defeat and death of Spartacus. § 13. Reflexions. § 14. Claim of Pompey to merit of concluding the Gladiatorial War. § 15. Pompey and Crassus elected Consuls, illegally. § 16. Popular measures announced by Pompey: Tribunate reëstablished. § 17. Reform of the law-courts proposed by the Prætor L. Aurelius Cotta, opposed by Senate. § 18. Cicero's prosecution of Verres. § 19. The Aurelian Law carried: Reform of Senate. § 20. Apprehensions from rivalry of Pompey and Crassus: the latter acknowledges superiority of Pompey.

§ 1. We now enter upon the last stage in the Decline and Fall of the Republic. By a violent and spasmodic effort Sylla had restored the government to the hands of the Senatorial Nobility. But symptoms, intimating the insecurity of the fabric which he had hastily reared on blood-bathed foundations, showed themselves even before his death. After his secession, Q. Catulus became the acknowledged chief of the Senatorial party. He was son of the Catulus who shared the Cimbric Triumph with Marius, and had inherited the good qualities of his father. In the year 79 B.C. he appeared among the candidates for the Consulship with the certainty of election. The person who aspired to be his colleague was M. Æmilius Lepi-

dus, a man of illustrious family, but of vain and petulant character, who was annoyed at not having received higher rewards for the aid which he had lent to Sylla in the Civil War. He was supported by many friends; among others young Pompey warmly espoused his cause. Sylla knew the man, and warned Pompey against entrusting him with power. But Pompey, full of the pride of youth, and flushed by triumph, had already begun to talk of "the setting and the rising sun." He disregarded the warning of the retired Dictator, and Lepidus was elected.

§ 2. Scarcely was the breath out of Sylla's body when his words were fulfilled. Lepidus declared himself the Chief of the Italian party, and promised to restore all that Sylla had taken away. To prevent a renewal of Civil War, the Senate bound him and Catulus alike by oath not to take up arms during their Consulate. But Lepidus retired to his Province of Transalpine Gaul, and, pretending that his oath did not bind him save on the soil of Italy, began openly to levy troops. The Senate summoned him to return to Rome. He obeyed, but it was at the head of an army. To oppose him, Catulus, released from his oath by the transgression of Lepidus, took post with a strong force before the Mulvian Bridge, with Pompey for his lieutenant. Here they were attacked by Lepidus, who was easily defeated. Lepidus himself escaped to Sardinia, where he died shortly after. But his lieutenants, M. Perperna and L. Junius Brutus, father of Cæsar's murderer, kept their troops together and retired to the North, where they waited for the course of events. A war was raging in Spain, which might well encourage the hopes of persons discontented with the present government.

§ 3. It has been mentioned that Q. Sertorius, disgusted with the weakness of his colleagues, had, after the affair of Teanum, retired to his Prætorian government in Spain.[a] But Sylla had been beforehand with him; and Sertorius, after a vain struggle against the superior forces of C. Annius, was obliged to take refuge in the Lusitanian mountains, whence he escaped across the Straits into Mauritania. Here he found employment; for two rivals were contending for the throne, and one of them was glad to secure the aid of a Roman officer. But the news from

[a] Chapt. lx. § 11.

Italy was dispiriting. It seemed as if the Marian cause was lost for ever. Sertorius lent ear to the tales of seamen who had lately made a voyage to the Fortunate Islands (so the Ancients called the Azores), and seemed to recognise the happy regions of perpetual spring which Greek legends, adorned by the gorgeous fancy of Pindar, assigned as the abode of the Blessed.[b] But while the active soldier was beginning to indulge in day-dreams of happy tranquillity, he received an invitation from the Lusitanians to head them in rising against the oppression of the Senatorial Governors, and obeyed without a moment's hesitation. Viriathus himself did not use with better effect the energies of the brave mountaineers. The South of Spain was soon too hot to hold the Syllan leaders: the proscribed Marians came out of their hiding-places and joined the new chief. The progress of Sertorius, in the course of two years' time, became so serious, that at the beginning of the year 79 B.C., when Metellus Pius laid down his Consulship, he was sent as Proconsul into Spain to crush him, and with him the reviving fortunes of the Marian party.

§ 4. But to crush Sertorius was no easy task. He was no mere soldier, but possessed political qualities of a high order. Spain had in the course of many years been much softened from its rude condition; and her people, in many quarters, were glad to adopt the arts of Roman civilisation, though they long struggled against Roman dominion. Sertorius, like Hamilcar and Hasdrubal of old, flattered the Spaniards with the hope of rising to independence under his own rule. The government which he formed indicated a disposition to dispute Imperial sway with Rome. He constituted a Senate of Three Hundred, consisting partly of proscribed Romans, partly of Spanish Chiefs,—a step quite unparalleled in the provincial government of Rome. Such cities as were in his power he organised after the Italian model; and at Osca (now Huesca in Catalonia) he established a school for the noble youth of Spain. The boys

[b] . . . ἵνθα Μακάρων
Νάσος; ὠκεανίδες
αὖραι περιπνέουσιν, ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει,
τὰ μὲν χερσόθεν ἀπ' ἀγλαῶν δενδρέων,
ὕδωρ δ' ἄλλα βρέφει, κ. τ. λ.—*Olymp.* ii. 128, *sqq.*

wore the Roman garb, and were taught the tongues of Rome and Athens. Sertorius is almost the only statesman of antiquity who tried to use education as an engine of government. It cannot indeed be pretended that his views were merely philanthropic; no doubt he held the boys as hostages for the fidelity of their sires.

His military skill, his great administrative talents, his prompt activity and resolute conduct, above all his acknowledgment of equality between Provincials and Citizens of Rome won him golden opinions. Everywhere the Spaniards crowded to see him, and loudly protested their readiness to die for him. Their enthusiastic reverence for his person was increased by the presence of a white doe, which continually followed him, and was regarded by the simple people as a familiar spirit, by means of which he held communication with heaven.

§ 5. Metellus in two campaigns found himself unequal to cope with the new ruler of Spain. In the second of these years (77 B.C.) Perperna, who had retired to Gaul with some of the best troops of Lepidus, entered Spain under the belief that he also, like Sertorius, might establish himself in that country. But his men compelled him to join the popular leader; and when Sertorius was thus strengthened, the inferiority of Metellus became so evident that the Senate hastily despatched Pompey with reïnforcements to share his command. When it was proposed to send him as Proconsul (*pro Consule*), L. Philippus jocularly observed, "Not *pro Consule*, but pro Consulibus."[c] On his march from the Alps to the Pyrenees, the young General encountered the other remnant of the army of Lepidus under L. Junius Brutus. He dispersed it easily; and Brutus, who fell into his hands, was put to death in cold blood.

§ 6. Pompey's aid, however, did not change the face of affairs. In the two following campaigns it is true that Metellus twice gained advantages over Perperna; but on the other hand Pompey was twice defeated by Sertorius himself. In the first battle the young General was saved by the approach of Metellus, on which Sertorius said: "If the old woman had not come up, I should have given the boy a sound drubbing and sent him

[c] Cicero *pro Lege Manilià* 21, *Philipp.* xi. 8. These Consuls were men hardly known except by name,—Dec. Brutus and Mam. Æmilius.

back to Rome." At the end of 75 B.C. Pompey wrote an urgent letter to the Senate, representing the insufficiency of his forces, and two more Legions were sent to reïnforce him. Meantime Sertorius himself had reasons for apprehension. Some of his Roman friends, disliking his policy of raising the Provincials to office and dignity, had made overtures to the Senatorial commanders; and Sertorius, impatient and severe by nature, was guilty of much cruelty, and still further exasperated all Romans of his party by forming his body-guard exclusively of Spaniards. But he still maintained his superiority in the field. Pompey, with his increased force, had laid siege to Palencia, but was obliged to raise the siege on the approach of the enemy, and suffered much loss in his retreat (74 B.C.). Nor in the following year (73 B.C.) was he able to retrieve his tarnished fortunes, though about this time Metellus seems to have relinquished all active participation in the war, so that the younger General could no longer plead that he was impeded by his less active colleague. Moreover it was not encouraging to learn that the Spanish commander had in the year 75 B.C. received envoys from Mithridates, who in the following season renewed war with Rome of his own accord. Sertorius agreed to furnish Roman officers to aid in training the soldiers of Asia, while the King was to repay the loan in ships and money. The fact of this alliance is remarkable, as showing how completely Sertorius was prepared to throw off the authority of Rome. But events moved too rapidly to allow of any further results from this alliance.

§ 7. The continued successes and despotic power exercised by Sertorius had corrupted his nature or brought out its inherent evil. He indulged in the immoderate use of wine, was impatient of the slightest contradiction, and was guilty of many acts of tyranny. Even the Spaniards began to fall away; and Sertorius in a moment of irritation ordered all the boys at Osca to be put to death. This cruel and impolitic act would probably have cost him his power and his life, even if it had not been terminated by treachery. Perperna, who had at first joined him against his own inclination, thought that a favourable opportunity had arrived for grasping power. He invited Sertorius to a banquet at Osca; and the General, having

drunk freely according to his custom, fell an easy prey to the dagger of the assassin (72 B.C.).

§ 8. But when Perperna had wrought this shameful deed, he found that the name of Sertorius was still powerful among the Spaniards. Many of them, now that their great leader was no more, forgot his faults, and with the devoted enthusiasm of their nation threw themselves into the flames of his funeral pyre. A few days after the death of Sertorius, Perperna attempted to lead the soldiery against Pompey, but he sustained a shameful defeat. His men dispersed, and he was taken prisoner. When brought before Pompey, he endeavoured to gain favour by handing to him letters which had been interchanged by Sertorius with some of the chief men at Rome. But Pompey, with prudent magnanimity, threw the letters into the fire and refused to hear his accusations. With similar moderation he proceeded to arrange the affairs of Spain, and in the course of a year the last relics of the Marian party in that Province were extinguished.

Before this successful issue, gained by means so little flattering to the pride of the Republic, Rome was engaged in conflict with Mithridates. The history of this war shall be reserved for a separate chapter. But here must be noticed a formidable outbreak that took place in the heart of Italy, and threatened for a time the very existence of the Republic. This was the war of Spartacus and the Gladiators.

§ 9. For the purpose of the barbarous shows which were so much enjoyed at Rome, it was the custom to keep schools for training gladiators, who were let out by their owners to the Ædiles and others who wished to gain popular favour by exhibiting bloody battles in the arena. At Capua there was a large school of this kind kept by one Lentulus; and among the gladiators in training at that place was Spartacus, a Thracian, who had once led his countrymen against Roman commanders, but now, having been taken prisoner, was destined to make sport for his conquerors. He persuaded about seventy of his fellow-bondsmen to join him in breaking loose: better it was, he argued, to die in battle on the open field, than on the sand of the amphitheatre. This handful of brave men took up a strong position upon Mount Vesuvius, where Spartacus was

presently joined by many slaves and outlaws of all descriptions. The gladiators, old soldiers like himself, supplied him with officers. Œnomaus and Crixus, the former (as his name shows) a Greek, the latter a Gaul, acted as his lieutenants. He enforced strict discipline; and, so long as he was able, obliged his lawless followers to abstain from acts of violence and rapine. Two Roman Prætors in succession attacked him, but they were beaten with loss, and the numbers of the gladiatorial army swelled every day. Large reïnforcements were supplied by the wild herdsmen of Apulia, now as in former times ready to draw the sword against their hated lords.[d] All this happened in 73 B.C., after the Mithridatic war had broken out, and before the Sertorian war was ended.

§ 10. In the next year (72 B.C.), the same which witnessed the murder of Sertorius, Spartacus had become strong enough to take the offensive. He had to face a formidable power, for both Consuls were ordered to take the field. But Spartacus, at the head of more than 100,000 men, forced the passes of the Apennines and passed into Picenum. His subordinates, however, proved unmanageable. Crixus, at the head of a large body of men, chiefly Germans, parted from his leader, and assumed an independent command; but he was surprised near Mount Garganus, and slain with the loss of his whole forces. Spartacus, undazzled by his own successes, was well aware that in the end the power of Rome must prevail, and bent all his energies towards forcing his way across the Alps, in the hope of reaching some remote region inaccessible to Rome. As he pressed northwards, he was assaulted by both the Consuls, but defeated them both. The Roman soldiers who were taken prisoners were made to fight as gladiators, in memory of the gladiator Crixus. With reduced forces Spartacus arrived in Cisalpine Gaul; but here he was repulsed by the Prætor Cassius, and obliged by the impatience of his followers to retrace his steps. Every Roman officer who dared to meet him was still defeated: at one time the brave gladiator is said to have meditated a descent upon Rome itself. But he relinquished this desperate plan, and spent the remainder of the year in collecting treasure and arms from the cities of Central and

[d] Chapt. xlviii. § 5.

Southern Italy. Little discipline was now observed. The extent of the ravages committed by the rude bands under his command may be guessed from the well-known line of Horace, in which he promised his friend a jar of wine made in the Social War, "if he could find one that had escaped the clutches of roaming Spartacus."[e]

§ 11. It was necessary to commit the management of the war to some one able to meet the emergency. Of Sylla's chief officers, Metellus Pius had lost credit in the Sertorian war, Lucullus had just taken the command against Mithridates, Pompey was still absent in Spain. But Crassus, who had really won the Battle of the Colline Gate, was Prætor for the year 71 B.C., and he was invested with full powers for putting an end to this dreadful conflict. Ever since the triumph of Sylla he had lived quietly at Rome, profiting by the opportunities opened by the Proscription to buy up property cheap; and after that period he had been chiefly busied in making the most profitable use of the enormous fortune which he had by this time contrived to amass.

Crassus took the field with six new Legions, to be added to the remains of the Consular Armies. The disorganised battalions of these armies he punished by the unjust and terrible penalty of decimation; but his rigour was successful in restoring discipline. He found Spartacus in Calabria, where he had taken Thurii and was besieging Rhegium, with the view of establishing a connexion with Sicily and rekindling the embers of the Servile War which were still smouldering in that Island. The gladiator chief had even agreed with a squadron of Cilician Pirates, who were hovering off the coast, to convey 2000 of his men across the straits; but these faithless marauders took the money and sailed without the men. Crassus determined to shut up the enemy by drawing strong entrenchments across the narrowest part of the foot of the Peninsula.[f] The works proceeded rapidly. Twice in one day Spartacus endeavoured to break through the lines; twice he was thrown back with great slaughter. But he continued to defend himself with dauntless pertinacity; and the Senate, hearing that Pompey was on his way back from Spain, joined

[e] 3 *Carm.* xiv. 19.

[f] Introduction, Sect. i. § 13.

him in the command with Crassus, and urged him to accelerate his march.

§ 12. Crassus, afraid of losing his laurels by the intervention of Pompey, determined to assault Spartacus in the strong position which he had chosen. But, before this could be done, the brave gladiator had, by a last desperate attack, succeeded in forcing a passage through the Prætor's lines, and had marched upon Brundusium, where he hoped to seize shipping and make his escape from Italy. But M. Lucullus, brother of the more celebrated Lucius, had just returned with a considerable force of veteran soldiers from Macedonia, and undertook the defence of Brundusium. Spartacus, being thus foiled in his intention, turned like a wolf at bay to meet Crassus, who was pursuing him. A fearful conflict ensued, which remained doubtful till Spartacus was wounded by a dart through the thigh. Supported on his knee he still fought heroically, till he fell, overpowered by numbers. Most of his followers were cut to pieces on the field; but a strong body of the insurgents drew off in good order to the mountains. They were pursued, and many fell; but a division of five thousand made their way to the North of Italy, where Pompey fell in with them on his way home from Spain, and slew them to a man. About six thousand more were taken prisoners by Crassus, who hung or crucified them along the road that led from Rome to Capua.

§ 13. The South of Italy, already much wasted and dispeopled, was reduced still nearer to desolation by nearly three years of this deadly war. Then it was that Thurii perished, and many other cities suffered irretrievably. These ravages were due, not to Spartacus, who to the last showed a moderation equal to his heroic courage and great military talents, but to the lawless men whom by the nature of the case he was obliged to enlist. It was one of the miseries of Roman civilisation, that it peopled the pastoral districts with slaves ever ready to rebel, and amused the idle populace with the death-struggles of brave men, who became when opportunity offered her worst enemies.

§ 14. To Crassus undoubtedly belongs all the credit of bringing this war to a close. In six months he had finished

his work. But Pompey, who had now returned to Rome, claimed the honour of concluding not only the Sertorian war, but also the war with Spartacus. In fact he had not much to boast in either case. The daggers of Perperna really brought the Spanish contest to an end; and as to the gladiatorial conflict, the lucky chance by which Pompey intercepted five thousand fugitives was his only claim to credit. But the young General was a favourite with the soldiery and with the People, from his liberality and frankness of manner, while Crassus, from his cold demeanour and greedy love of money, enjoyed little popularity. Public opinion seconded claims which were put forward with very little modesty or justice.

§ 15. Neither Pompey nor Crassus would as yet enter the City; for they both desired a Triumph, and their armies lay at the gates to share the honour of their leaders. The wish of Pompey was at once granted; for Metellus had already been allowed to triumph, and the claim of Pompey was at least as good as that of the Senatorial Chief. But to Crassus only an Ovation was conceded.

Before they entered the City, they had both asked permission to offer themselves as Candidates for the Consulship next year. Both were excluded by the Laws of Sylla. Crassus was still Prætor, and at least two years ought to elapse before his Consulship. Pompey had not as yet held any of the civil offices introductory to the highest; he was only in his thirty-fifth year, and had not even been Quæstor. The Senate, however, dared not gainsay the request of Pompey; for he refused to disband his army, and his tone brooked no refusal. And what was granted to Pompey could not in decency be refused to the better claim of Crassus, who also kept his soldiers under arms. Thus, at the demand of two chiefs, each backed by an army, the Senate were, within eight years after Sylla's death, obliged to break his Laws. Pompey was elected by acclamation. Crassus might have been less successful, had there not been a secret understanding between him and Pompey. On the Calends of January, 70 B.C., Pompey and Crassus entered on their memorable Consulship.

§ 16. On that day Pompey gave clear intimation of his intention to pursue a popular course of policy in his Consulship.

In a set speech addressed to the People he declared his intention of releasing the Tribunician Authority from the trammels imposed upon it by the Constitution of Sylla, and to attempt a Reform of the Judicial system. An attempt had already been made to restore the Tribunate five years before;[g] but at that time the Senate had prevailed. Both of Pompey's announcements were received with shouts of applause. To the former the Senate offered but a feeble opposition. The Tribunes were restored to the exercise of their power, and with their restoration it may be said that the key-stone of the arch erected by Sylla fell. With the resuscitation of this popular power revived also the independence of the Tribe-Assembly, and hence followed of necessity a struggle between the popular party constituting that body and the aristocratical interest represented by the Senate.

§ 17. But the other measure broached by the authority of Pompey was one which Catulus and the Senate determined to oppose to the uttermost. They could not tamely abandon their absolute power over the Law-courts. Yet the abuse was enormous, and in the ten years during which the Senators had exercised their recovered power, scandal had been great. Among other persons Cæsar had reason to complain. After his escape from Sylla's vengeance he also, like Cicero, left Italy, and resorted to the Schools of Greek Philosophy. On his return, though only in his twenty-third year, he indicted Cn. Dolabella for extortion and misgovernment in Macedonia. Dolabella was defended by Q. Hortensius, the first Advocate of the day, a determined adherent of the Senatorial Party, and as a matter of course he was acquitted. It had, however, been remarked that during their tenure of judicial power the Knights were little less corrupt than the Senators; and the law now proposed, under Pompey's authority, by the City-Prætor, L. Aurelius Cotta, was so devised as to establish a Court composed of three elements, each of which might serve as a check upon the other two. In each Jury one-third of the Jurymen was to be furnished by the Senate, one-third by the Knights, and the remaining third by the Tribunes of the Treasury.[h]

[g] In 76 B.C. by the Tribune Cn. Sicinius, Sallust, *Hist. Fragm.* iii. 22.

[h] The *Tribuni Ærarii*, see Chapt. iii. § 18. Originally they were the Presi-

Catulus at first endeavoured to promote a compromise between his party and Pompey; but the Consul was resolute, and the Nobles prepared to maintain their privilege by arms.

§ 18. An event, however, now occurred which smoothed the way for Cotta's Law. Cicero, as we have mentioned, after the great credit which he had won by his bold defence of Sext. Roscius, had quitted Rome for two years. He returned in 77 B.C., and immediately began to dispute with Hortensius the hitherto unquestioned sway which the latter had exercised in the Law-courts. Except during the year 75 B.C., when he was serving as Quæstor in Sicily, he was diligently employed as an Advocate at Rome. His polished eloquence excited universal admiration; his defence of many wealthy clients brought him in much money and connected him with many powerful families. He was of the same age as Pompey; and, being now a Candidate for the Ædileship, he began to be eager for political distinction. To obtain this by military commands was not suited to his tastes or talents. But it was possible to achieve it by the public impeachment of some powerful offender. C. Cornelius Verres, a man connected with some of the highest Senatorial families, had won the favour of Sylla by treacherous desertion of Carbo. For three years he had been Prætor of Sicily, from which Province he had just returned, after practising there extortions and iniquities unexampled even in those iniquitous days. The Sicilians, remembering the industry and equity with which Cicero had lately executed the functions of Quæstor in their island,[1] begged him to come forward as the accuser of this man; and the Orator, who saw how much the strenuous and successful prosecution of a great Senatorial offender would strengthen the hands of Pompey for carrying the Aurelian Law, and was not unwilling to share the popular triumph of the great Consul, at once undertook the cause.

The first attempt which the dexterous Advocate of Verres made to elude Cicero's attack was to put forward Q. Cæcilius

dents of the Tribes and Collectors of the Tributum, but their names hardly ever occur in Roman authors. Mommsen, *die Rom. Tribus*, p. 45. It is probable that there was one for every Century in the newly organised Comitia Centuriata, and therefore in all 350 in number. See Chapt. xxxv. § 11.

[1] He was Quæstor there in 74 B.C.

Niger, who had been Quæstor under Verres, to contend that to him belonged of right the task of accusation. But Cicero exposed the intended fraud so unanswerably that even the Senatorial Jurymen at once rejected Cæcilius and named Cicero as prosecutor.[k] He demanded ninety days for the purpose of collecting evidence in Sicily. But he only used fifty of them, and on the 5th of August he opened this famous impeachment. He had in the mean time been elected Ædile. But Hortensius, the Advocate of Verres, had become Consul-elect; and one of the Metelli, a warm friend of the accused, was designated to succeed Glabrio, who now presided in the Court as Prætor Peregrinus. It was therefore a great object for Verres to get the trial so adjourned from day to day that it might be postponed to next year, when his great Senatorial friends would fill the most important offices in the State. To baffle this design, Cicero contented himself with a very brief, but pointed, statement of his case, and at once proceeded to call witnesses; whereas the usual practice of Roman Orators was to introduce the evidence by long and elaborate speeches, calculated more for the speaker's glory than for the benefit of his client. So clear and overpowering was the evidence, that Hortensius (as we should say) threw up his brief, and Verres sought impunity in a voluntary exile. To show what he could have done, Cicero published the Five great Pleadings, in which he intended to have set forth the crimes of Verres; and they remain to us as a notable picture of the misery which it was in the power of a Roman Proconsul to inflict.

§ 19. What effect this bold move on the part of the great Orator had in quelling the resolution of the Senate to oppose the Aurelian Law, even by recourse to arms, we know not. But this much is certain, that soon after the trial came to an abrupt issue the Law was passed seemingly with little opposition; and thus a second great breach was made in the Syllan Constitution.

The corrupt state of the Senate itself was made manifest by a step now taken by Catulus and the leaders of that body. They revived the Censorial office, for which Sylla had made no provision, and which had been suspended for sixteen years.

[k] See the *Divinatio in Q. Cæcilium.*

The Censors of the year 70 B.C. were not men of much note, but they discharged the duties of their great office with severe integrity. Sixty-four Senators were degraded from their high rank. For Catulus was revived the high rank of Princeps, and he was the last independent Senator who held that rank. After his death it again fell into abeyance, and when it was next called into existence, it served to give a Title to the despotic authority of Augustus. The review of the Knights was made remarkable by the fact that the Consul Pompey appeared in the procession, leading his horse through the Forum, and submitting himself with proud humility to the Censorial scrutiny.[1]

§ 20. Though Crassus had gained the Consulship by Pompey's aid, the vexation which had been naturally raised in his mind by his colleague's assumptions threatened more than once to produce an affray between them. Both the Consuls continued to maintain an armed force near the City; and, though the popular measures of Pompey had won him all hearts in the Forum, yet the gold of Crassus commanded many followers. The Senate looked with equal dislike on both the rivals, and feared a further diminution of their own authority by the interference of an armed force. The days of Marius or Cinna or Sylla might return; and from hour to hour men lived in fear of a new revolution. But at the close of their joint Consulship, Crassus was induced to come forward in public and offer his hand to Pompey, which the latter deigned to accept after the manner of a prince. It did not suit Crassus to disturb credit and imperil his vast fortune by exciting a civil war. Pompey was satisfied so long as no other disputed his claim to be the first Citizen of the Republic.

Thus ended by far the most remarkable year that had passed since the time of Sylla. Two generals, backed by an armed force, had trampled on the great Dictator's favourite rules; and one of them had rudely shaken the political edifice reared in so much blood. Behind them appeared the form of one who sought to gain by eloquence and civil arts what had lately been arrogated to the sword. But it was some years yet before Cæsar in his own person descended into the political arena.

[1] See Chapt. xlix. § 5.

CHAPTER LXIII.

THIRD OR GREAT MITHRIDATIC WAR: POMPEY IN THE EAST. (74—61 B.C.)

§ 1. Second Mithridatic War. § 2. Preparations of Mithridates for a new war. § 3. Third Mithridatic War: the King defeats the Consul Cotta, and lays siege to Cyzicus. § 4. L. Lucullus, the other Consul, relieves Cyzicus, and defeats Mithridates. § 5. Drives Mithridates into Armenia. § 6. Sends to demand the person of Mithridates from Tigranes: relieves Asiatics from arrears of debt. § 7. Invades Armenia, defeats Tigranes, and takes Tigranocerta. § 8. Obliged by his army to relinquish his advance upon Artaxata: takes Nisibis. § 9. Mithridates defeats Triarius, Lieutenant of Lucullus, in Pontus: army of Lucullus mutinies. § 10. Account of Cilician pirates: Gabinian Law, investing Pompey with an extraordinary Commission to put them down. § 11. Brilliant success of Pompey, who remains in Cilicia. § 12. Manilian Law, investing Pompey with absolute command over the East. § 13. He drives Mithridates across the Caucasus: is unable to follow him. § 14. His campaign in Syria: siege of Jerusalem. § 15. Death of Mithridates. § 16. Pompey's triumphant progress through Asia and Greece: return to Italy after six years' absence.

§ 1. After the conclusion of his Treaty with Sylla, Mithridates applied himself to the reduction of insurrections which had arisen in the Eastern parts of his kingdom, while he was battling in the West. Murena, though he had been left with positive orders not to renew the war, no sooner saw Sylla's back turned, than, on pretence of demanding an account of the King's motive in raising troops, he marched into Cappadocia and even Pontus. Archelaus, who had been disgraced by his master, was his secret instigator. Mithridates submitted silently, till he found the Roman General preparing to renew his attack the next spring. Then he collected a large force, fell suddenly upon Murena near the Halys, and gave him a great defeat. Envoys now arrived from Rome, commanding Murena to desist; and thus ended what is usually called the Second Mithridatic War. We have already noticed these facts, and mentioned that Sylla, with his usual indifference to

true merit, allowed Murena the ill-deserved honour of a triumph.

§ 2. This reckless attack and dishonourable triumph was enough to provoke a less adventurous spirit than that of Mithridates. The constant delays of the Senate in ratifying the Treaty of Sylla showed him how little trust was to be placed in the honour and forbearance of Rome. The death of the great Dictator, and the immediate outbreak of party quarrels, together with the continued successes of Sertorius in Spain, encouraged the King to think that a favourable moment had arrived for retrieving his losses. It was about the year 75 B.C., that he sent to make propositions to Sertorius for joint operations. As a preliminary condition, he demanded from the Spanish leader the acknowledgment of his right to the whole of Asia Minor. Sertorius, with the spirit of a Roman, replied that he would never consent to alienate any Province of the Empire, but that the King was welcome to appropriate the principalities of Bithynia and Cappadocia. Mithridates was obliged to be satisfied with this concession. Roman officers, as before stated, were sent by the hero of the Spanish War to assist in disciplining the Pontic armies, while the King sent men and ships to aid the cause of the insurgents in Spain.

Soon after this, Nicomedes Prince of Bithynia died, and left his kingdom by will to the Roman People. But Mithridates, who had been pressing forward his military preparations, at once led an army consisting of 120,000 foot, armed and trained in the Roman fashion, with 16,000 horse, into Bithynia. A powerful fleet coöperated with this formidable force. The whole country submitted without a blow. All Asia, groaning under the burthens laid upon it by Sylla, and oppressed more than ever by the extortions of the Tax-gatherers, again welcomed him as a Deliverer.

§ 3. The Consuls of the year were M. Aurelius Cotta and L. Licinius Lucullus. Lucullus, eldest son of that Lucullus who had shown so little capacity in the Sicilian Slave-war, and grandson of him who had behaved so treacherously to the Lusitanians, felt within him the ardour of military ambition. He had done good service under Sylla in the First War, and for this reason

[a] Chapt. xliv. § 14.

seemed to have earned a right to command in the present outbreak. But by lot his colleague Cotta had obtained the Province of Bithynia, and he was himself destined by the same capricious dispenser of patronage to the quiet rule of Cisalpine Gaul. It happened, however, that the Province of Cilicia became vacant by the death of its ruler, and the Senate conferred it upon him as an extraordinary command. On the arrival of Lucullus in Asia, he heard that Cotta had been defeated by the officers of the King, and had been obliged to throw himself into Chalcedon, where he was blockaded. He was unable to take more than two Legions across the water. Besides these he found four in Asia, two of which had been led into the Province by Fimbria, and had lived there in military licence for more than ten years. But there was no time to pick and choose. Having completed his preparations with great rapidity, he was able to advance from Galatia into Mysia with about 30,000 foot and 1600 horse.

Meanwhile, Mithridates had laid siege to Cyzicus, a town which stands on what is now a peninsula, though at that time it was an island separated from the mainland by a narrow channel. With his large army he cut it off from all communication with the land, while his powerful fleet served at once to blockade the place, and to keep his army well supplied with provisions and all materials necessary for a siege.

§ 4. Lucullus showed great military talents in the operations which followed. He cautiously advanced towards Cyzicus, cutting off the King's foraging parties whenever opportunity offered, till he contrived to seize an elevated position, and posted his army there so strongly, that on the one hand he was quite secure from attack, while on the other he completely commanded the enemy's lines. Winter was now at hand. The Pontic fleet was unable to keep the sea; and as Lucullus had intercepted communication with the interior, supplies soon began to fail. By famine and disease the enemy was at length so weakened, that Lucullus was able to extend his lines both ways, and thus the besiegers became in their turn besieged. They persisted bravely in their work; but the Roman general succeeded in throwing fresh troops and supplies into Cyzicus, and at length the abandonment of the siege became inevitable. Mithridates accordingly sent off his sick and weakly men towards

Bithynia, while he showed a bold front towards Lucullus. But the Roman general sent a detachment in pursuit, while he had still force enough to keep his own ground. The wretched fugitives were overtaken on the river Rhyndacus and cut off to a man. Not long after this dreadful scene, the remainder of the Pontic army, after great suffering by plague and famine, broke out from their lines and marched along the coast for Lampsacus. But Lucullus followed close, and attacked them at every advantageous point. On the Æsepus, on the Granicus, great numbers fell; only a shattered remnant of the host arrived at Lampsacus. Here, in company with the Lampsacenes, who dreaded the vengeance of Rome, they embarked on board the fleet for Nicomedia. But the greater part perished in a storm, and the vast army which Mithridates had collected and trained with so much anxious care was annihilated in little more than a year.

In the course of the summer Lucullus had collected a naval force sufficient to meet the fleet of Mithridates. He recovered Byzantium, relieved Chalcedon, and took every port along the coast of Bithynia. Mithridates himself suffered shipwreck in a storm, and was obliged to be indebted to a pirate for his escape to Sinopé. For the whole of that year and the next, Lucullus continued steadily to close upon the kingdom of Pontus. By the end of 72 B.C. Mithridates was reduced to the necessity of acting on the defensive within his own territory, and Lucullus sent letters wreathed in laurel recording his successes to the Senate.

§ 5. But winter checked not the activity of the Roman commander. He crossed the Halys late in the season. Eupatoria, a place lately founded by Mithridates, and Themiscyra, submitted with little show of resistance. Alarmed at the approach of the Romans, Mithridates left Sinopé, his capital city, and betook himself to the strong mountain fortress of Cabeira, which was within easy reach of the kingdom of his son-in-law Tigranes. To this monarch, who styled himself King of Kings, he sent for aid, as well as to his own son Machares, whom he had made sovereign over the Crimean Bosphorus and its dependencies. The strong town of Amisus, however, held out during the winter, and in the spring of 71 B.C., Lucullus, leaving Murena

(son of him who had earned a disgraceful triumph from the Second Mithridatic War) to continue the siege, advanced in person with additional troops towards Cabeira. Mithridates, despairing of effectual resistance, fled precipitately, and was so hotly pursued, that his capture would have been certain, had not the Roman horsemen stopped to collect a quantity of gold which had fallen from a pack-horse in the King's suite. He took refuge in Armenia. Amisus now surrendered, after a brave defence; Sinopé, the royal capital, followed its example; and by the close of the third campaign, all Pontus with Lesser Armenia, that is, all the country from the Halys to the Euphrates, was at the feet of Rome. No Roman general had ever done a better three years' work than Lucullus.

§ 6. In the course of the next year (70 B.C.) he sent App. Clodius, his wife's brother, to the court of Tigranes to demand the person of Mithridates. The envoy did not return from this mission for nearly twelve months; and during the interval Lucullus employed himself in making a tour of Asia Minor, with the purpose of restoring some degree of order in the Province and its contiguous principalities. His mild and generous temper every where won the favour of the people. It had been his task, at the close of the First Mithridatic War, to collect the tribute imposed by Sylla as a punishment for the massacre in Asia Minor, and he had performed this duty with all the gentleness which its nature permitted.[c] But since his departure, the imposts had been multiplied six-fold by the extortionate interest demanded by the Tax-collectors for moneys advanced by themselves to the wretched Provincials. Lucullus at once fixed the rate of interest for their payments at one per cent., struck off the accumulated sums from the capital of the debt, and made other stringent rules for checking the malpractices of the Roman Capitalists. These proceedings stirred up a nest of hornets, who at a later time made him feel their sting. It must be noted also, that by admitting the Pontic Towns to favourable terms of surrender, without giving them up to plunder, he lost the affections of an army long accustomed to every sort of licence.

§ 7. By the opening of the year 69 B.C. App. Clodius had returned with the answer of Tigranes. This haughty monarch

[c] See Chapt. lix. § 20.

had not as yet admitted his unfortunate father-in-law to his presence. But the tone of the Roman Envoy displeased him, and he was especially wroth because he was addressed simply as King of Armenia, and not honoured with the title of King of Kings. He replied that he would not give up the person of Mithridates; and Lucullus, as soon as the season permitted, crossed the upper Euphrates with two Legions of picked men and 500 horse, and pushed on straight to Tigranocerta, the Western Capital of Armenia, through wild and unknown mountain districts. Mithridates, at length admitted to conference by his haughty son-in-law, advised him not to hazard a general action with the invaders. But Tigranes, indignant at being braved by a handful of men, scornfully rejected his advice. "Those Romans," he said, "for ambassadors are too many, for enemies too few." But a terrible defeat was the consequence of his temerity; and the slaughter of his broken host was only stopped by the approach of night. Tigranes tore off his diadem, and fled eastward, having learnt by bitter experience that his father-in-law's estimate of the Roman soldiery was a better guide than his own overweening confidence. Soon after the battle, the Armenian capital Tigranocerta, though defended by walls fifty cubits high, was betrayed by the Greek inhabitants of the place, whom the commandant had disarmed and had attempted to put to death. Lucullus pursued his advantages with great activity. Machares, son of Mithridates, viceroy of the Crimea, had already paid homage to Rome. The King of the Parthians, a powerful tribe which had poured from the mountainous districts south of the Indian Caucasus, and had become lords of all Central Asia, from the banks of the Indus on the East to Armenia on the North and to the Euphrates on the West, sent offers of alliance. Roman tacticians loudly commended the military skill of Lucullus, who had subdued the well-disciplined army of Mithridates by slow but systematic operations, and had crushed the barbarous hordes of Tigranes by an adventurous and almost rash advance.

§ 8. In the course of the next season (68 B.C.) the Roman leader continued his victorious career. Tigranes attempted to make a stand upon the Arsanias, a tributary of the Euphrates, but was again defeated, and fled to Artaxata, the second capital

of Armenia, which lies in the almost inaccessible valley of the Araxes, northward of Mount Ararat. Lucullus, nothing daunted, was anxious to continue the pursuit. But in that inclement region snow and frost appear even before the autumnal equinox. Already the soldiery had shown mutinous inclinations, and the hardships that were now threatening emboldened the Tribunes to convey to the General the refusal of the army to advance further to the Eastward. Lucullus unwillingly gave way, and turning his course southward, crossed the range of Taurus and descended into the warmer region between the upper valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, then called Mygdonia. Here the large and wealthy town of Nisibis was invested and taken by storm. But in the ensuing winter events happened that destroyed his well-grounded hopes of eventual success.

§ 9. Mithridates, finding that Pontus was occupied by a feeble corps of the Roman army under the command of L. Valerius Triarius, collected some of his scattered troops and suddenly re-appeared in his own kingdom. Early in the next spring (67 B.C.) news of this bold descent reached Lucullus, and he hastened to support his lieutenant. But Triarius, presumptuous and eager for triumph, attacked Mithridates at Zela without waiting for the arrival of the Proconsul. He was defeated with the loss of his whole Legion and his own life. The King, satisfied with his advantage, again retreated to the mountains, and Lucullus gave orders for pursuit. But the mutinous spirit, which had partially disclosed itself in the foregoing year, now broke out with undissembled fury. The flame was fanned by Publ. Clodius Pulcher, younger brother of the App. Clodius who had been sent as envoy to Tigranes, and brother-in-law to the General. His subsequent career proved his reckless and selfish temper. On the present occasion, though he was but one or two-and-twenty, he conceived that he had been neglected by Lucullus. In the army he found ready materials for sedition. The men had indeed some reason for discontent. The soldiers of Fimbria had been absent from Italy now for nearly twenty years; and since Lucullus took the command, they had gone through great toils and suffered great hardships. Lucullus, though a skilful general and an equitable ruler, had none of that genial frankness of manner, which wins

the affection of soldiers; and the luxurious habits in which he indulged when not in the field, excited jealousy. The army so far obeyed him, that they agreed to defend Pontus from the attacks of Mithridates, but positively refused to undertake any new and active operations. Senatorial Commissioners had already arrived to assist Lucullus in settling the conquered districts, and were the unwilling witnesses of the General's helpless condition. M' Acilius Glabrio, one of the Consuls of the year 67 B.C., was appointed to succeed Lucullus in the government of Cilicia and the command against Mithridates, and in 66 B.C. he arrived in Asia. Lucullus, however, still continued with the army in Pontus.

§ 10. But events were even now occurring which transferred the command to other and abler hands. While the Roman arms were victoriously threatening the shores of the Caspian and the confines of the Parthian Monarchy, while Lucullus was mortified at seeing his fondest hopes baffled by the mutinous soldiery, and at feeling a magnificent Triumph slipping from his grasp, an enemy was carrying terror into every Province that lay on the coasts of the Mediterranean and insolently assailing the very shores of Italy. From very ancient times, as at the present day, the creeks of Asia Minor and the islets of the Archipelago had been the resort and shelter of piratical bands, who sallied out for plunder and disappeared like magic before attack. During the distractions that followed the Social and Civil Wars, these Pirates had gained a power and an audacity unknown before. Their chief nests were in the ports of Western Cilicia and Pisidia; and they possessed strongholds difficult of access in the mountain valleys which lead down from Taurus to that coast. Hence these Pirates are often called Cilicians, and often Isaurians—the district of Isauria, in the heart of the Pisidian mountain-range, being one of their chief fastnesses. Of late they had been encouraged by the patronage and money of Mithridates, who neglected no means of annoying Rome. Their audacity was extreme. At one time young Cæsar was in their hands; and P. Clodius, who had left the army of Lucullus after his success in fomenting mutiny, was even now their prisoner. Not long before this, their dashing chiefs had carried off two Prætors from the coasts of Italy.

The granddaughter of the great Orator M. Antonius had been seized by them at Misenum; the very port of Ostia had been plundered by their galleys. In the year 78 B.C., Q. Servilius Vatia was sent as Proconsul to Cilicia, and he carried on the war against these marauders with so much success, that he was honoured with a triumph and allowed to assume the title of Isauricus. In 75 B.C., M. Antonius, the son of the Orator, being Prætor, was invested with an extraordinary command, over all the fleets and shores of the Mediterranean, in order to clear the seas of the Pirates. The Cretans in some way lent countenance to the Pirates, and he landed in that island with a large force. But he used his great power for plunder and self-enrichment; his military operations covered the Roman arms with dishonour; and, dying in Crete, he was called Creticus in derision. The depredations of the Pirates continued. Q. Metellus, Consul in 69 B.C.,[d] was commissioned to continue the war specially against Crete, probably with a view to further operations against the Pirates; and at the present time he was engaged in this contest with good promise of a successful issue. But Pompey, who had been living unemployed at Rome since his Consulship, was becoming impatient for employment. He was popular because of the measures of his Consulship; his military character stood higher than that of any other man at Rome; and it was with general approbation, that in the year 67 B.C., the Tribune Au. Gabinius, a person devoted to the service of Pompey, brought forward a Law for the purpose of enabling the People to elect a person of Consular rank, who should exercise over the whole Mediterranean a power still more universal and absolute than had eight years before been fruitlessly conferred upon Antonius. Pompey was not named in the law, but every one knew that he was to be the person chosen. The Senate were, almost to a man, suspicious of Pompey's intentions. It was thought that he was only waiting for an opportunity to make himself the military chief of Rome; and the proposition was vehemently opposed, as dangerous to constitutional freedom, by the Senatorial leaders, Catulus, Hortensius, and others. Cæsar, indeed, supported it in the

[d] This Metellus was grandson of Metellus Dalmaticus (see Chapt. liv. § 3), and therefore cousin to Metellus Pius.

Senate. But he stood almost alone. Pompey himself was threatened with the ominous words:—"You aspire to be Romulus; beware of the fate of Romulus." So exasperated were the Nobility, that under the conduct of the Consul C. Piso, colleague of Glabrio, they personally assaulted the Tribune Gabinius, who in his turn raised the People against them. So fierce was the riot that followed, that the Tribune himself was obliged to interfere to lay the storm and save the Consul. When the Tribes met to pass the Bill, another Tribune named Trebellius was induced to interpose his veto. When he had once taken this step, he showed the usual stubborn determination of Roman Tribunes; no threats or persuasions moved him, till Gabinius put it to the vote that he should be deprived of his Tribunate, according to the precedent given by Ti. Gracchus in the case of Octavius. Not till seventeen Tribes had voted for his deprivation, did Trebellius yield, and then it was too late in the day for further proceedings. But next morning the Tribes again assembled and the Bill was passed by acclamation. No sooner was this result known, than the price of provisions fell. Pompey set vigorously about the worthy execution of his high trust.

§ 11. No part of Pompey's life is so brilliant as its next years. During the winter, having full command of the Treasury, he got a large Fleet ready for sea. Twenty-four lieutenants, among whom appear the names of the philosophic Cato and the learned Varro, some commanding squadrons of the fleet, some protecting the coast-lands with troops, obeyed his orders. He directed all these forces to encircle the West of the Mediterranean, and by simultaneous movements to drive the flying squadrons of the enemy before them towards the East. In the brief space of forty days he was able to report at Rome that the whole sea west of Greece had been cleared of the Pirates. Meantime, a powerful Fleet had been assembling at Brundusium; and hastening across Italy to that port he took the command in person. He continued his original plan of action by sweeping every inlet of the Archipelago, so as to force the enemy to their own Cilician coast. Their assembled ships ventured to give him battle off their rock-

fortress of Coracesium on the confines of Cilicia and Pisidia. They suffered a complete defeat. A general surrender followed, which was due as much to the leniency of Pompey as to his victory; and in the course of three months from the day on which he commenced operations, the war was ended. A large number of the Pirates were settled in the Cilician town of Soli, which was henceforth named Pompeiopolis.

About the same time, Metellus had completed the conquest of Crete. The Cretans sought to lighten their expected fate by throwing themselves upon Pompey's protection; and he, not very generously, claimed the command in that island as included in the Commission which made him supreme in the Mediterranean. But Metellus resisted the encroachment, and the Senate backed him. After some delay, he was honoured with a Triumph and assumed the name of Creticus as a title of real honour.

§ 12. At the very moment, then, when Lucullus was unwillingly obeying the sullen will of his soldiery, Pompey, in the full blaze of victory, was settling the affairs of Cilicia. During the winter he remained in the East. His friends at Rome, taking advantage of the popular favour, put forward his name as the only person fit to be entrusted with the task of concluding the Mithridatic War. Glabrio, who had been appointed to succeed Lucullus, was equally unable to control the soldiery, and confessed his helpless condition. At the very beginning of the year 66 B.C., the Tribune C. Manilius moved that a second extraordinary Commission should be issued to invest Pompey with the chief command over all Roman dominions in the East, not only by sea but by land, till he had brought the war with Mithridates to an end. The Senatorial Chiefs opposed the law of Manilius, but not in the same vehement temper that they had shown in opposing the law of Gabinius, while a new supporter of the popular hero appeared in the person of Cicero. The eloquent advocate had never yet ventured to address the Tribes on any political question, and he could not have found an occasion better suited for this display of his powers than the praises of Pompey. The task was easy, and the audience eager; but it must be confessed that

never was a more splendid offering paid to military genius than was now made to Pompey by the rising Orator.[e] Success was a matter of course. Pompey received by acclamation the most extensive authority ever yet conferred by law upon a Roman Citizen, with the exception of the Dictatorial power given to Sylla; and in Pompey's case it was a free gift from the People. He was empowered to levy or retain whatever troops and ships he deemed necessary, and to make war or conclude peace with any or all of the Oriental Potentates. He was in fact appointed Dictator of the East; and with the army thus placed at his command, it would have been easy to establish himself as master of the West also. It must be confessed, that the Senatorial Chiefs had some reason to object to this unlimited authority. Necessity was perhaps a just excuse in Sylla's case: for without him there would have been anarchy. But here no necessity existed; for it cannot be doubted, that Lucullus, with proper reïnforcements, would have brought the war to a speedy conclusion. But the cause of Pompey was identified with the cause of the People; Lucullus was held to be a champion of the Senate; and the popular will allowed no hesitation or compromise.

§ 13. During the year of inaction that had preceded Pompey's appointment, Mithridates had collected a fresh army, with which he occupied an entrenched camp on the frontier of Pontus. Pompey still remained in Asia, expecting the issue of the Manilian Law. As soon as he received his second Commission, he advanced with his new troops, held an interview with Lucullus in Galatia in the summer of 66 B.C., and at once pushed forward towards Cabeira, through a country already wasted by previous campaigns. Mithridates, anxious to avoid a battle, retired eastward towards the sources of the Halys. The Roman General, however, by a flank march overtook the King, who attempted to make his escape by night. The Romans pursued, and the enemy were obliged to halt and give battle on a spot afterwards marked by the city of Nicopolis, which was founded by Pompey in memory of the battle. Here Mithridates was entirely defeated, and with a few stragglers

[e] See his speech *Pro imperio Cn. Pompeii*, commonly called *pro Lege Manilia*, especially c. 11, sq. The orator apologises for a little exaggeration, *Orator* c. 29.

only succeeded in crossing the Euphrates. But Tigranes refused him harbourage in Armenia; and he made his way northward, with great difficulty, through the wild tribes of the Caucasian range to Dioscurias (Iskuria) on the coast of Circassia. He had now no hope left of carrying on the war successfully in the regions south of Caucasus; and his adventurous genius formed the conception of uniting the Sarmatian tribes from the Caucasus to Illyria, and making a descent upon Macedonia and Italy at once. Machares, Viceroy of the Crimea, attempted to dissuade his father from these vast projects, and to maintain his own connexion with Rome. But, panic-stricken at the King's approach, the Prince sought death by his own hand; and the Crimea again became subject to Mithridates.

§ 14. Unable to pursue Mithridates beyond the Caucasus, Pompey advanced into Armenia, and received the submission of its King. Tigranes appeared before the Roman General, and would have prostrated himself at his feet, had not Pompey prevented the humiliation. So great was the terror produced by the brilliant victories of the Western soldiers, that Phraates of Parthia, who had assumed the proud title of King of Kings, lately arrogated by Tigranes, sent to make an alliance with the victorious Roman; and Pompey, secure from attack in the East and South, turned his steps Northward in pursuit of Mithridates. By mid-winter he had reached the frontiers of Armenia, and celebrated the Saturnalia on the River Cyrus (Kur), below the Caucasian valleys which are now occupied by the Lesghian and Dagestanee warriors,—then called Albanians and Iberians. In the spring he advanced along the coast to the Phasis. But finding his passage disputed by the brave mountaineers, and learning that Mithridates was safe in the Crimea, he turned back to his old quarters on the Cyrus. Here he spent the rest of the summer in reducing the Albanians to submission. Whenever he met them in fair field, they were defeated: and one victory was considerable enough to be celebrated by the foundation of another Nicopolis. But the whole year 65 B.C. passed without decisive results, and Pompey was at length obliged to return Westward for winter-quarters to Amisus in Pontus. Here he received ambassadors from all

the neighbouring potentates, and busied himself, without expecting a Senatorial Commission, in reducing Pontus to the form of a Roman Province. When spring arrived, he still found himself unable to get beyond Caucasus even by passing along the coast so as to turn its formidable heights, and for the next two years he occupied himself by campaigns in the famous countries to the south of Asia Minor.

§ 15. Syria had been of late years subject to Tigranes of Armenia. After the submission of that monarch to Rome, Pompey determined to detach this and other conquered countries from Armenia. His lieutenant Afranius was sent forward in the summer of 64 B.C. to occupy the passes of Amanus, and Pompey descending through Cappadocia to Antioch, without stroke of sword took possession of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ and reduced it to the form of a Roman Province. The Ituræans, the northern Idumæans, and all the country below Taurus crouched submissive at his feet. As he advanced southward, his authority was called in to settle a quarrel between two brothers of that Royal Family which had inherited the Jewish sceptre and high priesthood from the brave Maccabees. Aristobulus was the reigning King of Judæa, but his title was disputed by his brother Hyrcanus. It was the latter who applied for aid to the Roman General. Pompey, a true Roman, at once accepted the appeal. But the Jews, attached to the reigning prince, refused obedience; and Pompey was obliged to undertake the siege of Jerusalem, either late in the year 64 B.C. or early in the following year, after Cicero had entered upon his memorable Consulship. For three months the Jews defended themselves with their wonted obstinacy; but their submission was enforced by famine, and Pompey entered the Holy City. Pillage he forbade; but excited by the curiosity which even then the spiritual worship of Jehovah created in the minds of Roman Idolaters, he entered the sacred precincts of the Temple, and ventured even to intrude into the Holy of Holies, behind that solemn veil which had hitherto been lifted but once a year, and that by the High Priest alone. We know little of the impression produced upon Pompey's mind by finding the inmost shrine untenanted by any object of worship. But it is interesting to

compare the irreverent curiosity of the Roman with the conduct attributed to the Great Alexander upon a similar occasion. Hyrcanus was established in the sovereignty, on condition of paying a tribute to Rome: Aristobulus followed the conqueror as his prisoner.

§ 16. Aretas, King of the Nabathæan Arabs, also defied the arms of Pompey; and the conqueror was preparing to enter the rocky deserts of Idumæa, so as to penetrate to the capital of Petra, when he received news which suddenly recalled him to Asia Minor. Mithridates was no more. The vast designs which the King had been forming to unite all the barbarous Tribes of Eastern Europe against Rome so excited the alarm of his remaining subjects, that his son Pharnaces found it an easy task to raise them to insurrection; and the old monarch, rendered desperate by seeing his last hopes baulked, had, while Pompey was yet before Jerusalem, terminated his own life by poison at Panticapæum (Kertch) in the Crimea. Pompey, calling his soldiers before his tribunal, read the letters of Pharnaces announcing his father's death and his own submission to the sovereignty of Rome. Every one felt that the Pontic War, which had been sustained by the abilities and energy of Mithridates alone, was now at an end; and every one breathed more freely. Pompey hastened to Sinopé, to which place the body of the old King had been sent by his son. It was honoured with a royal funeral, and placed in the sepulchre of his fathers.

§ 17. The remainder of the year 63 B.C. was spent in Asia by the General in issuing ordinances for the regulation of the newly-acquired Provinces of Bithynia, Pontus, and Syria, and in settling the limits of the kingdoms which he allowed to remain under Roman protection on the frontiers of these Provinces. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, was left in the possession of the Crimea and its adjacent dependencies; Deïotarus, chief of Galatia, received an increase of territory; Ariobarzanes was restored for the fourth time to the principality of Cappadocia. All this was done by Pompey's sole authority, without any orders or advice from the Senate.

The long-delayed triumphs of Lucullus and Metellus Creticus took place in this year, but were obscured by the brilliant news

received from the great commander who had succeeded them. Early in 62 B.C. he left Asia, and proceeded slowly in a sort of royal progress through Macedonia and Greece, — so slowly, that he did not arrive in Italy till the very close of the year; on the 1st of January 61 B.C., he had not yet appeared before the walls of Rome to claim his Triumph. He had been absent from Italy for about six years. His intentions were known to none. But the power given him by the devotion of his soldiers was absolute; and the Senatorial Chiefs who had opposed his appointment might well feel anxiety till he disclosed his will. But before we speak of his arrival in Rome, it will be necessary to relate the important political events that had occurred during his absence.

CHAPTER LXIV.

FROM THE CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS TO THE RETURN OF POMPEY FROM THE EAST: CÆSAR: CICERO: CATILINE. (69—61 B.C.)

§ 1. Youth and life of Cæsar up to 67 B.C. § 2. His Quæstorship and Ædileship: acknowledged as leader of the Marian Party. § 3. Discontent with government of Senate among (1) families of Proscribed, (2) soldiers of Sylla, (3) profligate young Nobles. § 4. Catiline: his previous life: accused by P. Clodius, and prevented standing for Consulship. § 5. First plot of Catiline: Cicero's offer to defend him. § 6. Cæsar impeaches two persons for acting under Sylla's Proscription-law. § 7. Election of Cicero and C. Antonius to Consulship, Catiline being rejected. § 8. Cicero's Consulship: he takes part with Senate: speaks against Agrarian Law of Rullus. § 9. Impeachment of Rabirius for taking up arms against Saturninus. § 10. Cicero opposes the restoration of the Sons of the Proscribed. § 11. Election of Cæsar to Chief Pontificate. § 12. Catiline's plans betrayed to Cicero: Consuls invested with dictatorial power: Catiline again loses the Consulship: Cicero's First Speech: Catiline leaves Rome: Second Speech. § 13. Allobrogian Envoys seized. § 14. Arrest of Conspirators left at Rome: Cicero's Third Speech. § 15. Debate in Senate on punishment of prisoners: Cicero's Fourth Speech: they are put to death. § 16. Cicero defends Murena, Consul-elect. § 17. Catiline defeated and slain early in next year. § 18. Discussion as to complicity of Crassus and Cæsar in Catiline's conspiracy.

§ 1. Though the restoration of the Tribunate and the withdrawal of the Judicial power from the Senate had given a rude shock to the Senatorial Aristocracy of Sylla, that body still remained masters of Rome. But slowly and in obscurity the old Marian party was resuming vitality. When Catulus dedicated the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, restored from the conflagration that had consumed it in the Civil War,[a] he little dreamed that a chief was growing up who was destined not only to restore life to the opposite party, but to become absolute master of the Roman world, and to be acknowledged as the greatest man whom Rome produced.

C. Julius Cæsar was born of an old Patrician family in the

[a] Chapt. lx. § 13.

year 100 B.C. He was therefore six years younger than Pompey and Cicero. His father, C. Cæsar, did not live to reach the Consulship. His uncle Sextus held that high dignity in 91 B.C., just before the outbreak of the Social War. That L. Cæsar who held command in the first year of that war (90 B.C.), and was author of the famous Julian Law for enfranchising the Allies, was a more distant kinsman, who adhered to the aristocratical party and fell a victim in the Marian massacre. But the connexion on which the young Patrician most prided himself was the marriage of his aunt Julia with the famous C. Marius; and at the early age of seventeen he declared his adhesion to the popular party by espousing Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, who was at that time absolute master of Rome.[b] On the return of Sylla, as has been related, he boldly refused to repudiate this wife, and only saved his life by skulking in the Apennines. But at length his aristocratic friends induced the Dictator to pardon him. Sylla gave way against his own judgment, and told the Nobles to whom he bequeathed authority to "beware of that dissolute boy."[c] His first military service was performed under the Prætor L. Minucius Thermus, who was left by Sylla to take Mitylené; and in the siege of that place he won a civic crown for saving the life of a Roman citizen. On the death of Sylla he returned to Rome, and, after the custom of ambitious young Romans, though he was but in his twenty-third year, he indicted Cn. Dolabella, a partisan of Sylla, for extortion in his province of Macedonia. The Senatorial Jury acquitted Dolabella as a matter of course; but the credit gained by the young Orator was great; and he went to Rhodes to study rhetoric under Molo, in whose school Cicero had lately been taking lessons. It was on his way to Rhodes that he fell into the hands of Cilician pirates. Redeemed by a heavy ransom, he collected some ships at Miletus, attacked his captors, took the greater part of them prisoners, and crucified them at Pergamus, according to a threat which he had often made while he had been their prisoner. About the year 74 B.C. he heard that he had been chosen as one of the Pon-

[b] Yet he had already been married before to Cossutia, a rich heiress. He divorced her to marry Cornelia.

[c] Dio C. xliii. 43, etc.

tifices, to succeed his uncle C. Aurelius Cotta, and he instantly returned to Rome, where he remained for some years, leading apparently a life of pleasure, taking little outward part in politics, but yet, by his winning manners and open-handed generosity, laying in a large store of popularity. Many writers attribute to him a secret agency in most of the events of the time. The early attachment which he showed to the Marian party, and his bold defiance of Sylla's orders, prove that he was quite willing and able to act against the Senatorial Oligarchy whenever opportunity might offer. But we have no positive evidence on the matter, further than that it was his uncle C. Cotta, who in 75 B.C. proposed to restore to the Tribunes some portion of the dignity they had lost by the Syllan Legislation, and that it was another uncle, L. Cotta, who was author of the celebrated Law (70 B.C.) for reorganising the Juries.

§ 2. After his Consulship, as we have seen, Pompey had remained for two years in dignified ease at Rome, envied by Crassus, and reposing on the popularity he had won. In 67 B.C. he left the City to take the command against the Pirates. In that year Cæsar, being now in his thirty-third year, was elected Quæstor, and signalised his year of office by an elaborate panegyric over the body of his aunt Julia, the widow of Marius. His wife Cornelia died in the same year, and gave occasion to another funeral harangue. In both of these speeches the political allusions were evident; and he ventured to have the bust of Marius carried in procession among his family images for the first time since the terrible Dictatorship of Sylla. In 65 B.C. he was elected Curule Ædile, and increased his popularity by exhibiting three hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators, and conducting all the games on a scale of unusual magnificence. The expense of these exhibitions was in great measure borne by his colleague M. Bibulus, who naïvely complained that Cæsar had all the credit of the shows,—"just as the temple of the Dioscuri, though belonging both to Castor and Pollux, bore the name of Castor only." But he did not confine himself to winning applause by theatrical spectacles. As Curator of the Appian Way he expended a large sum from his own resources. The Cimbrian trophies of Marius had been thrown down by Sylla, and no public remembrance existed of the ser-

vices rendered to Rome by her greatest soldier. The popular Ædile ordered the images and trophies, with suitable inscriptions, to be secretly restored; and in one night he contrived to have them set up upon the Capitol, so that at daybreak men were astonished by the unaccustomed sight. Old soldiers who had served with Marius shed tears. All the party opposed to Sylla and the Senate took heart at this boldness, and recognised their chief. So important was the matter deemed, that it was brought before the Senate, and Catulus accused Cæsar of openly assaulting the Constitution. But nothing was done or could be done, to check his movements. In all things he kept cautiously within the Law.

§ 3. The year of his Ædileship was marked by the appearance of a man destined to an infamous notoriety,—L. Sergius Catilina, familiar to all under the name of Catiline.

For some time after the death of Sylla, the weariness and desire of repose which always follows violent revolutionary movements had disposed all ranks of society to acquiesce in the Senatorial rule established by the Dictator. But more than one class of men soon found themselves ill at ease, and the elements of trouble again began to move freely. All the families proscribed by Sylla, remembering their sometime wealth and consequence, cherished the thoughts that by a new revolution they might recover what they had lost; and the enthusiasm displayed when by the happy temerity of Cæsar the trophies of Marius were restored, revealed to the Senate both the number and the increasing boldness of their political enemies. But besides these avowed enemies there were a vast number of persons, formerly attached to Sylla, who shared the discontent of the Marian party. The Dictator paid the services of his instruments, but he left all real power in the hands of a few great families. His own creatures were allowed to amass money, but remained without political power. Pompey and Crassus, who rose independently of him, and almost in despite of his will, belonged to families so distinguished that in any state of things they might have reached the Consulate. But the upstarts who enjoyed a transient greatness while Sylla was Dictator found themselves rapidly reduced to obscurity. With the recklessness of men who had become suddenly rich, they had for the most part squandered their

fortunes. Neither money nor power was theirs. These men were for the most part soldiers, and ready for any violence which might restore their wealth and their importance. They only wanted chiefs. These chiefs they found among the spendthrift and profligate members of noble families, who like themselves had enjoyed the licence of the revolutionary times now gone by, and like themselves were excluded from the councils of the respectable though narrow-minded men who composed the Senate and administered the government. These were the young Nobles, effeminate and debauched, reckless of blood, of whom Cicero often speaks with horror.[d]

§ 4. Of these adventurers Catiline was by far the most remarkable. He belonged to an old Patrician Gens, and had distinguished himself both by valour and cruelty in the late Civil War. He is said to have murdered his own brother, and to have secured impunity by getting the name of his victim placed on the proscribed lists. The ready zeal with which he delivered up Marius Gratidianus to a death of torture has been already noticed.[e] A beautiful and profligate lady, by name Aurelia Orestilla, refused his proffered hand because he had a grown-up son by a former marriage; and this son speedily ceased to live. Notwithstanding these and other crimes, real or imputed, the personal qualities of Catiline gave him great ascendancy over the people at large, and especially over the young Nobles, who lacked money, and who were jealous of the few great families that now, as before the times of the Gracchi, had absorbed all political power. His strength and activity were such, that, notwithstanding his debaucheries, he was superior to the soldiers at their own exercises, and could encounter skilled gladiators with their own weapons. His manners were open and genial, and he was never known to desert friends. By qualities so nearly resembling virtues, it is not strange that he deceived many, and obtained mastery over more. In 68 B.C. he was elected Prætor, and in the following year became Governor of the Province of Africa. Here he spent two years in the practice of every crime that is imputed to Roman

d "Libidinosa et delicata juventus," *ad Att.* i. 19, 8: "sanguinaria juventus," *ib.* ii. 7, 3.

e Chapt. lxi. § 1.

Provincial rulers. During the year of Cæsar's Ædileship, Catiline was accused by no less a person than the profligate P. Clodius Pulcher, who cared not how or at whose expense he gained distinction. Catiline had intended in that year to offer himself Candidate for the Consulship. But while this accusation was pending, the law forbade him to come forward; and this obstacle so irritated him that he took advantage of a critical juncture of circumstances to plan a new Revolution.

§ 5. The Senatorial Chiefs, in their wish to restore at least an outward show of decency, had countenanced the introduction of a very severe Law to prevent Bribery by L. Calpurnius Piso, Consul for the year 67 B.C. Under this law P. Cornelius Sulla and P. Autronius Pætus, Consuls-elect for 65 B.C., were indicted and found guilty. Their election was declared void. L. Aurelius Cotta and L. Manlius Torquatus, their accusers, were nominated by the Senate Consuls in their stead, without the formality of a new election. Catiline found Autronius ready for any violence; and these two entered into a conspiracy with another profligate young Nobleman, by name Cn. Piso, to murder the new Consuls on the Calends of January,—the day on which they entered upon office,—and to seize the supreme authority for themselves. The scheme is said to have failed only because Catiline gave the signal of attack before the armed assassins had assembled in sufficient numbers to begin their work.

That this attempt was either not generally known or not generally believed is indicated by the fact that Cn. Piso was intrusted by the Senate with the government of Spain. Hardly had he arrived when he was murdered by the Spanish horsemen in attendance upon his person, men who had formerly served under Pompey in the Sertorian War. But who were the instigators, and what the causes, of this dark deed were things never known.

Catiline was acquitted on his trial, no doubt by the intentional misconduct[f] of the case by Clodius. We are astonished to find the Consul Torquatus appear as his Advocate, and to read a private letter of Cicero, in which the Orator expressed

[f] *Prævaricatio*, as the Romans called it.

his willingness to undertake the same disreputable office.[g] The reason which he gives himself for this assent is that in the next year he was to be Candidate for the Consulship: if Catiline were acquitted, he also would be a competitor; and it would be better to have him as a friend than as an enemy. This alone speaks loudly for the influence of Catiline; for at the same time Cicero privately asserts his conviction that his guilt was clear as noonday.[h]

§ 6. In the next year (64 B.C.) Cæsar made another movement in advance against the Syllan party, by bringing to trial two obscure men who had slain persons under the authority of Sylla's Law of Proscription. They were found guilty and condemned. One of them, L. Bellienus, was an uncle of Catiline. On this hint, L. Lucceius brought Catiline himself to trial for the same offence. He was acquitted, probably by the exercise of influence which the obscure persons assailed by Cæsar were unable to procure. But the condemnation of any person for obeying the ordinances of Sylla was a notable encroachment on the authority of his constitutional regulations; and the success which attended this step showed the discretion and judgment of Cæsar in the conduct of political warfare.

§ 7. Catiline was now free to offer himself for the Consulship. There was every reason to fear his success. Five of the six Candidates who opposed him were men of little note, and many of them men of indifferent character. The sixth was Cicero, whose obscure birth was a strong objection against him in the eyes of the Senatorial Nobility. But they had no choice. C. Antonius, brother of M. Antonius Creticus and younger son of the great Orator, was considered sure of his election; and he was inclined to form a coalition with Catiline. Cicero was supported by the Equites, by the friends of Pompey whom he had so well served by his speech for the Manilian Law, and by a number of persons whom he had obliged by his services

[g] "Hoc tempore Catilinam, competitorem nostrum, defendere *cogitabamus* . . . Spero si absolutus erit, conjunctiorem illum fore in ratione petitionis; sin aliter acciderit, humaniter feremus."—*Ad Att.* i. 2, 3. The use of the imperfect *cogitabamus* indicates that Cicero's advocacy was either not really offered or not accepted.

[h] "Catilina, si judicatum erit meridie non lucere, certus erit competitor."—*Ad Att.* i. 1, 2.

as Advocate. What part he had hitherto taken in politics had been decidedly in opposition to the Senate. In early youth he had distinguished himself by a daring attack upon Sylla's proscriptions.[i] As Ædile-elect he had strengthened the hands of Pompey in his assault on the Senatorial Courts by his bold and uncompromising accusation of Verres. Lastly, he had given offence to Catulus and the leaders of the Senate by his eloquent support of the Manilian Law. But necessity knows no rule; and to keep out Catiline, whom they feared and hated, the Senatorial Chiefs resolved to support Cicero, whom they disliked and despised. The Orator himself showed his usual activity. Publicly he inveighed against the coalition of Antonius and Catiline;[k] privately he made advances to Antonius. His personal popularity and the support of the Aristocracy placed him at the head of the poll. Antonius was returned as his colleague, though he headed Catiline by the votes of very few Centuries.

§ 8. We now come to the memorable year of Cicero's Consulship, 63 B.C. It was generally believed that Catiline's second disappointment in suing for the chief object of a Roman's ambition would drive him to a second conspiracy. Immediately after his election, Cicero at once attached himself to the Senate and justified their choice. To detach Antonius from connexion with Catiline, he voluntarily ceded to him the lucrative Province of Macedonia, which he had obtained by lot.[l] But Catiline's measures were conducted with so much secrecy that for several months no clue was obtained to his designs.

Meantime Cicero had other difficulties to meet. Among the Tribunes of the year were two persons attached to Cæsar's party, Q. Servilius Rullus and T. Atius Labienus. The Tribunes entered upon their office nearly a month before the Consuls; and in these few days Rullus had come forward with an Agrarian Law, by which it was proposed to revive the measure of Cinna, and divide the rich public lands of Campania among the poor citizens of the Tribes.[m] Cicero's devotion to

[i] Chapt. lxi. § 17.

[k] In his *Oratio in togâ candidâ*, of which only a few fragments are preserved by the commentary of Asconius. See Orelli's edition, ii. p. 521.

[l] Cicero, *pro Pisone* 2, says Gaul. [m] Chapt. lx. § 7.

his new political friends was shown by the ready alacrity with which he opposed this popular measure. On the Calends of January, the very day upon which he entered office, he delivered a vehement harangue in the Senate against the measure, which he followed up by elaborate speeches in the Forum.[n] He pleased himself by thinking that it was in consequence of these efforts that Rullus withdrew his bill. But it is probable that Cæsar, the real author of the law, cared little for its present success. In bringing it forward he secured favour for himself. In forcing Cicero to take part against it, he deprived the eloquent orator of a large portion of his hard-won popularity.

§ 9. Soon after this Cæsar employed the services of T. Labienus to follow up the blow which in the preceding year he had struck against the Proscription of Sylla by an assault upon the arbitrary power assumed by the Senate in dangerous emergencies. It will be remembered that in the sixth Consulship of Marius the revolutionary enterprise of the Tribune Saturninus had been put down by resorting to the arbitrary power just noticed. Labienus, whose uncle had perished by the side of Saturninus, now indicted C. Rabirius, an aged Senator, for having slain the Tribune. It was well known that the actual perpetrator of the deed was a slave named Scæva, who had been publicly rewarded for his services. But Rabirius had certainly been in the midst of the assailants, and it was easy to accuse him of complicity. The actual charge brought against him was that he was guilty of High Treason (*perduellio*); and if he were found guilty, it would follow that all persons who hereafter obeyed the Senate in taking up arms against seditious persons would be liable to a similar charge. The cause was tried before the Duumviri, one of whom was L. Cæsar, Consul of the preceding year; the other was C. Cæsar himself. Hortensius and Cicero defended the old Senator. It would seem almost impossible for Cæsar to condemn an act which was justified by the authority of Marius himself, who had been obliged to lead the assault upon the Tribune's party. But Cæsar's object was wholly political, and he was not troubled by scruples. The Duumviri found Rabirius guilty.

[n] Fragments of three speeches *De Lege Agrariâ* remain. See Orelli's edition, ii. p. 527, *sqq.*

From this judgment the old Senator appealed to the popular Assembly. Cicero again came forward, in his Consular robes, to defend him. He was only allowed half-an-hour for his speech; but the defence which he condensed into that narrow space was unanswerable, and must have obtained a verdict for his client, if it had been addressed to a calm audience. The People, however, were eager to humiliate the Senatorial government, and were ready to vote, not according to the justice of the case, but according to their present political passion. In vain the Senators descended into the Assembly and implored for a vote of acquittal. Rabirius would certainly have been condemned, had not Q. Metellus Celer, Prætor of the City, taken down the standard which from ancient times floated from the Janiculum during the sitting of the Comitia.[o] But Cæsar's purpose was effectually answered. The governing body had been humbled, and their right to place seditious persons under a sentence of outlawry had been called in question. We may almost suppose that Cæsar himself suggested to Metellus the mode of stopping the trial; for he was never inclined to shed blood and oppress the innocent, unless when he deemed it necessary for his political ends.

About the same time Cæsar promoted an accusation against C. Calpurnius Piso for malversation in his government of Gallia Narbonensis. Piso, when Consul, had led the opposition to the Gabinian Law. He was acquitted on the present charge, and became one of Cæsar's most determined enemies.[p]

§ 10. Cicero lost still more favour by the successful opposition which he offered to an attempt to restore to their political rights the sons of those who had been on the proscribed lists of Sylla. In this he well served the purpose of the Senate by excluding from the Comitia their mortal enemies; but he incurred many personal enmities, and he advocated a sentence

[o] A custom probably derived from the times when the Etruscans were foes of Rome. The removal of the standard was, in those times, a signal of the enemy's approach, and on this signal the Comitia Centuriata became an army ready for battle. The form remained, though the reason had long passed away.

[p] This C. Piso, the aristocrat, must be carefully distinguished from Cn. Piso the dissolute associate of Catiline (see § 5), and from L. Piso the enemy of Cicero and father-in-law of Cæsar. Several other Pisos occur in this period, and their identity of name leads to some confusion.

which was manifestly unjust and could be justified only by necessity. In return for these services he induced his new friends to second him in some measures of practical reform. He procured a Law against Bribery still more stringent than the Calpurnian Law of 67 B.C. At his instance the Senate gave up the privilege by which every Senator was entitled to free quarters in any city of the Empire, on pretence that they were engaged in the service of the State.[q]

§ 11. About this time the age and infirmities of Metellus Pius made probable a vacancy in the high office of Pontifex Maximus; and Labienus introduced a Law by which the right of election to this office was restored to the Tribes, according to the rule observed before Sylla's Revolution.[r] Very soon after, Metellus died, and Cæsar offered himself as a candidate for this high office. Catulus, Chief of the Senate and the respectable leader of the governing party, also came forward, as well as P. Servilius Isauricus. Cæsar had been one of the Pontiffs from early youth: but he was known to be unscrupulous in his pleasures as in his politics, overwhelmed with debt, careless of religion. His election, however, was a trial of political strength merely. It was considered so certain, that Catulus attempted to take advantage of the heavy debts which embarrassed him by offering him a large sum if he would retire from the contest. Cæsar peremptorily refused, saying that if more money were necessary for his purposes, he would borrow more. He probably anticipated that the Senate would use force to oppose him; for on the morning of the election he parted from his mother Aurelia with the words, "I shall return as Pontifex Maximus, or you will see me no more." His success was triumphant. Even in the Tribes to which his opponents belonged he obtained more votes than they counted altogether. No fact can more strongly prove the strength which the popular party had regained under his adroit but unseen management. It is worth noting that in this year, when he first appeared as master of the Forum, was born his sister's son, M. Octavius, who reaped the fruit of all his ambitious endeavours.

§ 12. The year was now fast waning, and nothing was known

[q] The so-called *Liberae Legationes.* [r] See Chapt. lxi. § 14.

to the public of any attempts on the part of Catiline. That dark and enterprising person had offered himself again as Candidate for the Consulship, and he was anxious to keep all quiet till the result was known. But Cicero had become acquainted with a woman named Fulvia, mistress to Curius, one of Catiline's confidential friends, and by her means he obtained immediate knowledge of all the designs of the conspirators. At length he considered them so far advanced, that on the 21st of October he convened the Senate and laid all his information before them. So convinced were they of the danger, that on the next day a Decree was framed to invest the Consuls with Dictatorial power, to be used at their discretion. At present, however, this Decree was kept secret.

Soon after, the Consular Comitia were held, and the election of the Centuries fell on D. Junius Silanus and L. Licinius Murena, both of them adherents of the Senatorial party. Catiline, disappointed of his last hopes of election, convened his friends at the house of M. Porcius Læca, on the nights of the 6th and 7th of November;[1] and at this meeting it was determined to proceed to action. C. Mallius, an old Centurion, who had been employed in levying troops secretly in Etruria, was sent to Fæsulæ as head-quarters, and ordered to prepare for war; Catiline and the rest of his associates were to organise revolutionary movements within the City.

Cicero was immediately informed of these resolutions through Fulvia, and resolved to dally no longer with the peril. He summoned the Senate to meet on the 8th of November in the Temple of Jupiter Stator. Catiline, himself a Senator, with marvellous effrontery, appeared in his place; but every Senator quitted the bench on which he took his seat and left him alone. Cicero now rose and delivered that famous speech which is entitled his First Oration against Catiline. The conspirator attempted to reply; but a general shout of execration drowned his voice. Unable to obtain a hearing, he left the Senate-house;

[1] Our Jan. 11th, 62 B.C. In this and all following dates correction must be made to obtain the real time. The Roman 1st of January of this year would be by our reckoning the 14th of March. It must be observed also that the Romans reckoned the *night* as belonging to the *following* day. What we call the night of the 6th of November would be with them the night of the 7th.

and, perceiving that his life was in danger if he remained at Rome, he summoned his associates together, and handed over the execution of his designs at home to M. Lentulus Sura, Prætor of the City, and C. Cethegus, while on that same night he himself left Rome to join Mallius at Fæsulæ. On the following morning Cicero assembled the People in the Forum, and there in his Second Speech he told them of the flight of Catiline and explained its cause.

§ 13. The Senate now made a second Decree, in which Catiline and Mallius were proclaimed Public Enemies; and the Consul Antonius was directed to take the command of an army destined to act against him, while to Cicero was committed the care of the City. Cicero was at a loss how to act; for he was not able to bring forward Fulvia as a witness, and after the late proceedings against Rabirius he was obliged to be very cautious in resorting to the use of Dictatorial power. But at this moment he obtained full and direct proof of the intentions of the conspirators. There were then present at Rome ambassadors from the Allobroges, whose business it was to solicit relief from the oppression of their governors and from the debts which they had incurred to the Roman Treasury. The Senate heard them coldly, and Lentulus took advantage of their discontent to make overtures to them in hope of obtaining military aid from their countrymen against the Senatorial leaders. At first they lent a ready ear to his offers, but thought it prudent to disclose these offers to Q. Fabius Sanga, whose family had long been engaged to protect their interests at Rome.[1] Fabius at once communicated with Cicero. By the Consul's directions, the Allobrogian Envoys continued their intrigue with Lentulus, and demanded written orders, signed by himself, Cethegus, and others of the chief conspirators, to serve as credentials to their nation. Bearing these fatal documents, they set out from Rome on the evening of the 3rd of December (5th of Feb. 62 B.C.), accompanied by one T. Vulturcius, who carried letters from Lentulus to Catiline himself. Cicero, kept in full information of every fact, ordered the Prætors, L. Flaccus and C. Pomptinus, to take post with a sufficient force upon the Mulvian

[1] They had been conquered by Q. Fabius Maximus, nephew of Scipio Æmilianus. See Chapt. liv. § 6.

Bridge. Here the Envoys were quietly arrested, together with Vulturcius, and all their papers were seized.

§ 14. Early next morning, Cicero sent for Lentulus, Cethegus, and the others who had signed the Allobrogian credentials, to his house. Utterly ignorant of what had passed, they came; and the Consul, holding the Prætor Lentulus by the hand, and followed by the rest, went straight to the Temple of Concord, where he had summoned the Senate to meet. Vulturcius and the Allobrogian Envoys were now brought in, and the Prætor Flaccus produced the papers which he had seized. The evidence was so clearly brought to a point, that the Conspirators at once confessed their hand-writing; and the Senate decreed, that Lentulus should be deprived of his Prætorship, and that he with his accomplices should be put into the hands of eminent Senators, who were to be answerable for their persons. Lentulus fell to the charge of P. Lentulus Spinther, who was then Ædile, Cethegus to that of Q. Cornificius, Statilius to Cæsar, Gabinius to Crassus, Cæparius to Cn. Terentius. Immediately after the execution of this Decree, Cicero went forth into the Forum, and in his Third Speech detailed to the assembled People all the circumstances which had been discovered. Not only had two Knights been commissioned by Cethegus to kill Cicero in his chamber, a fate which the Consul eluded by refusing them admission, but it had been resolved to set the City on fire in twelve places at once, as soon as it was known that Catiline and Mallius were ready to advance at the head of an armed force. Lentulus, who belonged to the great Cornelian Gens, had been buoyed up by a Sibylline prophecy, which promised the dominion over Rome to "three Cs:" he was to be the third Cornelius after Cornelius Cinna and Cornelius Sylla. But it was to his sluggish remissness that the fiery Cethegus attributed their ignominious failure; and it is probable that if the chief conduct of the business had been left to this desperate man,[u] some attempt at a rising would have been made.

The certainty of danger and the feeling of escape filled all hearts with indignation against the Catilinarian gang; and

[u] "Manus vesana Cethegi," Lucan, ii. 543; comp. Cic. *in Catil.* iv. 6.

for a moment Cicero and the Senate rose to the height of popularity.

§ 15. Two days after (Dec. 5=Feb. 7, 62 B.C.), the Senate was once more summoned to decide the fate of the captive conspirators. Silanus, as Consul-elect, was first asked his opinion, and he gave it in favour of Death. Ti. Nero moved that the question should be adjourned till the contest with Catiline in the field was brought to an end. Cæsar, who was then Prætor-elect, spoke against capital punishment altogether, and proposed that the prisoners should be condemned to perpetual chains in various cities of Italy,—taking care incidentally to moot the question lately raised in the case of Rabirius as to the power of the Senate to inflict the penalty of death. His speech produced such an effect, that even Silanus declared his intention to accede to Nero's motion. But Cicero himself, and Cato, delivered vehement arguments in favour of extreme punishment, and the majority voted with them. Immediately after the vote, the Consul, with a strong guard, conveyed the prisoners to the loathsome dungeon called the Tullianum, and here they were strangled by the public executioners.

It is difficult to see how the State could have been imperilled by suffering the culprits to live,—at least till they had been allowed the chances of a regular trial. If Rabirius was held guilty for taking part in putting Saturninus to death,—a man who was actually in arms against the government, what had Cicero to expect from those who were ready to deliver this verdict? It was not long before he had cause to rue his overzealous haste. But, at present, a panic fear pervaded all classes. No one knew what danger threatened and who might be the sufferers. At the moment, the popular voice ratified the judgment of Cato, when he proclaimed Cicero to have justly deserved the title of "Father of his Country."

§ 16. Before the close of the Consular year, the Consul-elect Murena was indicted by C. Sulpicius, one of his competitors, for Bribery. The accusation was supported by Cato. Hortensius and Cicero undertook the defence. Cicero's speech is extant: and the buoyant spirits with which he assails first the legal pedantry of Sulpicius and then the impracticable Stoicism of Cato, show how highly he was elated by his late successful manage-

ment in crushing the conspiracy at home. There can be no doubt that Murena was guilty. The only argument of any force used in his defence by Cicero was his statement of the danger of leaving the State with but one Consul when Catiline was at the head of an army in the field. And this argument probably it was that procured the acquittal of the Consul-elect.

§ 17. The sequel may be briefly related. Before the execution of his accomplices, Catiline was at the head of two complete Legions, consisting chiefly of Sylla's veterans. But servile insurrections in Apulia and other places, on which Catiline counted, were promptly repressed: his own small army was very imperfectly armed; and their leader avoided a conflict with Antonius, who was continued in command as Proconsul. When the failure of the plot at home reached the insurgents, many deserted; and Catiline endeavoured to make good his retreat by Pistoja into Cisalpine Gaul. But the passes were already beset by the Proprætor Metellus Celer; the Consul Antonius was close behind; and it became necessary either to fight or surrender. Catiline and his desperadoes chose the braver course. His small army was drawn up with skill. Antonius, mindful of former intimacy with Catiline, alleged illness as a plea for giving up the command of his troops to M. Petreius, a skilful soldier. A short but desperate conflict followed. Mallius and his best officers fell fighting bravely. Catiline, after doing the duties of a good general and a brave soldier, saw that the day was lost, and rushing into the thick of battle fell with many wounds. He was taken up, still breathing, with a menacing frown stamped upon his brow. None were taken prisoners; all who died had their wounds in front.

§ 18. It is impossible to part from this strange history without adding a word with respect to the part taken by Cæsar and Crassus. Both these eminent persons were supposed to have been more or less privy to Catiline's designs. If the first conspiracy attributed to Catiline had succeeded, we are told that the assassins of the Consuls had intended to declare Crassus Dictator, and that Cæsar was to be Master of the Horse. Suetonius, in his love for improbable gossip, goes so far as to make Cæsar a principal actor in that first conspiracy; and many

Senators believed, or determined to believe, that he at least, if not Crassus, was guilty.

Nothing seems more improbable than that Crassus should have countenanced a plan which involved the destruction of the City, and which must have been followed by the ruin of credit. He had constantly employed the large fortune which he had amassed in the Syllan Proscription for the purposes of speculation and jobbing. One profitable branch of the latter business was to buy up promising youths, give them a first-rate education in music or any art to which they showed an aptitude, and then sell them at enormous prices. Speculations of this sort could only succeed in a state of political security. To a money-lender, speculator, and jobber, a violent Revolution, attended by destruction of property and promising abolition of debts, would be of all things the least desirable. Crassus was not without ambition, but he never gratified the lust of power at the expense of his purse.

The case against Cæsar bears at first sight more likelihood. Sallust represents Cato as hinting that Cæsar's wish to spare the conspirators arose from his complicity with them. As that unflinching politician was speaking in the debate on the punishment of the Conspirators, a note was privately put into Cæsar's hand. Cato stopped, and demanded that the note should be read aloud. Cæsar handed it to his accuser; it was a billet-doux from Servilia, the sister of Cato himself and wife of Silanus. "Take it, drunkard," retorted the disappointed speaker. This first attack, then, had signally failed. But in the next year (62 B.C.), after Cæsar had entered upon his Prætorship, accusations were brought against several persons who were doubtless guilty. Among them Autronius, the accomplice of Catiline in his first conspiracy, earnestly implored Cicero to be his advocate. The orator refused, and Autronius was condemned. But, immediately after this, the world was scandalised to see the Orator undertake the defence of P. Sylla, who had been the colleague of Autronius, when both were ejected from the Consulship,—more especially when it was whispered that he had received a large sum for his services. The speech remains, and a comparison of this pleading with his Catilinarian speeches shows

that the latitude which Cicero allowed himself as an Advocate was little compatible with his new character of a political leader. Notwithstanding the failure of the indictment against P. Sylla, the success which had lately attended their political efforts encouraged some of the Senatorial Chiefs to raise a formal accusation against Cæsar. A person called Vettius, already employed by Cicero as a spy, had made a gainful trade of his informations, and he offered to produce a letter from Cæsar to Catiline, which would prove his guilt. Curius also came forward with similar assertions. Cicero and the more prudent of the Senators wished at once to quash these tales. But Cæsar would not be content with this, and in full Senate he called on the Ex-consul to state what he knew of the matter. Cicero rose, and in the most explicit manner declared that so far from Cæsar being implicated in the plot, he had done all that could be expected from a good citizen to assist in crushing it. The People, having learnt what was the question before the Senate, crowded to the doors of the House and demanded Cæsar's safety. His appearance assured them, and he was welcomed with loud applause. It was only by his interference that Vettius was saved from being torn in pieces. Curius was punished by the loss of the reward which had been promised for his information.

In truth, of evidence to prove Cæsar's complicity with Catiline, there was really none; and the further the case is examined, the less appears to be the probability of such complicity. The course he had pursued for the purpose of undermining the power of the Senatorial Aristocracy was perfectly consistent, and had been so successful hitherto, that he was little likely to abandon it at this precise moment for a scheme of reckless ruin and violence, from which others would reap the chief advantage. Even if Catiline had succeeded, he must have been crushed almost immediately by Pompey, who was preparing to return to Italy at the head of his victorious Legions. The desire of Cæsar to save the lives of Lentulus, Cethegus, and the rest, is at once explained, when we remember that he had just before promoted the prosecution of Rabirius for obeying an order of the very kind against which he now argued. As the leader of the party of the Gracchi, of Saturninus, and of Marius, it was his cue always and everywhere to protest against the absolute power assumed

by the Senate in such emergencies, as unconstitutional and illegal. It is possible that he may have suspected the designs of Catiline; and at an earlier period he may have been sounded by that reckless person, as a well-known opponent of the Senate. But without claiming for Cæsar any credit for principle or scrupulosity, we may safely conclude that it was utterly inexpedient for him to have any dealings with Catiline; and we may be sure that he was the last man to be misled into a rash enterprise which was not expedient for himself.

CHAPTER LXV.

POMPEY'S RETURN: FIRST TRIUMVIRATE: CÆSAR'S CONSULSHIP: CLODIUS. (62—58 B.C.)

§ 1. Cicero's vanity: coldness of Pompey: Metellus Nepos, Tribune, attacks Cicero. § 2. Cæsar departs for Spain: Return of Pompey, his caution: Crassus lauds Cicero. § 3. Senate offends Pompey, (1) by refusing to confirm his Acts in the East, (2) by thwarting provision proposed for his Veterans. § 4. Cæsar in Spain. § 5. He returns to stand for the Consulship: First Triumvirate. § 6. Cæsar's Law to provide for Pompey's Veterans: opposition of Bibulus and Senate frustrated. § 7. Cæsar's Law to confirm Pompey's Acts. § 8. Another to excuse Equites a hard bargain. § 9. Other Laws. § 10. Vatinian Law, investing Cæsar with government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria for five years: Senate add Province of Transalpine Gaul. § 11. Marriage of Pompey and Julia: Perplexity of Cicero. § 12. Violation of Mysteries of Bona Dea by Clodius: Cicero speaks against him: he is made Plebeian by Cæsar's influence: elected Tribune. § 13. Cicero, threatened by a Bill of Penalties for putting the Catilinarians to death, goes into exile. § 14. Cato: his character: sent to annex Cyprus to the Empire. § 15. Absolute power and democratic measures of Clodius.

§ 1. In the first heat of his triumph, Cicero disclosed the weakness of his character. He was, to speak plainly, full of inordinate vanity, a quality which above all others deprives a man of the social and political influence, which may otherwise be due to his integrity, industry, and ability. The more violent among the Senators who had taken him for their leader in the Catilinarian troubles were offended by his refusal to assail Cæsar; all the order was disgusted by the constant iteration of his merits. An Oligarchy will readily accept the services of men of the people; but they never cordially unite with them, and never forgive a marked assumption of personal superiority. But it was not only the Senate at home that was irritated by hearing Cicero repeat:—"I am the Saviour of Rome; I am the Father of my Country." Pompey was now in Greece, on the eve of returning to Italy, and he had been watching Cicero's rise to political eminence not without jealousy. Me-

tellus Nepos,[a] his Legate, had already returned to Rome with instructions from his Chief, and had been elected Tribune for the next year. Cicero, in the fulness of his heart, wrote Pompey a long account of his Consulate, in which he had the ill address to compare his own triumph over Catiline with Pompey's Eastern Conquests. The General in his reply took no notice of Cicero's actions; and the Orator wrote him a submissive letter, in which he professes his hope of playing Lælius to his great correspondent's Africanus.[b] Meanwhile Metellus Nepos had entered upon his Tribunician office, and made no secret of his disapproval of Cicero's conduct in putting citizens to death without trial. On the Calends of January, when the Ex-consul intended to have delivered an elaborate panegyric on himself and the Senate for their conduct in the late events, the Tribune interdicted him from speaking at all. He could do nothing more than step forward and swear aloud that "he alone had preserved the Republic." The People, not yet recovered from the fear of Catiline and his crew, shouted in answer that he had sworn the truth.

Metellus Nepos followed up this assault by two Bills,—one empowering Pompey to be elected Consul for the second time in his absence; the other investing him with the command in Italy for the purpose of quelling the Insurrection of Catiline. Cæsar supported both these motions; but when Nepos began to read them to the People previous to submitting them to the votes of the Assembly, Cato, who was also one of the Tribunes for the year, snatched the paper from the hand of his colleague and tore it in pieces. Nepos then began to recite his Laws from memory; but another Tribune who was in the interest of the Senate, placed his hand over his mouth. A tumult followed. But popular feeling was at present with those who had so resolutely opposed Catiline. Nepos was obliged to forego his Bills, and for the time the Senate triumphed over the agent of Pompey.

[a] Several Metelli are mixed up with the history of this period. Metellus Nepos was the younger brother of Metellus Celer, who as Prætor was in arms against Catiline in Cisalpine Gaul. They were great-grandsons of Metellus Balearicus, and therefore distant cousins of Metellus Pius. See Chapt. liv. § 3.

[b] *Ad Famil.* v. 7, § 2.

§ 2. On laying down his Prætorship at the close of the year, Cæsar obtained Spain for his Province. His debtors, fearing that he might elude them altogether, threatened to detain him; and in this emergency he applied to Crassus, with whom he had for some time cultivated friendly relations. Crassus, believing in the fortune of Cæsar, advanced the required sums, and the Pro-prætor set out for Spain at the very beginning of the year 61 B.C.

Pompey, after his progress through Greece, had arrived in Italy, but not at Rome. Great apprehensions were felt there; for he was at the head of an army devoted to his person, and therefore his power was not to be doubted; he was as silent on political matters as Monk on the eve of the Restoration, and therefore his intentions were suspected. But all fears and jealousies were dissipated for the moment, when he addressed his soldiers at Brundusium, thanked them for their faithful services, and dismissed them to their respective homes till it was time for them to attend his Triumph. He then set out for Rome, accompanied only by a few friends. Outside the walls he halted, and asked permission from the Senate to enter the City without forfeiting his claim to a Triumph. But what had been excused in Sylla after the act, was not to be allowed by anticipation to Pompey. Cato strenuously opposed the application, and it was refused. This Triumph, the third which he had enjoyed, did not take place till the end of September. It lasted two days, and the sum of money paid into the Treasury exceeded all former experience. After the Triumph he addressed set speeches both to the Senate and to the People, but with so much coldness and caution that no one could form any conclusion with respect to his present sentiments or intentions; in particular, he studiously avoided expressing any clear opinion with respect to the late troubles, and the active part taken by Cicero and the Senate against the Catilinarian conspirators. Crassus, always jealous of Pompey, took advantage of his rival's cautious reserve, to rise in the Senate, and pronounce a panegyric upon Cicero; and this gave the Orator an opportunity of delivering the elaborate speech which he had prepared for the Calends of January. Cicero sat down amid

cheers from all sides of the House. It was probably the happiest moment of his life.[c]

§ 3. The Consuls-elect were L. Afranius, an old and attached officer of Pompey, and Q. Metellus Celer, elder brother of Nepos.[d] The chief officers of state, therefore, seemed likely to be at the beck of the great General. But Afranius proved to be a cypher on the political stage, and Metellus Celer, exasperated because Pompey had just divorced his sister, sided warmly with the Senate. Cæsar was in Further Spain: Crassus, stimulated (as we have said) by ancient jealousy, had shown a disposition to oppose Pompey; and the game, if prudently played, might have been won by the Senatorial leaders. But about this time they lost Catulus, their most respected and most prudent chief; and the blind obstinacy of Metellus Celer, Cato, and others, converted Pompey from his cold neutrality into a warm antagonist.

During his stay in the East after the death of Mithridates, he had formed Provinces and re-distributed Kingdoms by his own judgment, unassisted by the Senatorial Commission, which usually advised a Proconsul in such matters. He now applied to have the arrangements which he had made confirmed by authority of the Senate. But Lucullus and Metellus Creticus, though they had been allowed the honours of a Triumph, were not unjustly irritated at seeing that in the blaze of his triumphant success their own unquestionable merits had been utterly overpast and forgotten. They spoke warmly in the Senate of the unfair appropriation of their labours by Pompey, and persuaded the jealous majority to withhold the desired confirmation.

At the same time a Tribune named L. Flavius proposed an Agrarian Law, by which it was proposed to assign certain lands in guerdon to Pompey's veteran soldiers. It seems that by the original terms of this Bill certain of Sylla's assignments were cancelled, and thus arose a general sense of insecurity in such property, till Cicero came forward and proposed the removal

[c] For a lively description of the whole scene, see Cicero's Letter to Atticus, i. 14.

[d] It was from this year that Pollio began his History of this Civil War:—

"Motum *ex Metello Consule* civicum,
Bellique causas," &c.—Horat. *Od.* ii. 1.

of all these objectionable clauses. But even in this amended form the Law, like all Agrarian Laws, was hateful to the Senate. The Consul Metellus Celer opposed it with rancorous determination; and Pompey, who disliked popular tumults, suffered the measure to be withdrawn, and brooded over the insult in haughty silence. Cicero made advances to the great man, and received scraps of praise and flattery, which pleased him and deceived him,[e] while it increased the coldness which had already sprung up between him and the Senatorial Chiefs. But Pompey well knew the political impotence of the great Orator, and it was to a very different quarter that he cast his eyes to gain support against the Senate.

§ 4. Cæsar (as we have said) had taken his departure for Spain before Pompey's return. In that Province he had availed himself of some disturbances on the Lusitanian border to declare war against that gallant people. He overran their country with constant success, and then turned his arms against the Gallæcians, who seem to have been unmolested since the days of Dec. Brutus.[f] In two campaigns he became master of spoils sufficient not only to pay off a great portion of his debts, but also to enrich his soldiery. There can be no doubt that he must have acted with great severity to wring these large sums from the native Spaniards. He never indeed took any thought for the sufferings of people not subject to Roman rule. But he was careful not to be guilty of oppression towards the Provincials: his rule in the Spanish Provinces was long remarked for its equitable adjustment of debts and taxes due to the Roman Publicani and money-lenders.

§ 5. He left Spain in time to reach Rome before the Consular Elections of the year 60 B.C.; for he intended to present himself as a candidate. But he also claimed a Triumph, and till this was over he could not begin his canvass. He therefore applied to the Senate for leave to sue for the Consulship without presenting himself personally in the City. The Senate probably repented of their stiffness in refusing Pompey's demand a year before, and were disposed to make a merit of granting Cæsar's request. But Cato, who never would give way to a plea of expediency except in favour of his own party, adjourned the

[e] See *Epist. ad Att.* i. 17, 10, etc.

[f] Chapt. xlvii. § 8.

decision of the question by speaking against time; and Cæsar, who scorned the appearance in comparison with the reality of power, relinquished his Triumph and entered the City. He found Pompey, as he expected to find him, in high dudgeon with the Senate; for secret negotiations had already been opened between them. To strengthen their hands still further, Cæsar proposed to include Crassus in their treaty. This rich and unpopular nobleman had, as we have seen, made advances to Cicero and to the Senate; but these advances had been ill received, and he lent a ready ear to the overtures of the dexterous negotiator who now addressed him. Pompey also, at the instance of Cæsar, relinquished the old enmity which he bore to Crassus; and thus was formed that famous Cabal which is commonly, though improperly, called the First Triumvirate.[g] It was at present kept studiously secret, and Cicero for some time after counted upon Pompey for neutralising the ambitious designs of Cæsar, whose expected return filled him with apprehension.

Thus supported secretly by the influence of Pompey, by the wealth of Crassus, and by his own popularity, Cæsar was elected to the Consulship by acclamation. He had formed a coalition with L. Lucceius, a man of letters, who had taken an active part against Catiline, and who was expected to write a memoir of Cicero's Consulship.[h] But the Senatorial Chiefs exhausted every art of intrigue and bribery to secure the return of M. Calpurnius Bibulus, who had been the colleague of Cæsar in his previous offices, and was known to be a man of unflinching resolution. He was son-in-law to Cato, who to obtain a political advantage did not hesitate to sanction the bribery and corrupt practices which on other occasions he loudly denounced. Bibulus was elected; and from the resolute antagonism of the two Consuls, the approaching year seemed big with danger.

§ 6. Cæsar began the acts of his Consulship by a measure so adroitly drawn up as to gratify at once his own adherents and Pompey and Cicero. It was an Agrarian Law, framed very carefully on the model of that which had been proposed last

[g] Improperly, because it was a secret combination, and not an open assumption of political power, such as to Roman ears was implied in the word Triumvirate.

[h] *Epist. ad Famil.* v. 12; compare *ad Att.* i. 17, 11.

year by Pompey's agents and amended by the Orator. Before bringing it forward in the Popular Assembly he read it over clause by clause in the Senate, and not even Cato was able to find fault. But Bibulus declared that the measure, however cautiously framed, was revolutionary, and should not pass while he was Consul. He therefore refused to sanction any further meetings of the Senate. Cæsar, unable to convene the great Council without the consent of his colleague, now threw himself upon the People, and enlarged his Agrarian Bill to the dimension of the Laws formerly proposed by Cinna and by Rullus.[1] Cicero now took alarm, and the Senatorial Order united in opposition to any distribution of their favourite Campanian lands. On the day appointed for taking the votes of the People, the most violent of the Oligarchy met at the house of Bibulus. Hence they sallied out into the Forum and attempted to dissolve the Assembly by force. But Cæsar ordered his Lictors to arrest Cato; Lucullus was only saved from violence by the Consul himself, and the other leaders were obliged to seek safety in flight. After this vain effort, in which the Senators set an example of violence, Bibulus attempted to stop proceedings by sending word that he was engaged in consulting the heavens to determine whether the Assembly could be legally held; and that, till his divinations were concluded, no business was to be done. But Cæsar set his message at naught, and proceeded as if all formalities had been regularly observed. Finding that arms and auguries were equally powerless, Bibulus shut himself up in his house for the remainder of his term of office, and contented himself with protesting from time to time against the acts of his Colleague. After this victory, Cæsar called upon Pompey and Crassus before the whole Assembly to express their opinions with respect to the Bill. Pompey warmly approved it, and declared that if others drew swords to oppose it he would cover it with his shield. Crassus spoke in a similar strain. After this public manifestation of the union of the Triumvirs all opposition ceased. The Bill became Law, and Cæsar forced every Senator to swear obedience to its provisions. Cato and some others made a struggle, but finally complied. Cicero looked on in blank perplexity.

[1] Chapt. lx. § 7; lxiv. § 8.

§ 7. Cæsar immediately followed up this successful movement by procuring from the People a full acknowledgment of Pompey's Acts in the East. Here again the Senate saw what they had captiously refused employed as a means for cementing the union of the Triumvirs against them. It was also a great annoyance that the department of Foreign Affairs, which they regarded as absolutely their own, should thus unceremoniously be invaded by the Assembly of the People.

§ 8. The next step taken by the dexterous Consul was to establish his credit with another class in the community, the Equites, who also (it may be observed) were especially favoured both by Pompey and Cicero. The Orator, during his Consulship, had prided himself on effecting a union between the Senatorial and Equestrian Orders. The tax-collectors (it seems) had made a high offer for the taxes of Asia at the last auction, and they prayed to be let off their contract. Cicero undertook their cause, and at the time when he relinquished office had good hopes of success. But Cato, always jealous of indulgent measures, opposed it with his utmost force, and the Equites were held strictly to their bargain. At Cæsar's suggestion, a Law was passed, remitting a third part of what they had agreed to give. The refusal of the Senate appears to have been somewhat harsh; and the favour which they might have achieved with little loss was transferred to their most dangerous enemy.

§ 9. Other popular Laws, mostly beneficial in their tendency, were passed at the instance of Cæsar, among which may be noted one which at an earlier stage might have done much towards establishing the authority of the Senate, by forcing it into harmony with public opinion. By the Law in question it was provided that the acts and proceedings of the Senate should be regularly published.

§ 10. Before he quitted office, Cæsar determined to provide for his future power. The Senate had assigned him the insignificant province of managing the forests and public pastures of Italy. But the Tribune Vatinius, his creature, proposed a Law by which the selection of Consular Provinces by the Senate was suspended, and a special provision made for Cæsar. By this Law he was invested, as Proconsul, with the government of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum, and the command of two

Legions; and this government was conferred upon him for the extraordinary term of five years. No doubt his purpose in obtaining this Province was to remain as near Rome as possible, and by means of the troops necessarily under his command, to assume a commanding position with regard to Roman politics. Circumstances unexpectedly enlarged his sphere of action, and enabled him to add to his political successes that which his brief career in Spain hardly justified,—the character of a skilful and triumphant General. For some time past there had been threatening movements in Transalpine Gaul. The Allobrogians, who had been treated with little consideration after the services rendered by their Envoys in the Catilinarian conspiracy, had endeavoured to redress their grievances by arms, and had been subdued by Pontinus, one of the Prætors employed by Cicero in the arrest at the Mulvian Bridge. The Æduans (who inhabited modern Burgundy), though in alliance with Rome, were suspected of having favoured this revolt. On the banks of the Rhine the Suevi, a powerful German Tribe, were threatening inroads which revived the memory of the Cimbric and Teutonic times; and the Helvetian mountaineers were moving uneasily within their narrow borders. An able and active commander was required to meet these various dangers; and the Senate perhaps thought that by removing Cæsar to a distant, perilous, and uncertain war, they might expose him to the risk of failure, or at least that absence might diminish the prestige of his name. At any rate, it was the Senate which added the Province of Transalpine Gaul, with an additional Legion, to the Provinces already conferred upon him by popular Vote. Pompey and Crassus warmly supported the Decree,—a fact which might have caused the Senate to repent of their liberality.

§ 11. Pompey, we have said, had divorced his wife Cæcilia on his return from Asia; and Cæsar took advantage of this circumstance to cement his political union with Pompey by offering to him the hand of Julia, his young and beautiful daughter. Pompey accepted the offer, and had no reason to repent it as a husband, whatever may be thought of its effect on his public career. The letters of Cicero to Atticus, written during this period, reveal in a very lively manner the perplexity

of the Orator. He still hoped against hope in Pompey, but in private he does not dissemble his misgivings. At length affairs took place which effectually opened his eyes. Early in the day he tries to put a good face upon the matter: he represents his union with Pompey as being so close, that the young men nicknamed the great General *Cnæus Cicero*;[k] he professes his unshaken confidence in his illustrious friend; he even hopes that they may be able to reform Cæsar. His confidence is much shaken by Pompey's approbation of Cæsar's Agrarian Law; and he begins to fear that the great Eastern Conqueror,—Sampsiceranus, Alabarches, the Jerusalemite,[l] (such are the names which he uses to indicate the haughty reserve of Pompey),—is aiming at a tyranny; then again he relents, affects to believe that young Curio, an ardent supporter of the Senate, is more popular than Cæsar, and regrets Pompey's isolation. Still he believes in his unaltered attachment, and continues to hope that he will ultimately declare himself for the Senate, till at length he is roused from his waking dream by the marriage of the great man with Julia, and by the approach of personal danger to himself.

§ 12. During Cæsar's Prætorship, he had lent the house which belonged to him as Chief Pontiff for the celebration of the mysteries of the Bona Dea,—rites at which it was not lawful for any but women to be present. Young App. Clodius, of whom we have heard nothing since he was active in promoting mutiny in the army of his kinsman Lucullus, either had or aspired to have an intrigue with Pompeia,[m] Cæsar's third wife, and contrived to enter the forbidden precincts disguised as a singing girl. He was discovered by his voice; and the matter was considered important enough to be investigated by the Senate. But nothing was done till the next year, when Clodius was Quæstor. He was then brought to trial, and pleaded an alibi. Cæsar and Cicero were summoned as witnesses against him.

[k] *Ad Att.* i. 16, 11.

[l] Ibid. ii. 14, 1; 16, 2, &c. Sampsiceranus was the King of Emesa in Syria, Strabo, xvi. p. 1092. Cicero calls Pompey *Alabarches*, an Oriental name for the collector of certain dues and taxes, *ad Att.* ii. 17, 3; and dubs him *Hierosolymarius*, ii. 9. 1.

[m] She was no way related to Pompey, being the daughter of Pompeius Rufus, Sylla's son-in-law. See Chapt. lviii. §§ 3, 5, and 13.

Cæsar had divorced his wife, in consequence of the affair, but professed ignorance of all that had passed. "Why, then," it was asked, "have you put away your wife?"—a question to which he gave the famous reply:—"Cæsar's wife must be above suspicion." Cicero, on the other hand, who justly detested the profligate character of Clodius, declared that he had seen and spoken with Clodius on that very day at Rome. He thus overthrew his plea of an alibi, and followed up his evidence by several pointed speeches in the Senate. There was no doubt of the guilt of Clodius. But the matter was treated as a trial of political strength; by corruption and other arts, he was acquitted; and, before Cæsar's Consulship, he had conceived the desire of satisfying his vengeance upon Cicero and the Senate by becoming Tribune of the Plebs. But his Patrician pedigree—the sole relic of the old distinction between the Orders—forbade his election to this office.[n] Cæsar, in the first instance, attempted to gain the support of Cicero, as he had gained the support of Pompey, by promises. But though the Orator received these advances with some pleasure, it was more in the hope of converting the popular statesman to his own opinion than with any thought of being converted.[o] But Cæsar was not the man to be led by Cicero. He soon saw that he should not prevail by fair means, and therefore endeavoured to alarm the Orator by threatening to introduce a Law for making Clodius a Plebeian. But Cicero relied on Pompey, and felt no alarm for himself. After the marriage of Pompey with Julia, he still stood aloof, and presently provoked Cæsar to fulfil his threats. C. Antonius, Cicero's colleague in the Consulship, had lately returned from his Macedonian Government. He had been guilty of more than the usual measure of extortion and oppression, and Clodius sought popularity by impeaching him. Cicero appeared as his Advocate, and took occasion to contrast his own forgotten services in the Catilinarian conspiracy with the present condition of public affairs. An immediate report of this speech was conveyed to Cæsar. It was delivered at noon, and the same afternoon Cæsar gave his consent to the proposed Law for removing Clodius from his Patrician rank. Presently after, the reckless young Noble was

[n] See Chapt. xii. § 1.

[o] *Epist. ad Att.* i. 18, 2.

elected Tribune for the ensuing year, that is for 58 B.C. Cicero was justly thrown into consternation.

The Consular Elections were equally disheartening. Cæsar had just espoused Calpurnia, the daughter of L. Piso, who also had been lately accused by the busy Clodius. This Piso was now chosen Consul, at Cæsar's recommendation, together with Au. Gabinius, who, as Tribune, had moved the Law for conferring the extraordinary command of the Mediterranean upon Pompey. It was evident that these Consuls, one the father-in-law of Cæsar, the other a mere creature of Pompey, would serve as the tools of the Triumviral Cabal.

§ 13. In December Clodius entered upon office as Tribune. Cæsar did not set out for his Province before the end of March in the next year (58 B.C.) During these three months, he was actively employed in removing from Rome the persons most likely to thwart his policy. Close to the gates lay the Legions which he had levied for service in Gaul; so that, if need were, military force was at hand to support Clodius in the Forum.

Immediately after entering upon office, the Tribune began his assaults upon the Senate, and Cicero was one of the first objects of his attack. Cæsar was determined at all risks to remove the Orator from Rome; but he was willing to have spared him the rude treatment which he was certain to experience from Clodius. He had therefore offered him first one of the commissionerships for executing the Agrarian Law, and then a lieutenancy under himself in Gaul.[p] But Cicero declined both offers, and Cæsar left him to the mercies of the vindictive Tribune. Clodius at once gave notice of a Bill, enacting that any magistrate who had put Roman Citizens to death without a regular trial should be banished from the soil of Italy, thus embodying in a direct law the principle which Cæsar had sought to establish by the indictment of Rabirius.[q] At first Cicero trusted to Pompey and his own imaginary popularity. But the haste with which Cicero had acted was condemned by Metellus Nepos, the agent of Pompey, even before the league with Cæsar; and many who had applauded Cicero at the time now took part with Clodius. Finding also that the reckless Tribune was supported by Cæsar and his Legions in the back-

[p] *Ad Att.* ii. 18, 3; 19, 4.

[q] Chapt. lxiv. § 9.

ground, the frightened Orator put on mourning, and canvassed for acquittal. The greater part of the Senators and Knights, if we may believe Cicero, followed his example; but Clodius persevered, and the Consuls ordered the mourners to resume their usual apparel. Notwithstanding this significant hint, he applied to these very Magistrates for protection. Gabinius, the friend of Pompey, rudely repulsed his advances; Piso, the father-in-law of Cæsar, gave him fair words, but no real hope. As a last chance, he appealed to Pompey himself, who maintained the cold reserve which he had affected ever since his return, and told him, with what in truth was bitter mockery, to seek assistance from the Consuls. In this desperate case he held counsel with his friends. The Senators felt that Cicero's cause had become their own, and repented of the coldness which they had shown to their most distinguished partisan, since the time that he had served them well in the matter of Catiline's plot. Lucullus shook off his luxurious indolence for a moment, and advised an appeal to arms. But, after full deliberation, even Cato recommended the Orator to leave Italy before the Law passed, and wait for better times. He complied with a heavy heart,—for Rome, the Forum, and the Senate-House, were all the world to him,—and left the capital before Cæsar's departure for his Province. No sooner was his back turned, than Sex. Clodius, a client of the audacious Tribune, brought in a second Bill, by which Cicero was expressly attacked by name. He was forbidden to approach within four hundred miles of Rome: all who harboured him within those limits were subjected to heavy penalties: all his property was confiscated. His favourite house on the Palatine, with his villas at Tusculum and at Formiæ, were to be destroyed. The great Orator lingered on the southern shores of his beloved Italy, at Vibo, at Thurii, at Tarentum, at Brundusium, in hopes that his friends might even yet baffle the designs of Clodius. But his hopes faded and vanished. In his letters he pours forth unmanly lamentations; accuses all—Cato, Hortensius, even his friend Atticus; refuses to see his brother Quintus; and seriously debates the question of suicide.[r] Atticus began to be alarmed for his friend's sanity.[s] At

[r] See his Letters *to Atticus*, iii. 3-9, *ad Famil.* xiv. 4, *ad Quintum Fratrem*, i. 3.
[s] *Ad Att.* iii. 13, 2.

length he crossed the sea, and sought refuge at Thessalonica, in Macedonia; for the Province of Greece, in which he would fain have fixed his place of exile, was ruled by a Magistrate of the adverse party.

§ 14. The next person to be disposed of was Cato. This remarkable man has already come before us on one or two occasions which serve to indicate his character. He was great-grandson of the old Censor, and resembled him in many points, though he wanted much of the politic shrewdness of his ancestor. He was five years younger than Cæsar, and at present therefore not more than thirty-seven years of age. In 65 B.C. he had served as Quæstor, and had then entered the Senate. He was Tribune three years later in company with Clodius. From the time when his speech determined the fate of Catiline, his unflinching and resolute character had made him, notwithstanding his youth, one of the leaders of the Senatorial Oligarchy; and after the death of Catulus, he took far the most determined part in opposing the popular party. But the Stoic Philosophy which he professed almost unfitted him for the political life of that dissolute and unscrupulous age. He applied the rules of Zeno's inflexible logic with the same unflinching rigour to politics as to mathematics, without regard to times or persons or places, and treated questions of mere expedience as if they were matters of moral right and wrong. Cicero often complains of his impracticable and pedantic stiffness, and represents him as applying the principles of an Utopian philosophy to a State in the last condition of corruption.[t] At times, however, party spirit overcame even Cato's scruples, and to gain a victory he forgot his philosophy.[u] But no definite accusation could be brought against him as against Cicero; and therefore, to remove him from Rome, he was charged with a business of apparent honour. Ptolemy, brother of the King of Egypt, was Prince of Cyprus; and when Clodius was in the

[t] "Cato optimo animo utens et summâ fide, nocet interdum reipublicae. Dicit enim tanquam in Platonis Πολιτείᾳ, non tanquam in faece Romuli sententiam." *Ad Att.* ii. 1, 8;—an Epistle written at the time that Cato was opposing Cæsar's measure for relieving the Tax-collectors from their bargain. Compare *pro Murenâ*, 29. At other times, however, Cicero extols Cato to the skies, *ad Att.* i. 18, 7; ii. 5, 1.

[u] See above, § 5.

hands of the pirates this Prince contributed the paltry sum of two talents towards his ransom. The Tribune, who never forgot or forgave, brought in a Law, by which Cyprus was annexed to the Roman Empire; and Cato, though he held no Curule office, was invested with Prætorian rank for the execution of this iniquitous business. Cato pretended not that he was ignorant of the real purpose of this mission. But he declared himself ready to obey the Law, left Rome soon after Cicero's departure, and remained absent for about two years. When, therefore, Cæsar left Rome in the spring of the year 58 B.C. to assume the government of Gaul, the Senate was left in a state of paralysis from the want of able and resolute leaders.

§ 15. After Cæsar's departure, Clodius pursued his democratic measures without let or hindrance. He abolished the Law of the comitial auspices by which Bibulus had attempted to thwart Cæsar in the former year. He distributed the Freedmen and city-rabble throughout all the Tribes. He restored the trade-unions and companies, which had been abolished by the Senate nine years before. He deprived the Censors of the power of removing Senators or degrading Citizens, unless each person so dishonoured had previously been found guilty by a verdict of the Law-courts, and unless both Censors concurred in every sentence. He gave such an extension to the unwise Corn-laws of C. Gracchus and Saturninus, that grain, instead of being sold at a low rate, was distributed without price to all citizens of Rome.* Some of these Laws were probably based upon suggestions of Cæsar's. But even those of which he may have approved generally were passed in a form and in a manner of which he could not approve; and of some he is known utterly to have disapproved. But for the time Clodius and his gang were masters of Rome. Cæsar was in Gaul. Neither Pompey nor Crassus stirred hand or foot to interfere.

* See above, Chapt. liii. § 10 (2).

CHAPTER LXVI.

CÆSAR IN GAUL: BREACH BETWEEN POMPEY AND CÆSAR. (58—50 B.C.)

§ 1. Cæsar expels Helvetians and Suevians from Gaul. § 2. Conquest of Belgians. § 3. Conquest of the Western Coasts. § 4. Cæsar holds court at Lucca during winters. § 5. Quarrel of Pompey with Clodius. § 6. Recal of Cicero. § 7. Dearness of corn at Rome: Pompey made Controller of the Market for five years. § 8. Cicero proposes to annul the acts of Clodius: opposition of Cato: his motives. § 9. Commission to restore Ptolemy Auletes to throne of Egypt. § 10. Domitius candidate for Consulship: his hostility to Cæsar: meeting of Triumvirs at Lucca. § 11. No Consuls elected for 56 B.C.: Pompey and Crassus assume the Consulship. § 12. Trebonian Law, granting Spain to Pompey and Syria to Crassus for five years: prolongation of Cæsar's command. § 13. Splendid shows exhibited by Pompey. § 14. Cicero at length joins the Triumvirs. § 15. Gabinius restores Ptolemy: his impeachment: defended by Cicero. § 16. Death of Julia. § 17. Crassus leaves Rome for the East. § 18. Campaign of Crassus in Parthia: his defeat and death. § 19. Cæsar's expedition into Germany. § 20. Into Britain. § 21. Final conquest of Gaul. § 22. Pompey remains near Rome and governs Spain by deputy: his policy. § 23. Death of Clodius: Pompey named Sole Consul: exile of Milo. § 24. Pompey's measures to maintain superiority over Cæsar. § 25. Cicero and the Senatorial chiefs.

§ 1. It was but a few days after Cicero had left Rome, that Cæsar received news from Gaul which compelled his precipitate departure. The Helvetians in great numbers were advancing upon Geneva, with the purpose of crossing the Rhone near that town, the extreme outpost of the Province of Transalpine Gaul, and forcing their way through that Province to seek new settlements in the West. In eight days, the active Proconsul travelled from the gates of Rome to Geneva. Arrived there, he lined the river with fortifications such as compelled the Helvetians to pass into Gaul by a longer and more difficult route over the Jura; he then followed them across the Arar (Saone), and after a murderous battle near Bibracté (Autun in Burgundy), compelled the remnant to return to their own country.

Immediately after clearing the frontiers of the Province of these invaders, he accepted the invitation of the Æduans and other Gauls dwelling westward of the Saone to expel from their borders a formidable German Tribe, which had passed the Rhine and were threatening to overrun all Northern Gaul. These Suevi, who have left their name and a remnant of their race in modern Suabia, were led by a great chief named Ariovistus. Ariovistus at first proposed to divide Gaul with the Romans; but Cæsar promptly rejected all such overtures, and war followed. So alarmed were the Roman Legionaries at the prospect of a contest with the Germans, huge in frame and multitudinous in number, that it required all Cæsar's adroitness to restore their confidence. "If," he said, "all deserted him, he would himself brave every hazard, and face the foe with the Tenth Legion alone." This had the desired effect. A desperate battle was fought about five miles from the Rhine, somewhere north of Bâle, in which the Germans were utterly defeated; and Ariovistus himself only escaped in a boat across the great river which was long destined to remain as the boundary between the Celtic and Teutonic races.

Thus in one campaign, not only the Roman Province, but all Gaul, was delivered from the presence of those German invaders whose congeners in the time of Marius had overrun the whole country, and whose descendants at a later period gave to the conquered land its new name of France.

§ 2. Cæsar's troops wintered in the heart of the country which he had just set free from the Suevian invaders. This position at once roused the jealousy of the Belgic Tribes to the north of the Seine, and a powerful confederacy was formed to bar any designs which might be entertained by Cæsar for extending the dominion of Rome beyond its present limits. Cæsar, informed of their proceedings, did not wait to be attacked. He raised two new Legions without expecting the authority of the Senate, and early in the next year (57 B.C.) entered the Belgic territory, which was then bounded southward by the Seine and Marne. Here he occupied a strong position on the Aisne, and baffled all the efforts of the confederates to dislodge him or draw him out to battle. Wearied out, they dispersed, each to their own homes; and Cæsar advanced

rapidly into the country of the Nervians, the most formidable people of the Belgic League, who then occupied the district between the Sambre and the Scheld. As he was forming his camp upon the right bank of the first-named river, he was surprised by the watchful enemy, and his whole army was nearly cut off. He retrieved the disaster only at the most imminent peril to himself, and had to do the duty both of a common soldier and a general. But when the first confusion was over, the Roman discipline prevailed; and the brave barbarians were repulsed with prodigious slaughter. After this desperate battle, he received the submission of the whole country south of the Lower Rhine.

§ 3. In the following year (56 B.C.), he built a fleet, and quickly reduced the amphibious people of Bretagne, who had defied his power and insulted his officers. He then attempted, but without success, to occupy a post at or near Martigny in the Valais, for the purpose of commanding the Pass of the Pennine Alp (Great St. Bernard), received the submission of the Aquitanians in the extreme south through his young lieutenant P. Crassus, son of the Triumvir, and himself chastised the wild Tribes who occupied the coast-lands which now form Picardy, Artois, and French Flanders,—the Menapii and the Morini, "remotest of mankind."[a] Thus in three marvellous campaigns, he seemed to have conquered the whole of Gaul, from the Rhine and Mount Jura to the Western Ocean. The brilliancy and rapidity of his successes silenced all questionings at Rome. No attempt was made to call him to account for levying armies beyond what had been allotted to him by law. Thanksgivings of fifteen days—an unprecedented length of time—were decreed by the Senate.

§ 4. The winter months of each year were passed by the Proconsul on the Italian side of the Alps. After travelling through his Cisalpine Province to hold assizes, inspect public works, raise money for his wars, and recruit his troops, he fixed his head-quarters at Luca (Lucca)—a town on the very frontier of Roman Italy, within two hundred miles of Rome itself. Here he could hold easy communication with his

[a] "Extremosque hominum Morinos."—Virg. *Æn.* viii. 727;—where this line and that which precedes ought probably to be transposed.

partisans at home. Lucca during his residence was more like a regal court than the quarters of a Roman Proconsul. At one time two hundred Senators were counted among his visitors; one hundred and twenty Lictors indicated the presence of the numerous magistrates who attended his levées. This was in the spring of 56 B.C., when both Pompey and Crassus came to hold conference with him. To explain the object of this visit, we must know what had been passing at Rome since his departure two years before.

§ 5. It has been mentioned that Clodius, supported by the Consuls Piso and Gabinius, remained absolute at Rome during the year 58 B.C. But the insolence and audacity of the Patrician Tribune after the departure of Cæsar at length gave offence to Pompey. Clodius had obtained possession of the person of a son of Tigranes, whom the great conqueror had brought with him from the East; and in order to raise money for some of his political projects, the Tribune accepted a large ransom for the young prince. The Prætor L. Flavius, a creature of Pompey's, endeavoured to arrest the liberated prisoner; but Clodius interfered at the head of an armed force, and in the struggle which ensued several of Pompey's adherents were slain. The great man was irrevocably offended, and determined to punish the Tribune by promoting the recal of Cicero, his chief enemy. Ever since the departure of the Orator, his friends had been using all exertions to compass this end. His brother Quintus, who had lately returned from a three years' government in Asia, and was about to join Cæsar as one of his Legates, his friend Atticus, who on this occasion forsook his usual epicurean ease, his old but generous rival Hortensius,—all joined with his wife Terentia, a woman of masculine spirit, to watch every opportunity for promoting his interests. The Province of Macedonia had been assigned by a Law of Clodius to Piso; and Cicero, partly through fear of the new Proconsul, partly through desire of approaching Italy, ventured before the end of the year to Dyrrhachium, though it was within the prescribed four hundred miles. But Pompey's quarrel with Clodius had already been announced by the election to the Consulate of P. Lentulus Spinther, a known friend of Cicero, and Q. Metellus Nepos, a creature of Pompey.

§ 6. An attempt had been already made in the Senate to cancel the Law by which Cicero had been banished, on the ground of its having been carried without regard to constitutional forms. But this attempt was stopped at once by Tribunician veto, and the impatient Orator was obliged to wait for the new year. The new Consuls, on entering office (58 B.C.), immediately moved for the Orator's recal; and it was proposed by L. Cotta that the Law by which he was banished, being informal, should be set aside by the authority of the Senate. But Pompey, both for the sake of peace, and also that Cicero might be restored with all honour and publicity, urged that a Law should be brought in for the purpose. It was not, however, easy to carry such a Law. Clodius, though no longer Tribune, had adherents in the new College, who resolutely interposed their veto. The motion was dropt for the moment, but was presently renewed; and Clodius entered the Forum at the head of a large retinue fully armed and prepared for any violence. A regular battle followed, which left Clodius master of the field. For some days Rome was at his mercy. With his own hand he fired the Temple of the Nymphs and destroyed the Censorial Registers. He attacked his enemies' houses, and many persons were slain in these riotous assaults. No public attempt was made to stop him. The Consuls were powerless. Of Pompey and Crassus we hear not. But a young Nobleman, named T. Annius Milo, bold and reckless as Clodius himself, raised a body of Gladiators at his own charge, and succeeded in checking the lawless violence of the Tribune by the use of violence no less lawless. The Bill for Cicero's recal was now for the third time brought forward; and after long delays, caused by fresh interference of the Clodian Tribunes, it was passed in the month of August.[b]

Meantime the impatient Orator had been writing letters from Thessalonica and Dyrrhachium, in which he continued to accuse his friends of coldness and insincerity.[c] But when the Law was passed, all the clouds vanished. Early in September, about a year and four months after his departure, he ap-

[b] See Cicero's subsequent narrative of these proceedings in his speech *pro Sestio*, 34 sq., 61 sq.

[c] *Ad Att.* iii. 13—26.

proached the City, and crowds attended him along the whole length of the Appian Way. From the Porta Capena to the Capitol, all the steps of the Temples and every place of vantage were thronged by multitudes, who testified their satisfaction by loud applause. For the moment, the popularity which had followed his Consulship returned, and in honest pride he ascended to the Capitoline Temple to return thanks to the Gods for turning the hearts of the People.

§ 7. At this time there was a great scarcity of corn at Rome. This might in part be occasioned by the disturbed state of Egypt, one of the chief granaries of Italy. The King, Ptolemy Auletes, had lately been expelled by his subjects, and was now at Rome seeking aid from the Senate to procure restoration to his throne. Whatever was the cause, the People, accustomed to be fed by the State, murmured loudly. Prices had fallen after the return of Cicero, and his friends attributed this cheapness to the Orator's recal. But before his return to Rome, they had again risen; and Clodius hastened to attribute this untoward change to the same cause. On the day after his triumphant entry, therefore, the Orator appeared in the Senate, and after returning thanks for his recal, he moved that an extraordinary Commission should be issued to Pompey, by which he was to be entrusted with a complete control over the corn-market of the Empire.[d] The Consuls eagerly closed with the proposal, and added that the Commission should run for five years, with the command of money, troops, fleets, and all things necessary for absolute authority. The Senate dared not oppose the hungry mob; and the Bill passed, though Pompey was obliged to relinquish the clauses which invested him with military power. He proved unable to influence prices, or in other words to force nature, and the coveted appointment resulted in unpopularity.

§ 8. At the same time, handsome sums were voted to Cicero to enable him to rebuild his ruined houses, and to compensate him for the destruction of his property. Encouraged both by the favour of the Senate and by his present popularity in the Forum, he proceeded to institute a prosecution against Clodius for assuming the Tribunate illegally, and for seditious conduct

[d] *Ad Att.* iv. 1, 6.

during his office. The reckless demagogue prepared to resist by means of his armed mob. But he received support from an unexpected quarter. Cato had returned from executing the hateful Commission given him by Clodius. The helpless Prince of Cyprus, despairing of resistance, though Cato was unattended by an armed force, put an end to his own life; and the Roman, with rigorous punctuality, proceeded to sell all the royal property and reduce the island to the condition of a Roman Province. On his return, he paid large sums into the Treasury, insisted on his accounts being examined with minute scrutiny, and took pride in having executed his Commission, without regard either to the justice of its origin, or to mercy in its execution. But this Commission would become illegal, were the Tribunate of Clodius declared illegal. Cato, therefore, with the usual perversity of his logic, came forward as a warm defender of Clodius and the acts of his Tribunate.

§ 9. While the question was pending, fresh passions were excited by the application of Ptolemy Auletes. The King had consulted Cato during his sojourn in the East, though the Roman was at that time engaged in ruining the King's brother; and Cato had vainly advised him to procure restoration by any means rather than by application to Rome, whose assistance was only to be bought by ruin. But Ptolemy neglected the well-meant advice; and when he appeared at Rome to demand succour, every Senator of influence claimed the lucrative task of giving back her King to Egypt. Pompey sought it; Crassus sought it; and the latter person now appears for the first time as the mover of a popular force, independent of his brother Triumvirs. But the Senate was too jealous of the Triumvirs to increase their power,—and all the great expectants of the Egyptian commission were disappointed. It was conferred, as if in the regular course of things, upon the late Consul Lentulus Spinther, who had obtained the Province of Cilicia; but the Tribune C. Cato produced an oracle from the Sibylline Books, which forbade the use of an army. Lentulus, therefore, obtained a commission without the power of executing it, and the question in reality was left open for future aspirants.

§ 10. In the heat of this contest, Clodius had been elected

Ædile, and thus for the nonce escaped the impeachment which was menacing. The armed conflicts between him and Milo continued; and the Consular election for the year 55 B.C. threatened to become the opportunity of serious bloodshed. The Consuls of the current year (57 B.C.), Cn. Lentulus Marcellinus and L. Philippus, were decidedly in the interest of the Senate; and they supported with their whole influence L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, brother-in law of Cato and a determined antagonist of the Triumviral Cabal. This man threatened that his first act should be to recal Cæsar from his province. Pompey also and Crassus met with little favour from him. And thus common danger again united the Three Men who had lately been diverging. It was to concert measures for thwarting the reviving energy of the Senate, that the ominous meeting at Lucca was proposed and took effect. What passed between the Three is only known from the results.

§ 11. Pompey and Crassus returned to Rome from their interview at Lucca, fully pledged (as it is evident from what followed) to prevent the election of Domitius and the recal of Cæsar. To fulfil both these conditions, they came forward themselves as joint Candidates for a Second Consulship. The Senate, however, had gathered courage of late. Milo held Clodius in check, and the Consuls hindered the election of the powerful Confederates by refusing to hold the Comitia. The powers of government were in abeyance. The Calends of January came, and there were no Magistrates to assume the government. But young Crassus had just arrived in the neighbourhood of Rome with a strong body of the Gallic veterans from Cæsar's army. Under the fear of violence, the Senatorial Chiefs drew back, and allowed Pompey and Crassus to assume the Consulship, as Marius and Cinna had assumed it, without any regular form of Election. They immediately held Comitia for the Election of the other Curule Magistracies. Cato offered himself for the Prætorship, but was defeated by Vatinius, a person chiefly known as a mercenary instrument of Cæsar's policy.

§ 12. Soon after, further fruits of the Conference of Lucca appeared. The Tribune, C. Trebonius, moved in the Assembly of Tribes that the Consuls should receive special Provinces for

the space of five years,—Syria being allotted to Crassus, Spain to Pompey. Whether the Consuls intended to bring forward a Supplementary Law to extend Cæsar's command, or whether they purposed to break faith with their absent confederate, cannot be known. But the Cæsarian party at Rome exclaimed so loudly against the omission of their leader's name, that Pompey himself added a clause to the Trebonian Law, by which Cæsar's government of the Gauls and Illyria was extended for an additional five years, to date from the expiration of the first term.[e] During the first day Cato obstructed the Law by his old device of speaking against time. But when a second day seemed likely to be wasted in like manner, Trebonius committed him to prison. Two Tribunes who threatened to interpose their veto were prevented from attending the Assembly by the use of positive force.

§ 13. Pompey endeavoured to outdo even Cæsar in bidding for the favour of the People by magnificent spectacles. In his name, his Freedman Demetrius erected the first Theatre of stone which Rome had yet seen, and exhibited combats of wild beasts on a scale never before witnessed. Then for the first time a combat between elephants was witnessed in the arena.[f]

§ 14. Cicero after his return from exile had for a time eagerly engaged in professional pursuits. To pass over the speeches which he delivered with respect to himself and the restoration of his property in the year 57 B.C., we find him defending, among others, P. Sestius, M. Cælius, and L. Balbus, and the speeches he delivered as their advocate are full of interesting allusions to the state of political affairs. In the Senate also he had taken an active part in the debates. Before the conference of Lucca, the Triumviral Cabal seemed shaken, and Pompey seemed to be roused from his apathy by the insolence of Clodius. At that juncture the Orator ventured to move in the Senate the repeal of Cæsar's Law for dividing the Campanian Lands, and his motion was warmly received by the leading Senators. But after the Conference, a message was conveyed

[e] Vell. Pat. ii. 46. By the Vatinian Law, Cæsar's command extended from the beginning of 58 to the end of 54 B.C.; by the Trebonian, from the beginning of 53 to the end of 49.

[f] Ascon. *in Pisonianam*, pp. 2 and 15, ed. Orelli.

to him through Crassus which convinced him at once of the renewed union of the Triumvirs, and of the danger which might again overtake him. He was, moreover, becoming disgusted with the Senatorial Chiefs. Lucullus, after spending his latter days in profuse and ostentatious luxury, was sinking into a state of senile apathy. Hortensius, always more of an Advocate than a Statesman, was devoted to his fish-ponds and his plantations. With Cato the gentler nature of Cicero never acted harmoniously. The persons who were now rising to be Chiefs of the Senate, such as Domitius Ahenobarbus, Milo, and others, were as little loth to use lawless force as Clodius. It had been best for Cicero if he had taken the advice of his friend Atticus and retired altogether from public life, at a time when there seemed no place left for him on the field of politics. But he could not bring himself to give up those active and stirring pursuits which he had followed from youth upwards. He could not bear to abandon the Senate-house and Forum; he would not join the violent members of the Senatorial party; he dared not oppose the Triumvirs. It was impossible to satisfy these conflicting fears and wishes without quitting the ranks of the Senatorial Oligarchy and joining the supporters of the Triumviral Cabal. The first step Cicero took with little regret; the second no doubt gave him much pain. Nevertheless he took it. Soon after the conference of Lucca a change appeared in his politics. He spoke in favour of the prolongation of Cæsar's command, and pronounced a laboured panegyric on Crassus, whom he had always disliked. To Cæsar he had been reconciled by his brother Quintus, who was a warm admirer of the great Proconsul. The gallant son of Crassus, who had returned flushed with triumph from the Gallic wars, was a devoted follower of Cicero; and perhaps personal feeling for the son supplied feelings and words which the father could not have claimed. It may well be supposed that Cicero was disgusted by the ferocity of Milo and the new Senatorial Chiefs. It is even possible that he really believed the best hope of moderate and regular government was from the Triumvirs At all events, his Letters written at this time show that he laboured to convince his friends and perhaps himself that such was his belief.[g]

[g] *Ad Famil.* v. 8; vii. 5 and 17; *ad Quintum Fratrem*, ii. 13, etc.

§ 15. In some points, however, it cannot be denied that Cicero carried his compliance beyond the limits even of political morality. Since the first extraordinary appointment of Pompey to command in the Mediterranean, it had become common to confer provinces and commands, not according to the provisions of the Sempronian Law, but by special votes of the People. In this way the profligate Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, had received the government of Macedonia, and Gabinius, Pompey's creature, that of Syria. These men had used their power in the manner now too common; Cicero had inveighed against them in his most vehement manner soon after his return, and the effect of his speech was such that Piso was recalled. Gabinius, meantime, had taken a daring step. Lentulus Spinther, Proconsul of Cilicia, was (as has been said) unable to execute his Commission of restoring Ptolemy Auletes. The King, therefore, applied to Gabinius, and by the offer of enormous sums prevailed upon him to march to Alexandria without waiting for a Commission. Gabinius, by the aid of an armed force, had no difficulty in reinstating Ptolemy. This was during the Consulship of Pompey and Crassus. Being superseded by Crassus in his Syrian government, Gabinius returned to Rome. He found the People infuriated against him for daring to lead an army into Egypt in despite of the Sibylline oracles, and he was impeached. By the influence of Pompey, doubtless, he was acquitted. But he was again indicted for extortion in his Province, and Cicero, at the solicitation of Pompey, came forward to defend him. But this time he was condemned, no doubt most justly, and sought safety in exile.

§ 16. The Triumviral Cabal now hastened to dissolution. In the year 54 B.C. Julia, the daughter of Cæsar and wife of Pompey, died in childbed. Though Pompey was old enough to be her father, she had been to him a loving and faithful wife. He on his part was so devoted to his young and beautiful consort, that ancient authors attribute much of his apathy in public matters to the happiness which he found in domestic life. This faithful attachment to Julia is the most amiable point in a character otherwise cold and unattractive. So much was Julia beloved by all, that the People voted her the extraordinary honour of a public funeral in the Campus Martius. Her death set Pompey free at once from ties which might long

have bound him to Cæsar, and also impelled him to drown the sense of his loss in the busy whirl of public life.

§ 17. Meanwhile Crassus had left Rome for the East, and thus destroyed another link in the chain that had hitherto maintained political union among the Triumvirs. Early in the year after his Consulship (54 B.C.) he succeeded Gabinius in the government of Syria. His chief object in seeking this Province was to carry the Roman arms beyond the Euphrates, and by the conquest of the Parthians to win fresh additions to his enormous fortune, while a great military triumph might serve to balance the conquests of Pompey in the same regions, and of Cæsar in Gaul. Towards the close of the year 53 B.C., about twelve months after the death of Julia, Rome was horror-struck by hearing that the wealthy Proconsul and his gallant son had been cut off by the enemy, and that the greater part of his army had been destroyed.

§ 18. The Parthians, a people originally found in the mountainous district to the south-west of the Caspian Sea, had, on the death of Alexander, fallen under the nominal sway of Seleucus and his successors on the Græco-Syrian throne. As that dynasty fell into decay, the Parthians continually waxed bolder; till at the time of the great Mithridatic War we find their King Pharnaces claiming to be called King of Kings, and exercising despotic power over the whole of Persia and the adjacent countries to the Euphrates westward. Their capital was fixed at the Greek city of Seleuceia on the Tigris; and here the King maintained a court, in which the barbaric splendour of the East was strangely mingled with the frugal refinements introduced by the Greek settlers and adventurers, who abounded in all quarters. They possessed a numerous cavalry, clad in light armour, used to scour the broad plains of the countries they overran, trained to disperse like a cloud before regular troops, but to fire on the advancing enemy as they fled. Orodes, their present King, already threatened with an attack by Gabinius, was not unprepared for the war which Crassus lost no time in beginning.

In the first year of his Proconsulship, Crassus was too late for serious attack; but early in the next spring (53 B.C.) he advanced in strength from the Euphrates at the head of a well-

appointed army. Artabazus, the present King of Armenia, who through fear of the Parthian monarch was sincerely attached to Rome, wished the Proconsul to take Armenia as a basis of operations, and to descend the valley of the Tigris, so as to avoid the open plains, where the Parthian horsemen, seconded by the heat of summer, would act against him at terrible advantage. C. Cassius Longinus, the most experienced officer of the Proconsul,—a man who afterwards became famous as the chief author of Cæsar's death,—took the same view. But Crassus was impatient, and neglecting all advice, marched straight across the plains. What was foretold happened. The Parthians, avoiding a general battle, drew on the Romans into the heart of Mesopotamia, till the Legionaries, faint with heat and hunger, could advance no further. As they began to retreat, they were enveloped by a crowd of horsemen, and pursued by a great army commanded by Surenas, a principal officer of Orodes. At Charræ, the Haran where Abraham once dwelt, he halted and offered battle. It was accepted, and the Proconsul was defeated. Still he contrived to make good his retreat, and was within reach of the mountains that skirt the western side of the great plain of Mesopotamia, when he was induced to accept a conference offered by the treacherous Surenas. At this conference he was seized and slain, as the Chiefs of the Ten Thousand had been dealt with three centuries before. His head was sent to Orodes, who ordered molten gold to be poured into the mouth. Young Publius, the friend of Cæsar and of Cicero, fell in the struggle, fighting valiantly for his father. Cassius alone of the chief officers did the duty of a general, and succeeded in drawing off his division of the army in safety to the Roman frontiers. For two years he continued to defend the Province against the Parthian assaults, till in 51 B.C. a decisive victory on the confines of Cilicia and Syria checked their advances, and enabled Cassius to hand over the latter Province in a peaceful condition to Bibulus.

§ 19. Meanwhile Cæsar in Gaul was also involved in unexpected difficulties. In his three first campaigns (58—56 B.C.), as has been said, he seemed to have reduced all Gaul to silent submission. In the two next years he was engaged in expeditions calculated rather to astonish and dazzle men's minds

at Rome than necessary to secure his conquests. Fresh swarms of Germans had begun to cross the Rhine near Coblenz.[h] He defeated them near that place with slaughter so terrible, that upwards of 150,000 men are said to have been slain by the sword or to have perished in the Rhine. To terrify them still further, he threw a bridge over the broad river at a spot probably between Coblenz and Andernach, which was completed in ten days,—a miracle of engineering art. He then advanced into Germany, burning and destroying, and broke up his bridge as he retired. Cæsar's account of the victory of Coblenz was not received with the same applause in the Senate as had welcomed the triumphs of previous years. It appeared that the German chiefs had come into the Roman camp, that Cæsar detained them on the ground that they had broken an armistice, and while they were captives had attacked their army. The facts as narrated by himself bear an appearance of ill faith. Cato rose in the Senate, and proposed that Cæsar should be delivered up to the Germans, as an offering in expiation of treachery. But such a proposition came with an ill grace even from Cato's mouth. Few Romans acknowledged the duty of keeping faith with barbarians; and if Cæsar had not been the enemy of the Senatorial party, probably nothing would have been said of his treachery. But however this might be, it is clear that the Decree would have been an empty threat. Who could have been found to "bell the cat?" Who would or could have arrested Cæsar at the head of his Legions?

§ 20. It was in the autumn of the same year (55 B.C.) that he passed over into our own island, taking ship probably at Witsand near Calais, and landing on the open beach near Deal. In the next year he repeated the invasion of Britain with a much larger force, marched up the Stour, took Canterbury, crossed the Thames above London, probably near Walton, defeated Cassivelaunus, the gallant chief of the Trinobantes, and took their town, which stood probably on the site of the modern St. Albans. Little result followed from these expeditions except to spread the terror of the Roman name,

[h] It seems certain that this is what Cæsar means by "ad confluentem *Mosæ* et Rheni," *Bell. Gall.* iv. 15. The *Mosa* here must be the *Moselle*, not the *Meuse*,—or else *Mosulae* must be restored.

and to afford matter of wonderment at Rome. Cicero's curiosity about these unknown lands was satisfied by letters from his brother Quintus, and from C. Trebatius Testa, a learned lawyer, who attended Cæsar in a civil capacity at the recommendation of Cicero himself.[1]

§ 21. But it was soon discovered how hollow was the pacification of Gaul. During the winter of 54–53 B.C., Cæsar had spread his troops in winter-quarters over a wide area. Ambiorix, a crafty and able chief of the Eburones, a half-German Tribe on either side of the Meuse, assaulted the camp of Cotta and Sabinus, and by adroit cunning contrived to cut off two Legions. He then attacked Q. Cicero. But this officer, though stationed in the hostile country of the Nervii with one Legion only, gallantly defended his camp till he was relieved by Cæsar himself, who had not yet, according to his custom, left Transalpine Gaul. Alarmed by the general insurrection which was threatened by these bold movements of Ambiorix, Cæsar asked Pompey to lend him a Legion from his Spanish army; and his request was granted at once. The next year's campaign quelled the attempt of Ambiorix, and Cæsar returned to Italy during the winter of 53-52 B.C., where his presence was needed, as we shall presently hear. But in the years 52 and 51 B.C. all central Gaul rose against the Romans, under the able conduct of Vercingetorix, chief of the Arvernians. The combined Gauls for the most part declined open conflicts, and threw themselves into towns fortified with great skill and defended with great obstinacy. But, notwithstanding some reverses, the rapid movements and steady resolution of Cæsar and his officers triumphed. The last hope of the Gauls lay in the strong fortress of Avaricum (Bourges); and when this at last yielded, all actual resistance was at an end. But for the two next winters he was again obliged to winter beyond the Alps; and by the beginning of the year 50 B.C., the ninth of his command, he had conquered the whole country, and reduced every murmur to silence. This conquest was achieved at a fearful loss of life. Nearly a million of Gauls and Germans are computed to have been sacrificed in those eight years of war. Cæsar was humane in

[1] Epist. *ad Att.* iv. 16, 13; 17, 3; *ad Quintum Fratrem*, ii. 16, 4.

the treatment of his fellow-citizens, but, like a true Roman, he counted the lives of barbarians as naught.

§ 22. While therefore Crassus was engaged, never to return, in the East, and Cæsar was occupied with serious dangers in Gaul, Pompey, no longer bound by marriage ties, was complete master of Rome. Contrary to all precedent, he sent lieutenants to govern Spain in his stead, pleading his employment as Curator of the Corn-market as a reason for his remaining at home. As a matter of form, he lived outside the City at his Alban villa, and never appeared publicly at least within the walls of Rome. But he did not the less keep a watchful eye on political events. At present, indeed, he interfered little. He seems to have expected that the condition of things would at length become so desperate, and all government so impossible, that all orders would unite in proclaiming him Dictator. In 54 B.C. Consuls were elected who were more in the interest of the Senate than of the popular party, probably by a free use of money. When the elections for 53 B.C. approached, several Tribunes of the popular party bound themselves together, and by their veto prevented all elections whatsoever; and for eight months the City was left in a state of anarchy, without any responsible government. At length two Consuls were chosen; but when they proposed to hold the Comitia for the elections of 52 B.C., the same scenes were renewed. The Tribunes obstinately refused to permit any elections; and when the Calends of January came round, there were no Magistrates to assume the government. But in a few days an event happened which completely altered all political relations.

§ 23. We may attribute all the late movements of the Tribunes to the inspiration of Clodius. In Cæsar's absence he had become the leader of the popular party. During the present interregnum, he came forward as candidate for the Prætorship, while his enemy Milo sought to be Consul. On the 18th of January, 52 B.C., Milo was travelling with his wife and family, attended (as usual) by a strong armed retinue, along the Appian Road to Lanuvium, where he held a municipal office. Near Bovillæ he met Clodius riding with a small number of attendants also armed. A quarrel arose among the servants; Clodius mingled in the fray, and being wounded took

refuge in a tavern. Milo, determined not to suffer for an imperfect act of violence, surrounded the house, drew forth his wounded enemy, and left him dead upon the road. The body was picked up by a friend soon after, and carried to Rome. Here it was exposed in the Forum, and a dreadful riot arose. The houses of Milo and other Senatorial chiefs were assaulted, but they were strongly built and prepared for defence, and the populace was beaten off. But the furniture of the Curia, the ancient meeting-place of the Senate, was seized to make a funeral pile to the deceased demagogue: the Curia itself and other buildings were involved in flames. Every day witnessed a fresh riot, till the Senate named Pompey as head of a Commission destined to restore order. This was done; and it was supposed that he would have been appointed Dictator at once, had not Cæsar been at Lucca during this winter, watching for a false move of the party opposed to him. To avoid a direct collision, Cato and Bibulus recommended that Pompey should be named as sole Consul. Milo was soon after brought to trial for the death of Clodius. Cicero was his advocate, and had exerted himself to the utmost to prepare a speech in justification of the slaughter of Clodius. The jury were willing to have acquitted Milo. But Pompey was anxious to get rid of a citizen as troublesome on the one side as Clodius had been on the other; and he placed soldiers at every avenue of the Court for the purpose, as he said, of preserving order. This unwonted sight, and the fear of popular violence, robbed Cicero of his eloquence and the Judges of their courage. Milo was condemned, and fled to Marseilles. Cicero sent him there a written speech, such (he said) as he intended to have spoken. Milo, who knew not fear, sarcastically replied, that "he was glad that it had not been delivered: else he should not then have been eating the fine mullets of Marseilles."

§ 24. Pompey had now reached the height of his ambition. He was virtually raised to the position of Dictator, without being bound to any party—Popular or Senatorial. But from this time he seems to have made up his mind to break with Cæsar and to put himself at the head of the Senatorial Nobility without binding himself to its traditional policy. He married Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio, a leading member

of the Aristocracy, and on the 1st of August associated his new father-in-law in the Consulship with himself. He repealed some of the democratic measures of Clodius, and made rules for the better conduct of Elections, and the assignment of Provinces. He struck indirectly at Cæsar by several new enactments. He procured a Decree of the Senate by which his government of Spain was prolonged for five years longer, whereas Cæsar's command in Gaul would terminate in little more than two years. By this Law Pompey calculated that he would be able to keep his own army on foot after the Gallic conqueror had disbanded his. In anticipation of Cæsar's seeking to obtain a second Consulship, it was further provided that no one should hold a Province till five years had elapsed from the end of his tenure of office. By this Law Pompey calculated that his rival would be left for this period without any military force. It is strange that Pompey, with the intimate knowledge that he ought to have gained of Cæsar's character during his long political connexion with him, should not have foreseen that a man so resolute and so ambitious would break through the cobwebs of law by the strong hand.

§ 25. Pompey was disappointed in his hope of remaining as supreme arbiter of the fate of Rome, without joining heart and hand with the Senatorial Nobility. The men who were now coming forward as leaders of that party were men of action. Lucullus was dead. Hortensius also was dead to public life. Cicero left Rome at this moment to assume the government of Cilicia in virtue of the Law just passed by Pompey, by which Magistrates lately in office were excluded from governments; for it was added, that the present need should be supplied by those Consulars or Prætorians who had not yet held governments. The Orator was absent from the beginning of 51 to the end of 50 B.C., and during this time the chief authority in the Senate belonged to the brothers M. Marcellus and C. Marcellus, who held the Consulship successively in the above-named years, together with Domitius Ahenobarbus and others, who hated Pompey almost as much as Cæsar. The People of Rome and Italy looked on with little interest. They had no sympathy either with Pompey or the Senate, and Cæsar's long absence had weakened his influence in the Forum. It

was simply a dispute for power between the Senatorial Nobility on the one hand and two military chiefs on the other. These chiefs at first united against the Senate, and then parted so irreconcileably, that one of them was thrown into a forced alliance with that body. Pompey and the Senatorial leaders agreed only in one point,—the necessity of stripping Cæsar of power.

CHAPTER LXVII.

SECOND CIVIL WAR: DEATH OF POMPEY. (50—48 B.C.)

§ 1. First moves of the Senatorial Chiefs against Cæsar. § 2. Quietude of Gaul. § 3. Enemies and Friends of Cæsar at Rome: Curio: Cælius: Antony. § 4. Proposals and counter-proposals in 50 B.C. § 5. Cæsar outlawed: Antony and Q. Cassius, Tribunes, fly to his camp. § 6. Both parties ill prepared for immediate war: Pompey's confidence. § 7. Cæsar's advance to Corfinium. § 8. Pompey leaves Italy: Cæsar at Rome. § 9. Cæsar conquers Pompeians in Spain. § 10. Surrender of Marseilles: return of Cæsar to Rome. § 11. First Dictatorship, for eleven days. § 12. Illyria won by Pompeians: failure of Curio in Africa. § 13. Return of Cicero from Cilicia: he remains in Italy, but at length joins Pompey. § 14. Position and forces of Pompey in the East. § 15. In the autumn of 49 B.C. Cæsar lands in Epirus: Pompey hastens to Dyrrhachium. § 16. Next spring, Cæsar is joined by Antony. § 17. He draws lines round Pompey's position: Pompey breaks the blockade and defeats Cæsar. § 18. Retreat of Cæsar, who succeeds in joining Calvinus in Thessaly. § 19. Pompey also joins Metellus Scipio at Larissa: both armies come in view at Pharsalia. § 20. Battle of Pharsalia: flight of Pompey. § 21. Pursuit. § 22. Pompey seeks refuge at Lesbos: his plans. § 23. He goes to Egypt: for what reason: murder of Pompey. § 24. Estimate of his life and character.

§ 1. THE Senatorial Chiefs had resolved to break with Cæsar. The attack was commenced by the Consul M. Marcellus, in September, 51 B.C.[a] The Proconsul had at that time just succeeded in putting down the formidable insurrection organised by Vercingetorix, and the fact of his complete success could not yet be known at Rome. It was the eighth year of his command, and therefore little more than two years were yet to run before he became a private citizen. He had, however, already intimated his intention of offering himself for the Consulship, either in the next year or the year after that, in order that he might, by continued tenure of office, be safe from the prosecution with which he was threatened on laying down his proconsular command; and it was intended to ask permission of the Senate that he might become a Candidate without re-

[a] Cicero *ad Fam.* viii. 8.

turning to Rome. For, if he continued to be Proconsul, he could not legally enter the gates; and if he ceased to be Proconsul, he would be exposed to personal danger from the enmity of the Senatorial Chiefs. But M. Marcellus was not content to wait to try the matter on this issue. On his motion a Decree was passed, by which the Consuls of the next year were ordered at once to bring before the Senate the question of re-distributing the Provincial Governments; and clauses were added providing, first, that no Tribune should be allowed to interpose his veto; secondly, that the Senate would take upon themselves the task of providing for Cæsar's veterans. The purpose of this Decree was manifest. It was intended at the beginning of the next year to supersede Cæsar, though the Law gave him two years more of command in Gaul; it was intended to stop the mouth of any Tribune in Cæsar's interest; it was intended to sap the fidelity of his soldiers, by tempting them with hopes of obtaining lands in Italy.

But the movement was too open and unadvised. Ser. Sulpicius, the other Consul, though a member of the Senatorial party, opposed it, and it was allowed to fall to the ground. Still a move had been made, and men's minds were familiarised with the notion of stripping Cæsar of his command.

§ 2. Cæsar felt that the crisis was at hand. The next year of his Gallic government he spent in organising Gaul. All symptoms of insurrection in that country were at an end. The military population had suffered too terribly to be able to resume arms. The mild and equitable arrangements of Cæsar gave general satisfaction. The Gallic Chiefs and cities began to prefer the arts of Roman civilisation to their own rude state. There can be little doubt that if Cæsar had been reduced to play the part of Sertorius in Gaul, he would have been able to do so with eminent success.

§ 3. He did not, however, neglect precautions at home. Of the new Consuls (for the year 50 B.C.), C. Marcellus, brother of Marcus, the late Consul, was his known and declared enemy; but L. Æmilius Paullus had been secretly won by a share of the gold which the conqueror had collected during his long command. Among the Tribunes of the year was a young man named M. Scribonius Curio, son of one of Sylla's most deter-

mined partisans. His talents were ready, his eloquence great, his audacity incomparable. He had entered upon political life at an extremely early age, and was a leader among those young nobles who had hoped to profit by Catiline's audacity, and whom Cicero ten years before designated as "the blood-thirsty youth." Since that time he had attached himself to Cicero; and the credulous Orator was pleased to think that he had reclaimed this impetuous and profligate young man. But Cicero was not the only person who had attempted to sway the pliant will of Curio. Cæsar also, or his Gallic gold, had made a convert of him. The Nobles, ignorant of this secret, promoted his election to the Tribunate, and thus unwarily committed power to a bold and uncompromising foe.

M. Cælius Rufus, another profligate youth of great ability whom Cicero flattered himself he had won over to what he deemed the side of honour and virtue, was also secretly on Cæsar's side. During the whole of the Orator's absence in Cilicia, this unprincipled young man kept up a brisk correspondence with him, as if he was a firm adherent of the Senatorial party. But on the first outbreak of the quarrel he joined the enemy.

A third person, hereafter destined to play a conspicuous part in civil broils, now appeared at Rome as the avowed friend and partisan of Cæsar. This was young M. Antonius, better known as Mark Antony, son of M. Antonius Creticus, and therefore grandson of the great Orator. His uncle, C. Antonius, had been Consul with Cicero, and had left a dubious reputation. His mother was Julia, daughter of L. Cæsar, Consul in the year before Cicero held the office, a distant relation of the great Cæsar. Antony had served under Gabinius in the East, and for the last two years had been one of Cæsar's officers in Gaul. He now came to Rome to sue for the Augurate, vacant by the death of the Orator Hortensius; and, assisted by Cæsar's influence and his own great connexions, he was elected. He was thirty-three years of age, as ready of tongue, as bold and unscrupulous in action as Curio, and appropriately offered himself to be elected as successor to that young adventurer in the College of Tribunes. Thus, for the year 50 B.C. Cæsar's inte-

rests were watched by Curio, and in the year 49 B.C. Antony succeeded to the task.

§ 4. C. Marcellus did not venture to revive, in 50 B.C., the bold attack which had been made by M. Marcellus in the preceding year. But at Pompey's suggestion, it was represented that a Parthian war was imminent, and both the rivals were desired to furnish one Legion for service in the East. Cæsar at once complied. Pompey evaded the demand by asking Cæsar to return the Legion which had been lent by himself after the destruction of the two Legions by Ambiorix.[b] This request also Cæsar obeyed, so that in fact both Legions were withdrawn from his army. Their employment in the East proved to be a mere pretext. They were both stationed at Capua, no doubt to overawe the Campanian district, which, since the Agrarian Law of Cæsar's Consulship, had been completely in his interest.

Any further assault was anticipated by a proposal made by Curio. It was that both Pompey and Cæsar should resign their commands and disband their armies; "this was but fair," he said, "for both; nor could the will of the Senate and People of Rome be considered free, while Pompey was at hand with a military force to control their deliberations and their votes." But the Senate turned a deaf ear to this dexterous proposal, and the year closed as it began, without any approach to a peaceful settlement. Curio now threw off all disguise, and openly avowed himself the agent of Cæsar in the Senate.

§ 5. The Consuls for the ensuing year (49 B.C.) were L. Lentulus Crus, and another C. Marcellus, cousin-german of the two brothers who had preceded him. Both were in the interest of Pompey. Scarcely had they entered upon office, when the crisis which had been so long suspended arrived.

On the Calends of January,[c] letters from Cæsar were laid before the Senate by Curio, in which the Proconsul expressed his readiness "to accept the late Tribune's proposal that Pompey

[b] Above, Chapt. lxvi. § 21.

[c] Strictly speaking, the year 49 B.C. had not yet begun; for the Roman Calendar was now nearly two months in advance of the real time: Jan. 1st, 705 A.U.C. = Nov. 13th, 50 B.C. See Fischer's *Römische Zeittafeln*, p. 221.

and himself should both resign their military power; as soon as he was assured that all soldiers were removed from the neighbourhood of Rome, he would enter the gates as a private person, and offer himself Candidate for the Consulship." Warm debates followed, in which Metellus Scipio,[d] Pompey's father-in-law, and Cato urged that Cæsar should be declared a public enemy, unless he laid down his command by a certain day. But even this did not satisfy the majority. Not only was Cæsar outlawed: but on the 6th of January a Decree was framed, investing the Consuls with dictatorial power, in the same form that had been used against C. Gracchus, against Saturninus, against Catiline. On the following night, Mark Antony, who had vainly essayed to stem the tide, fled from the City, together with his brother Tribune, Q. Cassius Longinus, brother of the more famous C. Cassius.

§ 6. The die was now cast. Cæsar had no longer any choice. He must either offer an armed resistance or save himself by flight. There can be no doubt that both parties were unprepared for immediate war. Cæsar had but one Legion in Cisalpine Gaul; for the long hesitation of his enemies made him doubt whether they would ever defy him to mortal conflict. Pompey knew the weakness of his rival's forces. He also knew that Labienus, the most distinguished of Cæsar's officers, was ready to desert his leader, and he believed that such an example would be followed by many. He calculated that Cæsar would not dare to move forwards, or that, if he did, he would fall a victim to his own adventurous rashness. For himself he had one Legion close to Rome, Cæsar's two Legions at Capua; and Sylla's veterans were, it was supposed, ready to take arms for the Senate at a moment's notice. "I have but to stamp my foot," said the great commander, "and armed men will start from the soil of Italy."

§ 7. But Cæsar's prompt audacity at once remedied his own want of preparation, and disconcerted all the calculations of his opponents. At the close of the preceding year, after a triumphant reception in the cities of Cisalpine Gaul, he had stationed himself with the single Legion, of which we spoke just now, at

[d] He was a Scipio by birth, being great-grandson of Scipio Nasica (nicknamed Serapio), the slayer of Ti. Gracchus, and was adopted by Metellus Pius.

Ravenna. Here he was surprised by letters announcing the Decree of the 6th of January. His resolution was at once taken. He reviewed his Legion, addressed them, and without betraying what had happened, ascertained their readiness to follow whithersoever he led. At night-fall he left Ravenna secretly, crossed the Rubicon, which divided his Provinces from Italy, and at day-break entered Ariminum.[e] Here he met the Tribunes Antony and Q. Cassius, on their way from Rome. His Legion arrived soon after, and orders were sent off to the nearest troops in Transalpine Gaul to follow his steps with all speed. But he waited not for them. With his single Legion he appeared before Picenum, Fanum, Ancona, Iguvium, Auximum, and Asculum. All these towns surrendered without a blow, and thus by the beginning of February Cæsar was master of all Umbria and Picenum. By the middle of that month he had been reïnforced by two additional Legions from Gaul, and was strong enough to invest the fortress of Corfinium, in the Peligñian Apennines. But this place was vigorously defended by the energetic Domitius Ahenobarbus, accompanied by a number of Senators. At the close of a week, however, news came that Pompey and the Consuls had marched southward from Capua; and Domitius, finding himself utterly unsupported, surrendered at discretion. Cæsar allowed him and all his Senatorial friends to go their way, and to take with them a large sum of public money, even without exacting a promise that they would take no further part in the war. On entering the town he strictly ordered that his men should abstain, not only from personal violence, but even from petty pillage. Reports had been industriously spread that the Proconsul's troops were not Romans but Gauls, ferocious barbarians, whose hands would be against every Italian as their natural enemy. The politic humanity which he now showed produced the more surprise, and had a great effect in reconciling to his cause many who had hitherto stood aloof. Almost all the soldiers of Domitius took service under the lenient conqueror.

[e] This is Cæsar's simple narrative. The dramatic scene, in which he is represented as pausing on the banks of the Rubicon, and anxiously weighing the probable consequences of one irremediable step, is due to rhetorical writers of later times.

§ 8. After the fall of Corfinium, Cæsar hastened onwards through Apulia in pursuit of Pompey. By successive reïnforcements, his Legions had now been swelled to the number of six. But when he arrived at Brundusium, on the 9th of March,[f] he found that the Consuls had sailed for Dyrrhachium, though Pompey was still in the Italian port. The town was too strong to be taken by assault; and nine days after Cæsar appeared before its walls, Pompey embarked at leisure and carried his last soldier out of Italy. Disappointed of his prey, Cæsar returned upon his steps, and reached Rome upon the 1st of April,[g] where M. Antony, after receiving the submission of Etruria, had prepared the way for his reception. The People, on the motion of the same Tribune, gave Cæsar full power to take what money he desired from the Treasury, without sparing even the sacred hoard, which had been set apart after the Invasion of the Gauls, and had never since been touched except in the necessities of the Hannibalic War.[h] There was no longer any need of a reserve-fund against the Gauls, it was argued, now that the Gauls had become peaceful subjects of the Republic. Notwithstanding this vote, the Senatorial Tribune, L. Metellus, a son of Metellus Creticus, refused to produce the keys of the Treasury, and, when Cæsar ordered the doors to be broken open, endeavoured to bar his passage into the sacred chamber. "Stand aside, young man," said Cæsar, "it is easier for me to do than to say."[i]

He was now master of Italy, as well as Gaul. To pursue Pompey to Epirus was impossible, because the Senatorial officers swept the sea with a large and well-appointed fleet, and Cæsar had very few ships at his disposal. Moreover, in Spain, which had been subject to Pompey's rule for the last five years, there was a veteran army, ready to enter Italy as soon as he left it. The remainder of the season, therefore, he resolved to occupy in the reduction of that army.

[f] *I.e.* the 9th of March of the current Roman year, = Jan. 17th, 49 B.C., of our time.

[g] Feb. 9th, of our time.

[h] See Chapt. xxxiii. § 9; xxxvi. § 7.

[i] Plut. *Vit. Cæs.* c. 35, Cicero *ad Att.* x. 4, and other authors. Cæsar himself tells us that Lentulus the Consul left the Treasury open (*Bell. Civ.* i. 13). Metellus, then, must have locked it after the flight of Pompey.

§ 9. On his way to Spain, he found that Marseilles, the chosen retreat of Milo, being by its aristocratical form of government attached to the Senatorial party, had declared for Pompey. Leaving Dec. Brutus with twelve ships, and C. Trebonius with a body of troops, to blockade the town both by sea and land, he continued his march, and crossed the Pyrenees early in the summer. Hither Spain was held by L. Afranius, an old officer of Pompey, whom he had raised to the Consulship in 60 B.C., and M. Petreius, the experienced soldier who had destroyed the army of Catiline. Further Spain was entrusted to the care of the accomplished M. Terentius Varro.

Near Ilerda (Lerida), on the river Sicoris, an affluent of the Ebro, Cæsar was encountered by the Pompeian leaders. He gives us a very full account of the movements which followed, from which it is pretty clear that so far as military science went, Cæsar was out-generalled by Petreius. At one time he was in the greatest peril from a sudden rising of the river, which cut him off from all his supplies. He released himself by that fertility of resource which distinguished him. He had seen in Britain boats of wicker, covered with hide, such as are still used on the Severn under the name of coracles; a number of them were secretly constructed, and by their help he reëstablished his communications. But whatever might be his military inferiority, yet over the weak Afranius and the rude Petreius his dexterity in swaying the wills of men gave him an unquestioned superiority. Avoiding a battle always, he encouraged communications between his own men and the soldiers of the enemy; and at length the Pompeian leaders, finding themselves unable to control their own troops, were obliged to surrender their command. Two-thirds of their force took service with the politic conqueror.

Varro, in Further Spain, by dexterous intrigue, contrived to evade immediate submission. But after a vain attempt to collect a force, he surrendered to the conqueror at Corduba (Cordova), and was allowed to go where he pleased. Before autumn closed, all Spain was at the feet of Cæsar, and was committed to the government of Q. Cassius, the Tribune who had supported his cause at Rome. Being thus secured from danger in the West, he hastened to return into Italy.

§ 10. As he passed through Southern Gaul, he found that Marseilles still held out against Dec. Brutus and Trebonius. The defence had been most gallant. The blockade by sea had been interrupted by a detachment from Pompey's fleet; and the great works raised by the besiegers on land had been met by counter-works of equal magnitude on the part of the besieged. But Trebonius had perseveringly repaired all losses; and on the arrival of Cæsar, the Massilians surrendered themselves with a good grace. As in all other cases, he treated them with the utmost clemency.

On reaching Italy, he was obliged to turn aside to Placentia for the purpose of quelling a mutiny that had arisen in a Legion which had been left there, and which complained that promises of discharge and reward made to them had not been kept. His presence at once suppressed the mutiny. But he selected twelve of the ringleaders for capital punishment. Among these twelve was one who proved that he had been absent when the mutiny broke out. In his place the Centurion who accused him was executed.

§ 11. During his absence in Spain, M. Æmilius Lepidus, whom he had left as Prefect of the City to govern Italy, had named him Dictator. From Placentia he hastened to Rome and assumed the great dignity thus conferred upon him. But he held it only eleven days. In that period he presided at the Comitia, and was there elected Consul, together with P. Servilius Isauricus, one of his old competitors for the Chief Pontificate. He also passed several Laws. One of these restored all exiles to the city, except Milo, thus undoing one of the last remnants of Sylla's Dictatorship. A second provided for the payment of debts, so as to lighten the burthens of the debtors without satisfying the democratic cry for a complete abolition of all contracts. A third conferred the franchise on the citizens of Transpadane Gaul, who had since the Social War enjoyed the Latin Right only.

§ 12. Of the doings of his lieutenants in other quarters during this memorable year, Cæsar did not receive accounts at all commensurate with his own marvellous success. In Illyria, P. Cornelius Dolabella, son-in-law of Cicero, who had joined the conqueror, had been disgracefully beaten, and Caius,

brother of Mark Antony, taken prisoner, so that all the eastern coast of the Adriatic was now in the hands of the Pompeians.

Curio had been sent to occupy Sicily, where Cato commanded in the name of the Senate. The philosopher, having no force adequate to resist, retired from the unequal contest, and joined Pompey in Epirus. Curio then passed over to Africa, where the Pompeian general Varus held command. He took the field, and was at first defeated by Curio. But presently Juba, king of Mauritania, appeared in the field as an Ally of the Senatorial party; and Curio was obliged in his turn to retreat before the combined forces of the enemy, till he took refuge in the famous camp of Scipio. From this position he was drawn out by a feigned retreat of the African Prince; and being surprised by an overpowering force, he was defeated and slain. Africa, therefore, as well as all the Eastern World, remained in the hands of the Pompeians, while Italy, Gaul, and Spain owned the authority of Cæsar.

§ 13. Cicero had returned from his Cilician Province to Rome, while the debates were being held which issued in the Decree of the 6th of January. During his two years' government he had nearly been engaged in very serious warfare with the Parthians. But C. Cassius, as we have mentioned, gave them so severe a blow, that Cicero's military abilities were only tested in reducing some of the wild mountain-tribes who infested the borders of his Province. He claimed a Triumph for these achievements, and therefore would not enter the walls of the City to be present at the termination of these momentous debates. The question of his Triumph was soon forgotten in the rapid course of events which followed, and he retired to his Formian Villa, still attended by his Lictors with their fasces wreathed in laurel. From this place he went frequently to have interviews with the Pompeian leaders on their retreat through Campania. At the same time many of his personal friends, Curio, Cælius, Dolabella, Balbus, Trebatius, and others had joined Cæsar, and wrote to him urging him to make common cause with their generous leader. On his return from Brundusium to Rome Cæsar himself visited him. But the Orator could not be prevailed upon to forsake the cause of the Senate;

and after long hesitation, about the end of May he took ship and joined Pompey in the East.

§ 14. During the whole of the preceding year, Pompey had been actively engaged in levying and disciplining an army for the ensuing campaign. He was bitterly censured by many of his party for quitting Italy without a blow. But it may be concluded that when he was surprised by Cæsar's rapid advance, the only troops besides those under Domitius at Corfinium were the two Legions lately sent from Gaul by Cæsar; and these (it may well be supposed) he dared not trust to do battle against their old commander.

It is probable, therefore, that he was really compelled to quit Italy. But his fleet was now so large that it would have been easy for him to have regained Italian soil. He made no attempt to cross the sea; and we may therefore assume that he purposely chose Epirus as the ground for battle. He had all the East behind him, long used to reverence his name, and at the head of an army out of Italy he was less likely to be thwarted by the arrogant Senatorial Chiefs, who hated him while they used him. Such especially was Domitius Ahenobarbus, who loudly complained that he had been deserted at Corfinium.

His head-quarters were fixed at Thessalonica, the chief city of the Province of Macedonia. Here the Senators who had fled from Italy met and formed a Senate, while the chief officers assumed titles of authority. Pompey had employed the time well. The Provinces and Kings of the East filled his military chest with treasure; he had collected seven Roman Legions, with a vast number of irregular auxiliaries from every surrounding monarchy, and a powerful force of well-appointed cavalry; large magazines of provisions and military stores were formed: above all, a fleet, increasing every day in numbers, was supplied by the maritime states of Illyria, Greece, Asia Minor, Phœnicia, and Egypt. Bibulus, the old adversary of Cæsar, took the command as Admiral-in-Chief, supported by able lieutenants. With this naval force actively employed, it was hoped that it would be made impossible for Cæsar to land in Epirus. But here again his happy audacity frustrated all regular opposition.

§ 15. Cæsar arrived in Brundusium at the end of October, 49 B.C.[k] Twelve Legions had been assembled there. So much had their numbers been thinned by war, fatigue, and the autumnal fevers prevalent in Apulia, that each Legion averaged less than 3000 men. His transports were so insufficient, that he was not able to ship more than seven of these imperfect Legions, with 600 horse, though men and officers were allowed to take no heavy baggage and no servants. All the harbours were occupied by the enemy's ships; but it was not the practice for the ancients to maintain a blockade by cruising; and Cæsar, having left Brundusium on the 5th November, was able to land his first corps on the open coast of Epirus a little south of the Acroceraunian headland. He sent his empty ships back directly, and marched northward to Oricum and Apollonia, where he claimed admission in virtue of his consular office. The claim was admitted, and these two important towns fell into his hands. Pompey, who was still at Thessalonica, on the first tidings of his movement, had put his army in motion, and succeeded in reaching Dyrrhachium in time to save that important place. He then pushed his lines forward to the mouth of the Apsus, and the two hostile armies lay inactive during the remainder of the winter with this stream between their camps,—Cæsar occupying the left or southern bank, Pompey the right or northern side.

§ 16. As the winter passed away, Cæsar was rendered extremely anxious by the non-appearance of his second corps, which Antony was charged to bring across. News soon reached him that Bibulus, stung to the quick by the successful landing of the first corps, had put to sea from Corcyra with all his fleet, had overtaken and destroyed thirty of the returning transports, and had ever since, notwithstanding the winter-season, kept so strict a watch on the coast of Italy, that Antony did not dare to leave Brundusium. Intelligence also reached him that Cælius, now raised to the rank of Prætor, had proclaimed an abolition of debts at Rome, and had made common

[k] This is the true date, according to our reckoning. By the Roman Calendar, it was December. But, for the military operations which follow, it is so important to note the true seasons, that we shall, from this point, give the dates as if the Roman Calendar had already been corrected.

cause with the reckless Milo, who had appeared in Italy at the head of a gang of desperate men. This bold enterprise, it is true, had failed, and both the leaders had fallen; but it quickened Cæsar's anxiety to bring matters to issue. Still no troops arrived. So stubborn was the will of Bibulus, that he fell a victim to his own vigilant exertions, and died at sea. But L. Scribonius Libo, who had commanded a squadron under the deceased admiral, appeared at Brundusium, and occupied an island off the harbour, so as to establish a strict blockade. This, however, did not last; for it was found impossible to keep the men supplied with fresh water and provisions, and Libo was obliged to resume the tactics of Bibulus. Meantime, Cæsar's impatience was rising to the height. He had been lying idle for more than two months, and complained that Antony had neglected several opportunities of crossing the Ionian Sea. At length he engaged a small boat to take him across to Italy in person. The sea ran high, and the rowers refused to proceed, till the General revealed himself to them in the famous words: "You carry Cæsar and his fortunes." All night they toiled, but when day broke they had made no way, and the General reluctantly consented to put back into the Apsus. But presently after, he succeeded in sending over a positive message to Antony to cross over at all risks; and if Antony disobeyed, the messenger carried a commission to his chief officers, by which they were ordered to supersede their commander, and discharge the duty which he neglected to perform. Stung by this practical rebuke, Antony shipped his troops, and resolved to attempt the passage at all risks. As he neared the coast of Epirus, the wind shifted to the south-east, and being unable to make the port of Oricum, he was obliged to run northwards past Pompey's camp, in full view of the enemy. They gave chase; but he succeeded in landing all his men, four legions and 800 horse, near the headland of Nymphæum, more than fifty miles north of the Apsus. His position was critical, for Pompey's army lay between him and Cæsar. But Cæsar, calculating the point at which the squadron would reach land, had already made a rapid march round Pompey's position, and succeeded in joining Antony before he was attacked. Pompey had also moved northwards, but finding himself too

late to assail Antony alone, he took a new position some miles to the north of Dyrrhachium, and here formed a strongly-entrenched camp resting upon the sea. These entrenchments ran in an irregular half-circle of nearly fifteen miles in length, the base of which was the coast-line of Epirus. The camp was well supplied with provisions by sea.

§ 17. The spring of 48 B.C. was now beginning. It was probably in March that Cæsar effected his union with Antony. Even after this junction, he was inferior in numbers to Pompey; and it is not without wonder that we read his own account of the audacious attempt with which he began the campaign. His plan was to draw lines round and outside of Pompey's vast entrenchments, so as to cut him off from Dyrrhachium and from all the surrounding country. As Pompey's entrenchments formed a curve of nearly fifteen miles, Cæsar's lines must have measured considerably more. And as his army was inferior in numbers, it might have been expected that Pompey would not submit to be shut in. But the latter general could not interrupt the works without hazarding a general action, and his troops were not (he thought) sufficiently disciplined to encounter Cæsar's veterans: the command of the sea also insured him supplies and enabled him to shift his army to another position if necessary. He therefore allowed Cæsar to carry on his lines with little interruption.

During the winter Cæsar's men had suffered terribly for want of grain and vegetable food. But as spring advanced, and the crops began to ripen, brighter days seemed at hand. Pompey's men, meanwhile, though supplied from the sea, began to be distressed by want of fresh water, and their animals by want of green fodder. He therefore determined to assume the offensive. At each extremity of Cæsar's lines, where they abutted upon the sea, a second line of entrenchments had been marked out reaching some way inland, so that at least for some distance from the sea the lines might be protected from an attack in rear from the land. But this part of the work was as yet unfinished; and, in particular, no attempt had been made to carry any defence along the coast between the extremities of these two lines of entrenchment, so as to cover them from an assault by sea. Pompey was instructed of this defect

by some Gallic deserters; and he succeeded in landing some troops at the southern extremity of the works, so as to make a lodgement between Cæsar's front and rearward lines. A series of severe and well-contested combats followed. But the Pompeians maintained their ground, and Cæsar at once perceived that his works were completely turned, and that all his labour was thrown away. Pompey had reëstablished his land communication with Dyrrhachium, and circumvallation was made impossible. Under these circumstances Cæsar determined to shift the scene of action without delay.

§ 18. During the spring he had detached Cn. Domitius Calvinus with two Legions into Macedonia, where he possessed considerable influence, for the purpose of intercepting the march of Metellus Scipio, who had succeeded Bibulus in the government of Syria, and was expected every day to bring reïnforcements to the army of Pompey. Scipio had been delayed by the necessity of securing his Province against the Parthians; and had also spent much time in levying heavy contributions on his line of march. When he arrived in Macedonia he found his passage westward barred by Calvinus, who occupied a strong camp in the neighbourhood of Pella. He, therefore, also entrenched himself, and awaited succours.

About the time of Cæsar's defeat at Dyrrhachium, Calvinus had been obliged by want of provisions to fall back towards Epirus, while Cæsar himself marched by way of Apollonia up the valley of the Aoüs. Pompey immediately detached a strong force to separate Calvinus from his chief. But Calvinus, informed of Cæsar's retreat, moved with great rapidity to the southward, and effected a union with his general at Ægimium, in the north-western corner of Thessaly. The Cæsarian army, thus skilfully united, advanced to Gomphi, which was taken and given up to plunder. All other Thessalian cities, except Larissa, which had been occupied by Scipio, opened their gates; and the harvest being now ripe, the Cæsarian army revelled in the abundant supplies of the rich Thessalian plain.

§ 19. Meanwhile Pompey had entered Thessaly from the north and joined Scipio at Larissa. The Pompeian leaders, elated by victory, were quarrelling among themselves for the prize, which they regarded as already won. Lentulus Spinther,

Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Metellus Scipio, all claimed Cæsar's Pontificate. Domitius proposed that all who had remained in Italy or had not taken an active part in the contest should be brought to trial as traitors to the cause,—Cicero, who was at Dyrrhachium with Cato, being the person here chiefly aimed at. Pompey himself was not spared. Domitius, angry at not having been supported at Corfinium, nicknamed him Agamemnon King of Men, and openly rejected his authority. The advice of the great general to avoid a decisive battle was contemptuously set at naught by all but Cato, who from first to last advocated any measure which gave a hope of avoiding bloodshed. Even Favonius, a blunt and simple-minded man, who usually echoed Cato's sentiments, loudly complained that Pompey's reluctance to fight would prevent his friends from eating their figs that summer at Tusculum.

§ 20. From Larissa Pompey had moved southward, and occupied a strong position on an eminence near the city of Pharsalus, overlooking the plain which skirts the left bank of the river Enipeus. Cæsar followed and encamped upon the plain, within four miles of the enemy's position. Here the hostile armies lay watching each other for some time, till Cæsar made a movement which threatened to intercept Pompey's communications with Larissa. The latter now at length yielded to the angry impatience of the Senatorial Chiefs. He resolved to descend from his strong position and give battle upon the plain of Pharsalus or Pharsalia.

The morning of the 6th of June[1] saw both armies drawn out in order of battle. The forces of Pompey consisted of about 44,000 men, and were (if Cæsar's account is accurate) twice as numerous as the army opposed to them. But Cæsar's were all veteran troops; the greater part of Pompey's were foreign levies recently collected in Macedonia and Asia, far inferior to the soldiers of Gaul and Italy. Pompey's army faced the north. His right wing, resting on the river, was commanded by Scipio, the centre by Lentulus Spinther, the left by Domitius. His cavalry, which was far superior to Cæsar's, covered the left flank. Cæsar drew up his forces in three lines, of which the rearmost was to act in reserve. His left was upon

[1] By the Roman Calendar, it was the 9th of August.

the river; and his small force of cavalry was placed upon his right, opposite to Pompey's left wing. To compensate for his inferiority in this arm, he picked out six veteran cohorts, who were to charge through the files of the horse if the latter were obliged to retire. Domitius Calvinus commanded in the centre, Antony on the left, Cæsar himself upon the right, where he kept the Tenth Legion in rear to act in reserve.

The attack began along Cæsar's whole line, which advanced running. Pompey ordered his men to wait the charge without moving, in hopes that the enemy would lose breath before they came to close quarters. But the experienced veterans, observing that the Pompeians kept their ground, halted to reform their line and recover breath, before they closed with the enemy. A desperate conflict followed.

While the Legions were engaged along the whole line, Pompey's cavalry attacked the weak squadrons of Cæsar's horse and drove them back. But the veterans, who were ordered to support them, sallied out of the ranks and drove their formidable pila straight at the unarmed faces of the enemy.[m] After a brave struggle Pompey's cavalry was completely broken and fled in disorder.

Upon this Cæsar brought up his third line, which was in reserve; and the infantry of Pompey being assailed by these fresh troops in front, and attacked in flank by the cavalry and cohorts which had triumphed over their opponents, gave way everywhere. A general order was now issued by Cæsar to spare the Romans among their opponents, and to throw all their strength upon the Eastern Allies. The Pompeian Legionaries, on hearing of this politic clemency, offered no further resistance; and Pompey himself rode off the field to his tent, leaving orders for the troops to retreat behind their entrenchments.

But this was not permitted. His Legionaries, instead of returning to man the ramparts, dispersed in all directions. The

[m] The common story, received from Plutarch, is that the order was given because Pompey's cavalry consisted chiefly of young Romans, who were afraid of having their beauty spoilt. Cæsar, however, mentions that Pompey's cavalry was excellent, and does not notice that he gave any order at all about striking at the face. The foot-soldiers would naturally strike at the most defenceless part, and the story of the "spoilt beauty" would be readily added by some scornful Cæsarian.

Eastern Allies, after a terrible slaughter, fled; and Pompey had only time to mount his horse and gallop off through the Decuman or rearward gate of his camp, as the soldiers of Cæsar forced their way in by the Prætorian or front gate. The booty taken was immense. The hardy veterans of Gaul gazed with surprise on the tent of Lentulus, adorned with festoons of Bacchic ivy, and on the splendid services of plate which were set out everywhere for a banquet to celebrate the expected victory.

§ 21. But before Cæsar allowed his tired soldiers to enjoy the fruits of the victory of Pharsalia he required them to complete the conquest. The pursuit was continued during the remainder of the day and on the morrow. But the task was easy. The clemency of the conqueror induced all to submit. When Cæsar entered the camp and saw the dead bodies of many Romans lying about, he exclaimed, "They would have it so: to have laid down our arms would have sealed our doom." Yet most of those who perished were foreigners or freedmen. The only distinguished person who fell was Domitius Ahenobarbus. Among those who came in and submitted voluntarily, was M. Junius Brutus, a young man of whom we shall hear more.

§ 22. Pompey fled precipitately to Larissa, and thence through the gorge of Tempé to the mouth of the Peneüs, where he found a merchant vessel, and embarked in company with Lentulus Spinther, Lentulus Crus, and others. He dismissed all his slaves. Honest Favonius proved his fidelity to the general by undertaking for him such menial offices as usually were left to slaves. The master of the ship knew the adventurers, and offered to take them whithersoever they would. Pompey first directed his course to Lesbos, where his wife Cornelia and his younger son Sextus had been sent for safety. Having taken them on board he sailed round to Cilicia, where he collected a few ships and a small company of soldiers. With these he crossed over to Cyprus, where he stayed a short time, deliberating on his future course of action. He still had a powerful fleet at sea, under the command of his elder son Cnæus, assisted by C. Cassius. Africa was still his own, and King Juba anxious to do him service. But after

considering and rejecting several plans proposed, he determined to seek an asylum in Egypt.

§ 23. Ptolemy Auletes, who had been restored by Gabinius,[n] Pompey's friend, had died some time before. He had left his kingdom to the divided sway of his son Ptolemy Dionysus and his daughter Cleopatra, under the guardianship of the Senate; and the Senate had delegated this trust to Pompey. Hence no doubt his reason for choosing Egypt as his place of retreat. But the country was in a very unsettled state. Cleopatra, who was older than her brother, had been driven from Alexandria by the people; and the government had been seized by three Greek adventurers,—Potheinus an eunuch, Theodotus a rhetorician, and Achillas an officer of the army. When Pompey appeared off Alexandria with a few ships which had joined him on his route, and a small force of about 2000 men, these ministers were engaged in repelling Cleopatra, who was endeavouring to return by means of force. A messenger from Pompey, sent to signify his intention of landing, threw them into great alarm. In the Egyptian army were a number of officers and soldiers who had formerly served under Pompey in the East, and had been left there by Gabinius. It was feared that these men would betray Egypt to their old general; at least this was the reason afterwards given for the way in which he was treated. All was left to the conduct of Achillas, a bold man, troubled by no scruples. A small boat was sent to receive the fugitive, really to prevent any attendants from landing with him, but under the false pretence that the water was too shallow to allow a larger vessel to reach the shore. In the boat were Achillas himself, a Roman officer named Salvius, and another named Septimius, who had served as a Tribune under Pompey in the war against the Pirates. The great general recognised and saluted his old officer, and entered the boat alone amid the sad bodings of his wife and friends. They anxiously watched it as it slowly made its way back to shore, and were somewhat comforted by seeing a number of persons collected on the beach as if to receive their friend with honour. At length the boat stopped, and Pompey took the hand of the person next him to assist him in rising. At this moment Sep-

[n] See Chapt. lxvi. § 15.

timius struck him with his sword from behind. He knew his fate, submitted without a struggle, and fell pierced by a mortal thrust. His head was then cut off and taken away, and his body left upon the beach. When the crowd dispersed, a freedman of Pompey's, whose name ought to have been recorded, assisted by an old soldier of the great commander, had the piety to break up a fishing boat and form a rude funeral pile. By these humble obsequies alone was the sometime master of the world honoured.

§ 24. So died Pompey. He had lived nearly sixty years, and had enjoyed more of the world's honours than almost any Roman before him. In youth he was cold, calculating, and hard-hearted, covetous of military fame, and not slow to appropriate what belonged to others: but his affable manners and generosity in giving won him general favour, which was increased by his early successes. His talents for war were really great, greater perhaps than any of Rome's generals except Marius, as was fully proved by his campaigns in the East. In the war with Cæsar it is plain that, so far as military tactics went, Pompey was superior to his great rival; and had he not been hampered by haughty and impatient colleagues, the result might have been different. In politics he was grasping and selfish, but irresolute and improvident. He imagined that his military achievements gave him a title to be acknowledged as the virtual sovereign of Rome; and when neither Senate nor People seemed willing to acquiesce in the claim, he formed a coalition with politicians whose principles he disliked, and made himself responsible for the acts of such men as Clodius. Lastly, when he found that in this coalition he was unable to maintain his superiority over Cæsar, he joined the Oligarchy who hated him, and lost even the glory which as a soldier he had well deserved. In private life he was free from those licentious habits in which most persons of that day indulged without scruple or reproach; and the affection he bore towards Julia must always be quoted as an amiable trait in a character that has in it little else of attractive. His tragical death excited a commiseration for him which by his life he hardly deserved.

CHAPTER LXVIII.

ABSOLUTE RULE OF CÆSAR. (48—44 B.C.)

§ 1. Cæsar follows Pompey to Egypt: lands there: Cleopatra: Alexandrian War: final triumph of Cæsar. § 2. Pompeians rally at Corcyra: cross over to Africa: Scipio placed in command: Cato at Utica. § 3. State of the Western Provinces. § 4. Cæsar named Dictator for the second time: at length leaves Alexandria. § 5. Conquers Pharnaces, settles Asia, and returns to Rome. § 6. He relieves debtors, and quells the mutiny of soldiers at Capua. § 7. Crosses over to Africa: victory at Thapsus: death of the Pompeian leaders. § 8. End of Cato. § 9. Settlement of Africa: Sallust. § 10. Four Triumphs of Cæsar: amnesty: donatives. § 11. Fresh war in Spain: defeats Pompeians at Munda: death of young Cn. Pompey, escape of Sextus. § 12. Short space of time spent at Rome in Legislation. § 13. He relieves the Treasury by revising the Corn-list. § 14. Liberal extension of Roman Franchise. § 15. Imperial projects. § 16. Enlarges and fills up the Senate: pasquinades. § 17. Military colonies. § 18. Encouragement of marriage. § 19. Endeavour to limit Slave labour. § 20. Public buildings. § 21. Reform of Calendar. § 22. Necessary seclusion. § 23. Public honours: desire to be proclaimed King. § 24. Growing discontent among various classes. § 25. Conspiracy: Brutus. § 26. Assassination of Cæsar. § 27. Estimate of his character.

§ 1. ON the third day after the battle of Pharsalia, Cæsar pursued Pompey by forced marches. He arrived at Amphipolis just after the fugitive had touched there. When he reached the Hellespont, he fell in with a squadron of Pompey's fleet under the command of C. Cassius. This officer, whose military skill had been proved in the Parthian campaign, might have intercepted Cæsar. But, whatever were his motives, he surrendered his ships to Cæsar in token of full and unreserved submission, and was received by the conqueror with the same favour which he had shown to Brutus, and to all who had either fallen into his hands or yielded of free will. Cæsar now immediately crossed the Hellespont in boats; and in Asia Minor, where he was delayed at several places by business, he heard that Pompey had taken ship from Cyprus, and immediately concluded that Egypt must be his destination. Without a moment's hesitation, he sailed from Rhodes for this country,

though it was as yet an independent kingdom, though he was unable to carry with him more than 4000 men, and though he incurred imminent risk of being intercepted by the Pompeian fleet. As soon as his arrival off Alexandria was known, Theodotus came off, bearing Pompey's head and ring. The conqueror accepted the ring, but turned with tears in his eyes from the ghastly spectacle of the head, and ordered it to be burnt with due honours. Over the place of the funeral-pyre he raised a shrine to Nemesis, the goddess assigned by the religion of the Greeks to be the punisher of arrogant prosperity. He then landed and entered Alexandria with his Consular emblems displayed, followed by his small army. Immediately after his arrival, Cleopatra secretly resorted to the capital city, and introduced herself in disguise into the palace where Cæsar had fixed his residence. The conqueror, from his earliest youth, had been notorious for unrestrained indulgence in sensual pleasures, and he yielded readily to the blandishments of the young and fascinating princess. But the ministers of the youthful King, Potheinus and Achillas, had no wish to lose their importance by agreeing to a compromise between their master and his imperious sister. The people of Alexandria were alarmed at Cæsar's assumption of authority, especially when he demanded payment of a debt which he alleged was due from the late King to Rome. A great crowd, supported by Achillas with his army, assaulted Cæsar suddenly. His few troops were overmatched, and he escaped with difficulty to Pharos, the quarter of the city next the sea. In vain he endeavoured to ruin the cause of Achillas by seizing the person of young Ptolemy. Arsinoë, another daughter of the blood-royal, was set up by the army; and Cæsar was completely blockaded in Pharos. An attempt was made to reduce him by turning the sea into the vast tanks constructed to supply that quarter of the city with fresh water. But by sinking pits in the beach, the Romans obtained a supply of water sufficient, though not good. Constant encounters took place by land and water; and in one of these Cæsar was in so much danger, that he was obliged to swim for his life from a sinking ship, holding his coat of mail between his teeth, and his note-book above water in his left hand.

He was shut up in Pharos about August, and the blockade continued till the winter was far spent. But at the beginning of the new year he was relieved by the arrival of considerable forces: Achillas was obliged to raise the siege of Pharos, and a battle in the open field resulted in a signal triumph to Cæsar. Vast numbers of the fugitives were drowned in attempting to cross the Nile: among them the young King himself. Cæsar now formally installed Cleopatra as sovereign of Egypt, and reserved Arsinoë to grace his triumph.

§ 2. During the half-year that followed Pharsalia, the Pompeian chiefs had in some measure recovered from their first consternation. Cnæus, the eldest son of the Great Pompey, had joined Cato at Corcyra; and in this place also were assembled Cicero, Labienus, Afranius, and others. The chief command was offered to Cicero, as the oldest Consular. But the Orator declined a dangerous post, for which he had neither aptitude nor inclination, and was nearly slain upon the spot by the impetuous Cnæus. Scipio soon after arrived, and to him the command was given. C. Cassius, with the greater portion of the fleet, had surprised and destroyed a number of Cæsar's ships in Sicily, and was proceeding to make descents upon the coast of Italy, when the news of the great defeat at Pharsalia reached him. He immediately sailed for the East, and fell in with Cæsar (as we have narrated) on the Hellespont. His defection was a heavy blow to the hopes of the Pompeian party.

Still, notwithstanding Pompey's disappearance and the defection of Cassius, a considerable fleet was assembled at Corcyra. Scipio and the rest embarked, with the troops that they had rallied, and steered for Egypt, in the hope of learning news of their Chief. They reached the coast of Africa, and were steering eastward along the coast, when they fell in with Pompey's ships, in which were Cornelia and young Sextus, with their friends, full of the tragic scene they had just witnessed on the beach of Alexandria. The disheartened leaders returned to Cyrené, which refused to admit any one within its walls except Cato and such men as he would be answerable for. The fleet, therefore, with Scipio, Labienus, and the greater part of the troops, pursued its course across the great gulf of the Syrtes to the Province of Africa, where the Pompeian cause

was upheld by Varus and his ally Juba. Cato and his followers were left to follow by land. He accomplished an arduous march across the desert in safety, and by the beginning of next year all the Pompeian leaders were assembled in the Province of Africa. Dissensions arose between Varus and Scipio for the command; to compromise the matter it was offered to Cato. The disinterested philosopher declined it, on the plea that he held no official position, and persuaded all the rest to acquiesce in the appointment of Scipio. It was then proposed to destroy the city of Utica, as being favourable to Cæsar. But Cato, with rare humanity, offered to assume the government of the town, and be responsible for its fidelity, thus finally separating himself from the active warfare, which from the first he had deprecated and disavowed.

§ 3. In other parts of the empire also, affairs were in a disquiet state. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, was daily gathering strength in Pontus. In Further Spain, the oppressive rule of Q. Cassius, brother of Caius, had excited a mutiny in the army, and discontent everywhere. In Illyricum, Gabinius, who had deserted his patron Pompey on occasion of the flight from Italy, had been ignominiously worsted by the Pompeian leader, M. Octavius, and had died at Salona. In Italy, P. Cornelius Dolabella, elected Tribune, had renewed the propositions of Cælius and Milo to abolish all debts; and two Legions stationed at Capua, one of which was the favoured Tenth, had risen in open mutiny against their officers, declaring that they had been kept under their standards long enough, and demanding their promised reward.

§ 4. We know not when the news of these threatening events reached Cæsar's ears at Alexandria. Early in the year 47 B.C. he had been proclaimed Dictator for the second time, and had named Mark Antony Master of the Horse. This officer was entrusted with the government of Italy. But the Peninsula seemed to be exposed by mutiny and discontent to a descent of the Pompeians from Africa, and the presence of the Dictator himself seemed to be imperiously demanded. Still he lingered in Egypt, detained (as his enemies say), by the blandishments of Cleopatra, or (as his admirers contend) by the necessity of confirming Roman influence in that country. It was not for the

space of four months after his victory on the Nile, that he left Egypt, having remained there altogether for not less than three-quarters of a year.

§ 5. But when once he had shaken off this real or apparent lethargy, all his startling rapidity of action returned. He left Egypt at the end of May (47 B.C.), and marched northward through Syria to crush the rising power of Pharnaces. On his way he received the hearty congratulations of the Jews, who hated the memory of Pompey; accepted the excuses of Deïotarus, Chief of Galatia, who had fought against him at Pharsalia; and in a few days appeared in Pontus. Pharnaces, proud of a victory over Cæsar's lieutenant, ventured to attack Cæsar himself near Zela, where his father Mithridates had once defeated the Romans. The victory gained by the Roman was easy, but decisive; and was announced at Rome in the famous despatch, "Veni, vidi, vici."[a] The kingdom of Bosporus was conferred on a friendly chief, bearing the name of Mithridates. Cæsar now devoted a short time to the task of settling the affairs of Asia. This Province had been warmly attached to the Senatorial cause by the mild rule of Lucullus and Pompey. Lately, however, the exactions of Metellus Scipio, on his march to join Pompey in Epirus, had caused great discontent; and Cæsar found it easy to win popularity by remitting a portion of the moneys due to the Imperial Treasury.

Before this, also, Octavius had been expelled from Illyria. Vatinius, who was in command at Brundusium, hearing of the defeat and death of Gabinius, immediately crossed the Adriatic, and attacked the fleet of Octavius with so much success that the Pompeian leader was glad to make his escape and join his fellows in misfortune in Africa.

Two months after Cæsar left Alexandria, all parts of the East were again restored to tranquil submission; and early in July Rome was astonished to see the great Conqueror enter her gates for the third time since he had crossed the Rubicon.

§ 6. He had been again named Dictator, as we have said; and, on his arrival at Rome, he applied himself with his usual

[a] Chapt. lxiii. § 9. This inscription was certainly placed upon the spoils taken from the Pontic King when carried in Triumphal procession; and Plutarch represents it as forming the Dictator's despatch.

industry and rapidity to settle the most pressing difficulties. The disturbances raised by the profligate promises of Cælius and Dolabella had been quelled by Antony; and the Dictator in some degree gratified those who had clamoured for an abolition of debts by paying a year's house-rent for all poor citizens out of the public purse,—an evil precedent, which in the present emergency he deemed necessary.

The mutiny of the soldiers at Capua was more formidable. But Cæsar, as was his wont, overcame the danger by facing it boldly. He ordered the two Legions to meet him in the Campus Martius unarmed. They had demanded their discharge, thinking that thus they would extort a large donation, for they considered themselves indispensable to the Dictator. He ascended the Tribunal, and they expected a speech. "You demand your discharge," he simply said, "I discharge you." A dead silence followed these unexpected words. Cæsar resumed: "The rewards which I have promised you shall have, when I return to celebrate my Triumph with my other troops." Shame now filled their hearts, mingled with vexation at the thought that they who had borne all the heat and burden of the day would be excluded from the Triumph. They passionately besought him to recal his words, but he answered not. At length, at the earnest entreaty of his friends, he again rose to speak. "Quirites,"—he began, as if they were no longer soldiers, but merely private citizens. A burst of repentant sorrow broke from the ranks of the veterans; but Cæsar turned away as if he were about to leave the Tribunal. The cries rose still louder: they besought him to punish them in any way, but not to dismiss them from his service. After long delay, he said that "he would not punish any one for demanding his due; but that he could not conceal his vexation that the Tenth Legion could not bide his time. That Legion at least he must dismiss." Loud applause followed from the rest; the men of the Tenth hung their heads in shame, and begged him to decimate them, and restore the survivors to his favour. At length, Cæsar deeming them sufficiently humbled, accepted their repentance. The whole scene is a striking illustration of the cool and dauntless resolution of the man. We at once say, here was one born for command.

§ 7. Having completed all pressing business in little more than two months, he again left Rome to take measures for reducing the formidable force which the Pompeian leaders had assembled in Africa. At Lilybæum six Legions and 2000 horse had been collected; and about the middle of October (47 B.C.) he reached Africa. An indecisive combat took place soon after he landed, and then he lay encamped waiting for reïnforcements till near the beginning of December. When he took the field, a series of manœuvres followed; till, on the 4th of February (46 B.C.), he encamped near Thapsus, and two days after fought the battle which decided the fate of the campaign. After a long and desperate conflict, which lasted till evening, the Senatorial army was forced to give way; and Cæsar, who always pressed an advantage to the utmost, followed them so closely that they could not defend their camp. The leaders fled in all directions. Varus and Labienus escaped into Spain. Scipio put to sea, but being overtaken by the enemy's ships sought death by his own hands. Such also was the fate of Afranius. Juba fled with old Petreius; and these two rude soldiers, after a last banquet, heated with wine, agreed to end their life by single combat. The Roman veteran was slain by the nimble African prince, and Juba sought death at the hand of a faithful Slave.

§ 8. Meanwhile, Cato at Utica had received news of the ruin of his party by the battle of Thapsus. He calmly resolved on self-slaughter, and discussed the subject both in conversation with his friends and in meditation with himself. After a conversation of this kind he retired to rest, and for a moment forgot his philosophic calm when he saw that his too careful friends had removed his sword. Wrathfully reproving them, he ordered it to be brought back and hung at his bed's head. There he lay down, and turned over the pages of Plato's Phædo till he fell asleep. In the night he awoke, and taking his sword from the sheath he thrust it into his body. His watchful friends heard him utter an involuntary groan, and, entering the room, found him writhing in agony. They procured surgical aid, and the wound was carefully dressed. Cato lay down again, apparently insensible; but, as soon as he was left alone, he quietly removed the dressings and tore open the wound, so that his bowels broke out, and after no long time he breathed his last. The Romans,

one and all, even Cicero, admired and applauded his conduct. It is true that the Stoics, though on principles different from Christianity, recommended the endurance of all evils as indifferent to a philosopher. But life had become intolerable to one who held the political opinions of Cato; and while Christian judgment must condemn his impatience, it must be confessed that from his own point of view the act was at least excusable.

§ 9. After this miserable end of the most upright and most eminent among the Senatorial Chiefs, Cæsar busied himself in regulating the countries he had conquered. Juba's kingdom of Numidia he formed into a new Province, and gave it into the care of the historian Sallust, who with others had been expelled from the Senate in the year 50 B.C., professedly because of his profligate manners, but really because of his devoted attachment to Cæsar's cause. His subsequent life justified both the real and the alleged cause. He proved an oppressive ruler, and his luxurious habits were conspicuous even in that age. In the terse and epigrammatic sentences of his two immortal works were immortalised the merits of Marius and of Cæsar, the vices and errors of their Senatorial antagonists.

§ 10. After some delay in Sardinia, where his presence also was required, Cæsar returned to Rome for the fourth time since the Civil War broke out, about the end of May, 46 B.C. At length he had found time to celebrate the Triumphs which he had earned since his first Consulship, and to devote his attention to those internal reforms, which long years of faction and anarchy had made necessary.

His Triumphs were four in number, over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Numidia;—for no mention was made of the Civil conflicts, which had been most dangerous and most difficult of all. A Roman could not triumph over fellow-citizens; therefore the victories of Ilerda and Pharsalia were not celebrated by public honours; nor would Thapsus have been mentioned, had it not been observed that here Juba was among the foes. These Triumphs were made more attractive by splendid gladiatorial shows and combats of wild beasts. But what gave much more real splendour was the announcement of a general amnesty for all political offences committed against the party of the Dictator. The

memory of the Marian Massacres and the Syllan Proscriptions were still present to many minds. Domitius Ahenobarbus and the chief Senatorial leaders had denounced all who took part against the Senate, or even those who remained neutral, with the severest penalties. Men could not believe that the Dictator's clemency was real; they could not rid themselves of the belief that when all fear of the enemy had ceased he would glut his vengeance by a hecatomb. The certainty that no more blood would flow was so much the more grateful.

After the Triumphs all his soldiers were gratified by a magnificent donation: nay, every poor citizen received a present both of grain and money.

The veterans now at length received their rewards in lands, which were either public property or were duly purchased with public money. But no Julian Military Colonies were planted on lands wrested by force from citizens, to emulate the Cornelian Military Colonies and maintain a population of turbulent agitators. Here also the example of Sylla, who confiscated private property to reward his troops, was carefully avoided.

§ 11. After the Triumphs every kind of honour was bestowed upon him. Above all, he was named Dictator for the third time; but now it was for a space of ten years. He was also invested with Censorial authority for three years; and in virtue of these combined offices he was declared absolute master of the lives and fortunes of all the Citizens and subjects of Rome. For several months he remained at Rome busily occupied in measures intended to remedy the evil effects of the long-continued civil discords and to secure order for the future. But in the middle of his work he was compelled to quit Rome by the call of another war. It will be well to dispose of this before we give a brief summary of his great legislative measures.

Spain was the Province that required his presence. There the two sons of Pompey, with Labienus and Varus, had rallied the scanty relics of the African army. The Province was already in a state of revolt against Cæsar. Q. Cassius,—whom he had left as Governor,—had so irritated all minds, that even the Legions rose, mutinied, and expelled the Cæsarian commanders. Bocchus, King of Mauritania, lent aid, and thus the malcontents in Spain were able to present a formidable front.

Cæsar arrived in Spain late in September (46 B.C.), after a journey of extraordinary rapidity, and found that young Cn. Pompeius had concentrated his forces near Corduba (Cordova). But an attack of illness compelled the Dictator to delay operations, and it was not till the first month of the next year that he was able to take the field. He then began offensive measures with his usual rapidity. He was extremely anxious to force the enemy to a battle, but this they cautiously declined, till several strong towns being taken by storm and others having surrendered, the Pompeians found themselves obliged to retreat towards the coast of the Mediterranean. Here Cæsar found them in a strong position near Munda, a small town about five and twenty miles west of Malaga, and as they offered him battle, he determined on attacking notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground. Success was for some time doubtful. But Cæsar exerted himself to lead his troops again and again to the desperate conflict, and their dauntless courage at length prevailed. So desperate was it that Cæsar is reported to have said:—"On other occasions I have fought for victory, here I fought for life." But the battle of Munda was decisive. More than 30,000 men fell. Among them were Varus and Labienus, whose heads were brought to Cæsar as tokens of their fate. Cn. Pompeius fled to the coast. Here as he was getting on board a small boat he entangled his foot in a rope; and a friend endeavouring to cut away the rope struck the foot instead. The unfortunate young man landed again, hoping to lie hid till his wound was healed. Finding his lurking-place discovered he limped wearily up a mountain path, but was soon overtaken and slain. His head also was carried to the conqueror, who ordered it to receive honourable burial. Sext. Pompeius escaped into Northern Spain, whence he re-appeared at a later time to vex the peace of the Roman world. Corduba, Hispalis (Seville), and other places garrisoned by the last desperate relics of the Pompeian party, held out for some time after the battle of Munda. So important did Cæsar consider it to quench the last sparks of disaffection in a Province which for several years had been under Pompey's government that he stayed in Spain till August, and did not return to Rome till September or October (45 B.C.), having been absent from the capital nearly a year.

On this occasion he was less scrupulous than before, for he celebrated a Fifth Triumph in honour of his successes in Spain, though these were as much won over Roman Citizens as his former victories in that same country, or his crowning glory of Pharsalia.

§ 12. From his last Triumph to his death was somewhat more than five months (October, 45 B.C.—March, 44 B.C.): from his Quadruple Triumph to the Spanish Campaign was little more than four months (June—September, 46 B.C.). Into these two brief periods were compressed most of the Laws which bear his name, and of which we will now give a brief account. Most of the evils, however, which he endeavoured to remedy were of old standing. His long residence at Rome, and busy engagements in all political matters from early youth to the close of his Consulship, made him familiar with every sore place, and with all the proposed remedies. His own clear judgment, his habits of rapid decision, and the unlimited power which he held in virtue of the Dictatorship, made it easier for him to legislate than for others to advise.

§ 13. The long wars, and the liberality with which he had rewarded his Soldiers and the People at his Triumphs, had reduced the sums in the Treasury to a low ebb. We may believe that no needs were more pressing than these.

Together with the Dictatorship he had been invested with Censorial power under the new title of Præfectus Morum. He used this power to institute a careful revision of the List of Citizens, principally for the purpose of abridging the list of those who were receiving monthly donations of grain from the Treasury. Numbers of foreigners had been irregularly placed on the Lists, and so great had been the temptations held out by the pernicious Poor-law originally passed by C. Gracchus, and made still worse by Saturninus and Clodius, that he was able to reduce the list of State-paupers resident in or near Rome from 320,000 to about half that number.[a] The Treasury felt an immediate and a permanent relief.

§ 14. But though, for this purpose, Cæsar made severe distinctions between Roman Citizens and those subjects of the Republic who were not admitted to the Franchise, no ruler ever showed

[a] See Chapt. liii. § 10 (2).

himself so much alive to the claims of all classes of her subjects. Other popular leaders had advocated the cause of the Italians, and all free people of the Peninsula had for the last thirty years been made Romans: but except the measure of Pompeius Strabo, by which the free people of Transpadane Gaul,—who were almost Italians,—had been invested with the Latin Rights, no popular statesman had as yet shown any interest in the claims of the Provincial subjects of Rome. Sertorius, indeed, had endeavoured to raise a Roman Government in Spain; but this was forced upon him by the necessity of the case, and was a transference of power from Italians to Spaniards, rather than an incorporation of Spain with Italy. Cæsar was the first acknowledged ruler of the Roman State who extended his view beyond the politics of the City and took a really imperial survey of the vast dominions subject to her sway. Towards those who were at war with Rome he was relentless and illiberal as the sternest Roman of them all; but no one so well as he knew how "to spare the submissive;" hardly any one except himself felt pleasure in so sparing. All the Cities of Transpadane Gaul, already Latin, were raised to the Roman Franchise. The same high privilege was bestowed on many Communities of Transalpine Gaul and Spain. The Gallic Legion, which he had raised, called *Alauda* from the lark which was the emblem on their arms, was rewarded for its services by the same gift. Medical practitioners and scientific men, of whatever origin, were to be allowed to claim the Roman Franchise. After his death a plan was found among his papers for raising the Sicilian Communities to the rank of Latin Citizens,—a design which seems to prove that a truly imperial idea gave character to his whole government.

§ 15. Nothing proved this more than the unfulfilled projects of the great Dictator, which were afterwards completed. Among these were the draining of the Pontine marshes, the opening of Lakes Lucrinus and Avernus to form a harbour, a complete survey and map of the whole Empire,—plans afterwards executed by Agrippa, the great minister of Augustus. Another and more memorable design was that of a Code of Laws embodying and organising the scattered judgments and precedents which at that time regulated the Courts. It was

several centuries before this great work was accomplished, by which Roman Law became the Law of civilised Europe.

§ 16. The liberal tendency of the Dictator's mind was shown by the manner in which he supplied the great gaps which the Civil War had made in the benches of the Senate. Of late years the number of that Assembly had been increased from its original three hundred. We find so many as four hundred and fifteen taking part in its votes;[a] and many of course were absent. But Cæsar raised it to no less than nine hundred, thus probably doubling the largest number that had ever been counted in its ranks. Many of the new Senators were fortunate soldiers who had served him well. In raising such men to Senatorial rank he followed the example of Sylla. But many of the new Nobles were enfranchised Citizens of the towns of Cisalpine Gaul. The old Citizens were indignant at this invasion of the barbarians. Pasquinades, rife in ancient as in modern Rome, abounded. "The Gauls," said one wit, "had exchanged the trews for the toga, and had followed the conqueror's triumphal car into the Senate." "It were a good deed," said another, "if no one would show the new Senators the way to the House."

The offices of Consul, Prætor, and other high Magistracies, however, were still conferred on men of Italian birth. The first foreigner who reached the Consulship was L. Cornelius Balbus, a Spaniard of Gades, the friend of Cæsar and of Cicero; but this was not till four years after the Dictator's death, when the principles of his government were more fully carried out by his successors.

§ 17. To revive a military population in Italy was not so much the object of Cæsar, as that of former leaders of the People. His veterans received comparatively few assignments of land in Italy. Only six small colonies in the neighbourhood of Rome were peopled by these men. The principal settlements by which he enriched them were in the Provinces. Corinth and Carthage were made Military Colonies, and rapidly regained somewhat of their ancient splendour and renown.

§ 18. He endeavoured to restore the wasted population of Italy by more peaceful methods than military settlements.

[a] Cicero *ad Att.* i. 14, 5.

The marriage-tie, which had become exceedingly lax in these profligate times, was encouraged by somewhat singular means. A married matron was allowed a greater latitude of ornament and the use of more costly carriages than the sumptuary Laws of Rome permitted to women generally. A married man with three children born in lawful wedlock at Rome, with four born in Italy, with five born in the Provinces, enjoyed freedom from certain duties and charges.

§ 19. The great abuse of Slave-labour was difficult to correct. It was attempted to apply remedies familiar to despotic governments in all ages. An Ordinance was issued that no Citizens between twenty and forty years of age should be absent from Italy for more than three years. And an ancient enactment was revived that on all estates at least one third of the labourers should be free men. No doubt these measures were of little effect.

§ 20. Cæsar's great designs for the improvement of the City were shown by several facts. Under his patronage the first public library was opened at Rome by his friend C. Asinius Pollio, famous as a poet, and in later years as the historian of the Civil War. For the transaction of public business, he erected the magnificent series of buildings called the Basilica Julia, of which we will say a few words in a later page.

§ 21. Of all his Reforms, that by which his name is best remembered is the Reform of the Calendar. It has been before stated that the Roman year had hitherto consisted of 355 days, with a month of 30 days intercalated every third year, so that the average length of the year was 365 days.[b] If the intercalations had been regularly made, the Romans would have lost a day's reckoning in every period of four years; since the real length of the solar year is about 365¼ days. But the business was so carelessly executed, that the difference between the civil year and the solar year sometimes amounted to several months, and all dates were most uncertain.

Cæsar, himself not unacquainted with astronomy, called in the assistance of the Greek Sosigenes to rectify the present error, and prevent error for the future. It was determined to make the 1st of January of the Roman year 709 A.U.C. coincide with the 1st of January of the solar year which we call 45 B.C.

[b] Chapt. i. § 17.

But it was calculated that this 1st of January of the year 709 A.U.C. would be 67 days in advance of the true time; or, in other words, would concur not with the 1st January 45 B.C., but with the 22nd of October 46 B.C. And therefore two intercalary months, making together 67 days, were inserted between the last day of November and the 1st of December of the year 708. An intercalary month of 23 days[c] had already been added to February of that year, according to the old method. Therefore, on the whole, the Roman year 708 consisted in all of the prodigious number of 445 days.[d] It was scoffingly called in the pasquinades "The Year of Confusion." More justly should it be called, as Macrobius observes, "The last Year of Confusion."

Thus the past error was corrected, and the 1st of January 709 A.U.C. became the same with the 1st of January 45 B.C.

To prevent future errors, the year was extended from 355 to 365 days, each month being lengthened, except February, according to the rule which we still observe. But as the solar year consists of about 365¼ days, it is manifest that it was necessary to add one day in every four years, and this was done at the end of February, as at present in our Leap Year.

Such was the famous Julian Calendar, which, with a slight alteration, continues to date every transaction and every letter of the present day.[d]

§ 22. The constant occupation required for these and other measures of reform, all executed in the space of nine or ten months, necessarily absorbed the chief part of the Dictator's

[c] Called *Mercedonius*. [d] *I.e.* 355 + 23 + 67 = 445.

[d] The addition of one day in every four years would be correct, if the solar year consisted exactly of 365¼ days, or 365 days 6 hours. In fact, it consists of 365 days, 5 hours, 48 minutes, 51½ seconds, so that the Julian year is longer than the true Solar year by about 11 minutes. Cæsar's astronomers knew this error, but neglected it. Accordingly in the year 1582 A.D. the beginning of the Julian year was about 13 days behind the true time. Pope Gregory XIII. shortened that year by 10 days, still leaving the year 3 days behind the true time; and to prevent error for the future, ordered the additional day of February to be omitted three times in 400 years. Protestant England refused to adopt this reform till the year 1752 A.D., when 11 days were dropped between the 2nd and 14th of September, which gave rise to the vulgar cry,—"Give us back our 11 days." Russia, through the jealousy of the Greek Church, still keeps the Old Style, and her reckoning is now 12 days behind that of the rest of Europe.

day, and prevented the free access which at Rome was usually accorded to suitors and visitors by the Consuls and great men. Cæsar himself lamented this. The true reason for his seclusion was not understood, and the fact diminished his popularity. Yet his affability was the same as ever, and a letter of Cicero, in which he describes a visit he received from the great conqueror in his villa at Puteoli, leaves a pleasing impression of both host and guest.[e] Cicero indeed had fully bowed to circumstances. He spoke in defence of the Pompeian partisans, M. Marcellus and Q. Ligarius, and introduced into his speeches compliments to Cæsar too fulsome to be genuine. In his enforced retirement from public life after the Battle of Pharsalia, he composed some of those pleasing Dialogues which we still read.[f] Both to him and to every other Senatorial Chief Cæsar not only showed pardon, but favour.

§ 23. Yet the remnant of the Nobles loved him not. And with the People at large he suffered still more, from a belief that he wished to be made King. On his return from Spain, he had been named Dictator and Imperator for life. His head had for some time been placed on the money of the Republic, a regal honour conceded to none before him. Quintilis, the fifth month of the Calendar, received from him the name which it still bears. The Senate took an oath to guard the safety of his person. He was honoured with sacrificial offerings, and other honours, which had hitherto been reserved for the Gods. But Cæsar was not satisfied. He was often heard to quote the sentiment of Euripides, that "if any violation of law is excusable, it is excusable for the sake of gaining sovereign power."[g] The craving desire to transmit power to an heir occupied him as it occupied Cromwell and Napoleon; and no title yet conferred upon him was hereditary. It was no doubt to ascertain the popular sentiments that various propositions were made towards an assumption of the style and title of King. His statues in the Forum were found crowned with a diadem; but two of the Tribunes tore it off, and the mob applauded. On

[e] *Epist. ad Att.* xiii. 52.

[f] The *Brutus, Orator ad M. Brutum, Partitiones Oratoriae, Academica, De Finibus bonorum et malorum.*

[g] Cicero *de Off.* iii. 21.

the 26th of January, at the Great Latin Festival on the Alban Mount, voices in the crowd saluted him as King; but mutterings of discontent reached his ear, and he promptly said: "I am no King, but Cæsar." Yet the Tribunes who punished those who were detected in raising the cry were deposed by the Dictator's will. The final attempt was made at the Lupercalia on the 15th of February. Antony, in the character of one of the Priests of Pan, approached the Dictator as he sat presiding in his golden chair, and offered him an embroidered band, such as was worn on the head by Oriental Sovereigns. The applause which followed was partial, and the Dictator put the offered gift aside. Then a burst of genuine cheering greeted him, which waxed louder still when he rejected it a second time. Old traditional feeling was too strong at Rome even for Cæsar's daring temper to brave it. The People would submit to the despotic rule of a Dictator, but would not have a King.

Disappointed no doubt he was; and one more attempt was made to invest himself with hereditary title. A large camp had for some time been formed at Apollonia in Illyricum; in it was present a young man, who had long been the declared heir of the Dictator. This was C. Octavius, son of his niece Atia, and therefore his grand-nephew. He was born, as we have noted, in the memorable year of Catiline's conspiracy, and was now in his nineteenth year. From the time that he had assumed the garb of manhood his health had been too delicate for military service. Notwithstanding this, he had ventured to demand the Mastership of the Horse from his uncle. But he was quietly refused, and sent to take his first lessons in the art of war at Apollonia, where a large and well-equipped army had been assembled. The destination of this powerful force was not publicly announced. But general belief pointed, no doubt rightly, to Parthia; for the death of Crassus was unavenged, and the Roman Eagles were still retained as trophies by the barbaric conqueror. This belief was confirmed by the fact of a Sibylline oracle being produced about this time, saying, "that none but a King could conquer Parthia." And soon after a Decree was moved in the Senate, by which Cæsar was to be enabled, not at Rome, but in the Provinces, to assume the style of King. Without the well-known emblems

and permanent power of royalty, it was argued, a Roman commander could not expect the submissive homage of Orientals. But subsequent events prevented this Decree from being carried into effect.

§ 24. Meanwhile other causes of discontent had been agitating various classes at Rome. Cleopatra appeared at Rome with a boy whom she named Cæsarion and declared to be her son by Cæsar. It was her ambition to be acknowledged as his wife, and to obtain the Dictator's inheritance for the boy,—a thing hateful even to the degenerate Romans of that day. Then, the more fiery partisans of Cæsar disapproved of his clemency; they did not understand his wish no longer to be the unscrupulous leader of a Party, but the impartial ruler of the Empire. Many of the more prodigal sort were angry at the regulations he made to secure the Provincials from extortion and oppression. Antony himself, who, in consideration of his services, expected the same extravagance of license that had been granted by Sylla to his favourites, was indignant at being obliged to pay its full price for the house of Pompey in the Carinæ, of which he had taken possession. The Populace of the City complained,—the genuine Romans at seeing so much favour extended to Provincials, those of foreign origin because they had been excluded from the corn-bounty. Cæsar no doubt was eager to return to his army, and escape from the increasing difficulties which beset his civil government. But it seemed likely that as soon as he joined the army, he would assume monarchical power, in virtue of the late Decree; and this consideration urged on to hasty determination the remains of the old Senatorial party, who owed their lives to Cæsar's clemency, who had accepted favours from his bounty, and scrupled not to turn his own gifts to his destruction.

§ 25. The great difficulty was to find a leader. C. Cassius was a good soldier, but of temper so fickle and uncertain, that few were willing to confide in him. It was upon M. Junius Brutus that all the discontented turned their eyes. This young man, a nephew of Cato, had taken his uncle as an example for his public life. But he was fonder of Platonic speculations than of political action. His habits were cold and reserved, rather those of a student than a statesman. He had reluctantly joined

the cause of Pompey, for he could ill forget that it was by Pompey that his father had been put to death in cold blood; but he yielded to the arguments of Cato, and mastered his private feud by what he considered zeal for the public good. After Pharsalia, he was received by Cæsar with the utmost kindness, and treated by him almost like a son. He seems to have felt this, and lived quietly without harbouring any designs against his benefactor. In the present year he had been proclaimed Prætor of the City, with the promise of the Consulship presently after. But the discontented remnants of the old Senatorial party assailed him with constant reproaches. The name of Brutus, dear to all Roman patriots, was made a rebuke to him. "His ancestor expelled the Tarquins; and could he sit quietly under a new King's rule?" At the foot of the statue of that famous ancestor, or on his own prætorian tribunal, notes were placed, containing phrases such as these:—"Thou art not Brutus: would thou wert." "Brutus, thou sleepest." "Awake, Brutus." Gradually his mind was excited; and he was brought to think that it was his duty as a patriot to put an end to Cæsar's rule even by taking his life. The most notable of those who arrayed themselves under him was Cassius himself. What was this man's motive is unknown. He had never taken much part in politics; and the Epicurean Philosophy which he professed gave him no strong reasons for hating a despotic government. He had of his own accord made submission to the conqueror, and had been received with marked favour. Some personal reason probably actuated his unquiet spirit. More than sixty persons were in the secret. All of whom we know anything were, like Cassius, under obligations to the Dictator. P. Servilius Casca was by his grace Tribune of the Plebs. L. Tillius Cimber was promised the government of Bithynia. Dec. Brutus, one of his old Gallic officers, was Prætor-elect, and was to be gratified with the rich Province of Cisalpine Gaul. C. Trebonius, another of his most trusted officers, had received every favour which the Dictator could bestow; he had just laid down the Consulship, and was on the eve of departure for the coveted government of Asia. Q. Ligarius, who had lately accepted a free pardon from the Dictator, rose from a sick bed to join the conspirators.

§ 26. A meeting of the Senate was called for the Ides of March, at which Cæsar was to be present. This was the day appointed for the murder. The secret had oozed out. Many persons warned Cæsar that some danger was impending. A Greek soothsayer told him of the very day. On the morning of the Ides his wife arose so disturbed by dreams, that she persuaded him to relinquish his purpose of presiding in the Senate, and he sent Antony in his stead.

This change of purpose was reported in the Senate after the House was formed. The conspirators were in despair. Dec. Brutus at once went to Cæsar, told him that the Fathers were only waiting to confer upon him the sovereign power which he desired in the Provinces, and begged him not to listen to auguries and dreams. Cæsar was persuaded to change his purpose, and was carried forth in his litter. On his way, a slave who had discovered the conspiracy tried to attract the Dictator's notice, but was unable to reach him for the crowd. A Greek Philosopher, named Artemidorus, succeeded in putting a roll of paper into his hand, containing full information of the conspiracy; but Cæsar, supposing it to be a petition, laid it in the litter by his side for a more convenient season. Meanwhile the conspirators had reason to think that their plot had been discovered. A friend came up to Casca and said: "Ah, Casca, Brutus has told me your secret!" The conspirator started back, but was relieved by the next sentence: "Where will *you* find money for the expenses of the Ædileship?" More serious alarm was felt when Popillius Lænas remarked to Brutus and Cassius, "You have my good wishes; but what you do, do quickly,"—especially when the same Senator stepped up to Cæsar on his entering the House, and began whispering in his ear. So terrified was Cassius, that he thought of stabbing himself instead of Cæsar, till Brutus quietly observed that the gestures of Popillius indicated that he was asking a favour, not revealing a fatal secret. Cæsar took his seat without further delay.

As was agreed, Cimber presented a petition, praying for his brother's recal from banishment; and all the conspirators pressed round the Dictator, urging his favourable answer. Displeased at their thronging round him, Cæsar attempted to rise. At that moment, Cimber seized the lappet of his robe, and

pulled him down; and immediately Casca struck him from the side, but inflicted only a slight wound. Then all drew their daggers and assailed him. Cæsar for a time defended himself with the gown folded over his left arm, and the sharp-pointed stile which he held in his right hand for writing on the wax of his tablets. But when he saw Brutus among the assassins, he exclaimed: "You too, Brutus!" and covering his face with his gown offered no further resistance. In their eagerness, some blows intended for their victim fell upon themselves. But enough reached Cæsar to do the bloody work. Pierced by three-and-twenty wounds, he fell at the base of Pompey's statue, which had been removed after Pharsalia by Antony, but had been restored by the magnanimity of Cæsar to be the witness of his bloody end.

§ 27. Thus died "the foremost man in all the world," a man who failed in nothing that he attempted. He might, Cicero thought, have been a great orator; his Commentaries remain to prove that he was a great writer. As a general he had few superiors; as a statesman and politician no equal. That which stamps him as a man of true greatness, is the entire absence of vanity and self-conceit from his character. If it were not known that Cæsar was the narrator of his own campaigns, no one could guess that cold and dispassionate narrative to be from his pen. His genial temper and easy unaffected manners bear testimony to the same point. It is well known indeed that he paid great attention to his personal appearance,—a foible which he shared in common with many great men equally free from other vanity. In youth he was strikingly handsome, and was the welcome lover of many dissolute Roman dames. His hard life and unremitting activity had furrowed his face with lines, and left him with that meagre visage which is made familiar to us from his coins. To the same cause is to be attributed his liability, in later life, to fits of an epileptic nature. But even in these days he was sedulous in arranging his robes, and was pleased to have the privilege of wearing a laurel crown to hide the scantiness of his hair. His morality in domestic life was not better or worse than commonly prevailed in those licentious days. He indulged in profligate amours freely and without scruple.

But public opinion reproached him not for this. When it was sought to blacken his character, crimes of a deeper dye were imputed to him; but they were never proved, and he always indignantly denied them. He seldom, if ever, allowed pleasure to interfere with business, and here his character forms a notable contrast to that of Sylla. In other respects the men were not unlike. Both were men of real genius, and felt their strength without vanity. But Sylla loved pleasure more than power; Cæsar valued power above all other things. As a general, Cæsar was probably no less inferior to Pompey than Sylla to Marius. Yet his successes in war, achieved by a man who, in his forty-ninth year, had hardly seen a camp, add to our conviction of his real genius. Those successes were due not so much to scientific and calculated manœuvres, as to rapid audacity of movement and perfect mastery over the wills of men. That he caused the death or captivity of some million of Gauls, to provide treasure and form an army for his political purposes, is shocking to us; but it was not so to Roman moralists. Any Roman commander with like powers, except, perhaps, Cato, would have acted in like manner. But the clemency with which Cæsar spared the lives of his opponents in the Civil War, and the easy indulgence with which he received them into favour, were peculiarly his own. His political career was troubled by no scruples: to gain his end he was utterly careless of the means. But before we judge him severely, we must remember the manner in which the Marian party had been trampled under foot by Sylla and the Senate. If, however, the mode in which he rose to power was questionable, the mode in which he exercised it was admirable. By the action of constant civil broils the constitutional system of Rome had given way to anarchy, and there seemed no escape except by submission to the strong domination of one capable man. The only effect of Cæsar's fall was to cause a renewal of bloodshed for another half generation; and then his work was finished by a far less noble and generous ruler. Those who slew Cæsar were guilty of a great crime, and a still greater blunder.

CHAPTER LXIX.

FROM THE DEATH OF CÆSAR TO THE BATTLE OF PHILIPPI. (44—42 B.C.)

§ 1. Terror of Senate and People: Conspirators retire to Capitol. § 2. Antony takes possession of Cæsar's money and papers. § 3. Brutus addresses the People in Forum: Conspirators again retire to the Capitol. § 4. Negociation with Antony: Meetings of Senate: confirmation of Cæsar's Acts. § 5. Cæsar's Will: Funeral oration in Forum: Riot. § 6. Temporising policy of Antony: he abolishes the Dictatorship: quits Rome. § 7. Octavius lands in Italy and declares himself Cæsar's heir: his quarrel with Antony. § 8. Antony master of the Senate: the Liberators finally quit Italy: Cicero returns to Rome. § 9. Antony's use of Cæsar's papers. § 10. The First Philippic: Antony's reply: Cicero *writes* the Second Philippic. § 11. Pansa and Hirtius, the Consuls-elect, declare for Octavius against Antony: Antony leaves Rome and invests Dec. Brutus at Mutina: Cicero *publishes* his Second Philippic. § 12. Hirtius and Octavius take the field against Antony: Antony intercepts Pansa, but is himself intercepted and afterwards defeated by Hirtius: death of both Consuls. § 13. Hopes of the Senate: Sext. Pompey, Plancus, Pollio, Lepidus: Antony retreats across the Alps and joins Lepidus. § 14. Octavius marches to Rome and is elected Consul with Q. Pedius. § 15. Pedian Law, condemning Cæsar's murderers: Death of Dec. Brutus. § 16. Formation of the Triumvirate. § 17. Proscription. § 18. Death of Cicero. § 19. His character. § 20. Sext. Pompeius saves many of the proscribed: Octavius attempts to expel him from Sicily. § 21. Brutus in Macedonia, Cassius in Syria: death of Trebonius and of Dolabella. § 22. Doings of Brutus and Cassius in Asia Minor: Vision of Brutus. § 23. Position of the hostile armies at Philippi. § 24. First Battle of Philippi: death of Cassius. § 25. Second Battle of Philippi: death of Brutus. § 26. Character of Brutus.

§ 1. WHILE the Conspirators were at their bloody work, the mass of the Senators rushed in confused terror to the doors; and when Brutus turned to address his peers in defence of the deed, the Hall was well nigh empty. Cicero, who had been present, answered not, though he was called by name; Antony, fearful for his own life, had hurried away to exchange his consular robes for the garb of a slave. Disappointed of obtaining the immediate sanction of the Senate, the Conspirators sallied out into the Forum to win the ear of the People. But here too they were disappointed. Not knowing what massacre might

be in store, every man had fled to his own house; and in vain the Conspirators paraded the Forum, holding up their blood-stained weapons and proclaiming themselves the Liberators of Rome. Disappointment was not their only feeling: they were not without fear. For they knew well that Lepidus, being on the eve of departure for his Province of Narbonese Gaul and Northern Spain, had a Legion encamped on the Island; and if he were to unite with Antony against them, the stroke which they had struck would quickly be avenged. In all haste, therefore, they retired to the Capitol, where they were secure from assault. Meanwhile, three of Cæsar's slaves, finding no one to interrupt their pious work, placed their master's body upon a stretcher, and carried it to his house on the south side of the Forum with one arm dangling from the unsupported corner. In this condition the widowed Calpurnia received the lifeless clay, which the spirit within it had so lately made Sovereign of the world.

§ 2. Lepidus moved his troops to the Campus Martius. But Antony had no thoughts of resorting to arms, which would probably leave Lepidus master of Rome.[a] During the night he took possession of an immense treasure, which Cæsar had deposited in the Temple of Ops to defray the expenses of his projected Parthian campaign, and persuaded Calpurnia to put into his hands a large sum of money which the Dictator kept in his own house, together with all his papers, public and private. Possessed of these securities, he barricaded his house on the Carinæ, and determined to watch the course of events.

§ 3. In the evening Cicero, with other Senators, visited the self-styled Liberators in the Capitol. They had not communicated their plot to the veteran Orator, through fear (they said) of his irresolute counsels: nor could his friends aver that it was from fear of his moral disapproval; for now that the deed was done he extolled it as a godlike act. Next morning, Dolabella, Cicero's son-in-law, a frivolous and profligate Nobleman, whom Cæsar had promised should be his successor in the Consulship, assumed the Consular fasces and joined the Liberators, while Cinna, son of the old Marian leader, and therefore brother-in-law to Cæsar, threw aside his Prætorian robes, de-

[a] This fear is expressly attributed to him by Dio C. xliv. 34.

claring he would no longer wear the tyrant's livery. Dec. Brutus, a good soldier, had taken a band of gladiators into pay, to serve as a body-guard of the Liberators. Thus strengthened, and seeing that Antony and Lepidus moved not, they ventured again to descend into the Forum. Brutus mounted the Tribune, and addressed the People in a calm and dispassionate speech, which produced little effect. But when Cinna followed him, and vehemently assailed the memory of the Dictator, the crowd broke out into loud and menacing cries. Again foiled, the Liberators again retired to the Capitol.

§ 4. That same night they entered into negotiations with Antony, and the result appeared next morning, the second after the murder. The Senate, summoned to meet in the Temple of Tellus, obeyed the call in large numbers. Antony and Dolabella both attended the sitting in their Consular robes, and Cinna again assumed his Prætorian garb. It was soon apparent that a reconciliation had been effected: for Antony at once moved that a general amnesty should be granted for all that had been done, and Cicero seconded the motion in an animated speech. It was carried; and Antony next moved, that, to prevent confusion and discontent, all the appointments and acts of the Dictator should be recognised as law. He had his own purposes here; but the Liberators also saw in the motion an advantage to themselves: for they were actually in possession of some of the chief Magistracies, and had received appointments to some of the richest Provinces of the Empire. This proposal, therefore, was favourably received; but it was adjourned to the next day, together with the important question of Funeral.

On the next day, Cæsar's Acts were formally confirmed, and among them his Will was declared valid, though its provisions were yet unknown. After this, it was difficult to reject the proposal that the Dictator should have a public burial. Old Senators remembered the riots that attended the funeral of Clodius, and shook their heads. Cassius opposed it. But Brutus, with the imprudent magnanimity that marked his whole proceedings at this juncture, decided in favour of allowing it. To seal the reconciliation, Lepidus entertained Brutus that day at dinner, and Cassius was feasted by Mark Antony.

§ 5. The Will was immediately made public. Cleopatra was still in Rome, and entertained hopes that the boy Cæsarion would be declared the Dictator's heir; for though he had been married thrice, there was no one of his lineage surviving. But Cæsar was too much a Roman, and knew the Romans too well, to be guilty of this folly. Young C. Octavius, his sister's son, was declared his heir. Legacies were left to all his supposed friends, among whom were several of the assassins. His noble gardens on the Janiculum were devised to the use of the Public, and every Roman Citizen was to receive a donation of 300 sesterces (between 2*l.* and 3*l.* sterling). The effect of this publication was electric. Devotion to the memory of the generous Dictator and hatred for his murderers at once filled every breast.

Two or three days after this followed the Funeral. The body was to be burnt and the ashes deposited in the Campus Martius near the tomb of his only child Julia. But it was first brought into the Forum upon a bier inlaid with ivory and covered with rich tapestries, which was carried by men high in rank and office. There Antony, as Consul, rose to pronounce the Funeral Oration. He ran through the chief acts of Cæsar's life, recited his Will, and then spoke of the death which had rewarded him. To make this more vividly present to the excitable Italians, he displayed a waxen image in which were represented all the three-and-twenty wounds, and the very robe which he had worn all rent and blood-stained. Soul-stirring dirges added to the solemn horror of the scene. But to us the memorable speech which Shakspere puts into Antony's mouth will give the liveliest notion of the art used and the impression produced. At first the Senators and friends of the Liberators who had attended the ceremony looked on in moody silence. Soon the menacing gestures of the crowd made them look to their safety. They disappeared one by one; and the multitude insisted on burning the body, as they had burned the body of Clodius, in the sacred precincts of the Forum. It was even proposed to make the Curia Pompeia itself, where the murder had been committed, the pyre of Cæsar. But while others were disputing, some of the veterans who attended the funeral, set fire to the bier; benches and firewood heaped round it soon made a sufficient pile.

From the blazing pyre the crowd rushed, eager for vengeance, to the houses of the Conspirators. But they had all fled betimes. One poor wretch fell a victim to the fury of the mob,—Helvius Cinna, a poet who had devoted his art to the service of the Dictator. He was mistaken for L. Cornelius Cinna the Prætor, and torn to pieces before the mistake could be explained.[b]

§ 6. Antony was now the real Master of Rome. The treasure which he had seized gave him the means of purchasing the goodwill of many antagonists, and above all of securing the attachment not only of the veterans stationed in various parts of Italy, but also of the great army now assembled in Epirus. He did not, however, proceed in the course which, from the tone of his funeral harangue, might have been expected. The sword which he appeared to have drawn for battle was returned to the sheath. He allowed the Consul Dolabella to put down the riots by force; he renewed friendly intercourse with the murderers; Brutus and Cassius, who continued hovering in the neighbourhood, were encouraged by his tone to visit Rome once at least, if not oftener, after that day; and Dec. Brutus, with his gladiators, was suffered to establish himself in the City. Antony went still further. He gratified the Senate by passing a Law to abolish the Dictatorship for ever. After this wavering and uncertain conduct, he left Rome to make a tour in Central and Southern Italy, to win the favour of the Italian Communities and try the temper of the veterans.

§ 7. Meanwhile another actor appeared upon the scene. This was young Octavius, now the declared heir of Cæsar. He had been but six months in the camp at Apollonia; but in that short time he had formed a close friendship with M. Vipsanius Agrippa, a young man of his own age, who possessed great abilities for active life, but could not boast of any distinguished ancestry. As soon as the news of his uncle's assassination reached the camp, his friend Agrippa and others recommended him to appeal at once to the troops, and march upon Rome. But the youth, with a wariness above his years, resisted these bold counsels. Landing near Brundusium almost

[b] See below, Chapt. lxxi. § 14.

alone, he there first heard that Cæsar's Will had been published, and that he was declared Cæsar's principal heir. He at once accepted the dangerous honour, and declared his intention of assuming the name of his benefactor. As he travelled slowly towards the City, he stayed some days at Puteoli with his mother Atia, who was now married to L. Philippus. Both mother and stepfather attempted to dissuade him from the perilous business of claiming his inheritance. At the same place he had an interview with Cicero, who had quitted Rome in despair after the Funeral; and he left the Orator under the impression that he might be won to what was called the Republican party. At length he arrived at Rome, about the beginning of May. There he at once requested an interview with Antony, who had returned from his Italian tour; and, as his uncle's heir, demanded an account of the moneys of which the Consul had taken possession, in order that he might pay the 300 sesterces to all citizens who claimed their legacy, and might discharge the other obligations that were laid upon him by his uncle's Will. But Antony had already spent great part of the money in bribing his worthless colleague Dolabella and other influential persons; nor was he willing to give up any portion of his spoil. Octavius therefore sold what remained of his uncle's property, raised money on his own credit and that of his friends, and paid all legacies with great exactness. This act earned him much popularity. Antony began to fear and hate this boy of eighteen, whom he had hitherto despised, and the Senate learned to look on him as a person to be conciliated.

To this end, it was publicly decreed that the month Quintilis should continue to be styled July, as had been determined in the Dictator's lifetime; and a day was set apart for celebrating his memory with divine honours.

§ 8. Still Antony remained in possession of all actual power. The Senate, weakened by the absence of the Liberators, of Cicero, and many others, corrupted by the gold of the Consul, and overawed by his troops, voted, on his demand, that the Provinces of Macedonia and Syria, though granted to Brutus and Cassius by the act of Cæsar, should be transferred to his own brother C. Antonius and Dolabella. Shortly after,

another Decree was issued by which the coveted Province of Cisalpine Gaul was transferred from Dec. Brutus to Antony himself. The news of this and other arbitrary acts convinced Brutus, Cassius, and the rest that they had nothing to hope at Rome. Dec. Brutus, with soldierlike promptitude, immediately left Rome and took possession of his Province by force. But M. Brutus and Cassius still dallied. Their vacillating conduct during this time gives us an unfavourable impression of their fitness for any enterprise of mark. Cicero, not himself remarkable for political firmness, in this crisis displayed a vigour and resolution worthy of his earlier days, and was scandalised by the unworthy bickerings of his friends.[c] At length, however, but still with much hesitation and many delays, they set sail from Velia for Greece. This was in the month of September. At Velia they had met Cicero for the last time. The veteran Orator also had at one moment made up his mind to retire from public life to Athens, and end his days there in learned leisure. In the course of this summer he had continued to employ himself on some of his most elaborate treatises. His works on the Nature of the Gods and on Divination, his Offices, his Dialogue on Old Age, and several other Essays belong to this period, and mark the restless activity of his mind. But though he twice set sail from Italy, he was twice driven back by contrary winds; and the last time he was brought to port at Velia. He had for some time been wavering; for letters received from Au. Hirtius, and other friends of Cæsar, who had taken part against Antony, gave him hopes that, in the name of Octavius, they might successfully oppose Antony, and restore constitutional government. He declared his purpose to Brutus and Cassius, who commended him, and took leave of him. They went their way to the East to raise armies against Antony; he returned to Rome to fight the battles of his party in the Senate House.

§ 9. Meanwhile Antony had been running riot. In possession of Cæsar's papers, with no one to check him, he produced ready warrant for every measure which he wished to carry, and pleaded the vote of the Senate which confirmed all the Acts

[c] See an interesting Letter, in which he describes a conference held by the Conspirators in his presence at Antium.—*Ad Att.* xv. 11.

of Cæsar. When he could not produce a genuine paper, he interpolated or forged what was needful. Thus he granted immunities and exemptions, brought forward laws for altering the constitution of the Law Courts, with many other measures, all tending to root his own power, but too ephemeral in their duration to need particular mention.

§ 10. On the day after Cicero's return (September 1st) there was a meeting of the Senate. But the Orator did not attend. Antony considered his absence as a slight, and threatened to send men to drag him from his house. Next day Cicero was in his place, but now Antony was absent. The Orator rose and addressed the Senate in what is called his First Philippic. This was a measured attack upon the government and policy of Antony, and in the course of it he attempted to win over the other Consul, Dolabella. But all personalities were carefully eschewed;—the tone of the whole speech, indeed, is such as might be delivered by a leader of opposition in Parliament at the present day. Antony, enraged at this boldness, summoned a meeting for the 19th of September, which Cicero did not think it prudent to attend, and attacked the absent Orator in the strongest language of personal abuse and menace. Cicero sate down at home, and composed his famous Second Philippic, which is written as if it were delivered on the same day, in reply to Antony's intemperate invective. At present, however, he contented himself with sending a copy of it to Atticus, enjoining secrecy.

§ 11. Matters quickly drew to a head between Antony and Octavius. The latter had succeeded, after some difficulty, in securing a thousand men of his uncle's veterans who had settled in Campania; and by great exertions in the different towns of Italy as far as Ravenna northwards had levied a considerable force. Meantime four of the Epirote Legions had just landed at Brundusium, and Antony hastened to attach them to his cause. But the largess which he offered them was only a hundred denaries a man, and the soldiers laughed in his face. Antony, enraged at their conduct, seized the ringleaders, and decimated them. This severity only served to change their open insolence into sullen anger, and emissaries from Octavian endeavoured to draw them over to the side of their young master.

They had so far obeyed Antony as to march northwards to Ariminum, while he repaired to Rome. But as he entered the Senate-house, he heard that two of the four Legions had deserted to his rival, and in great alarm he hastened to the camp just in time to keep the remainder of the troops under his standard, by distributing to every man five hundred denaries.

The persons to hold the Consulship for the next year had been designated by Cæsar, and his will was still allowed to prevail. They were both old officers of the Gallic army, C. Vibius Pansa, and Au. Hirtius, the reputed author of the Eighth Book of the History of the Gallic War. Cicero was ready to believe that they had become patriots, because, disgusted with the arrogance of Antony, they had declared for Octavius and the Senate. Moreover, they were old friends of Dec. Brutus; and Antony began to fear that all persons and parties might combine to crush him. He determined, therefore, no longer to remain inactive; and about the end of November, having collected all his troops at Ariminum, which, notwithstanding desertions, were a large and formidable force,[d] he marched along the Æmilian road to drive Dec. Brutus out of Cisalpine Gaul. Decimus was obliged to throw himself into Mutina (Modena), and Antony immediately blockaded the place. As soon as his back was turned, Cicero published the famous Second Philippic, in which he lashed the Consul with the most unsparing hand, going through the history of his past life, exaggerating the debaucheries which were common to Antony with great part of the Roman youth, and painting in the strongest colours the profligate use which he had made of Cæsar's papers. Its effect was very great, and Cicero followed up the blow by the following twelve Philippics, which were speeches delivered in the Senate-House and Forum, at intervals from December 44 B.C. to April in the next year, well calculated to excite enthusiasm for any person, who, like Octavius, was determined to oppose the arrogant tyranny of Antony.

§ 12. Cicero was anxious to break off with Antony at once, by declaring him a public enemy. But the late Consul was still regarded by many Senators as the representative of the

[d] Antony had four Legions of veterans, with a large additional force of Allies and new levies. Appian *Bell. Civ.* iii. 46.

Cæsarian party, and it was resolved to treat with him. The demands of Antony were much the same as those which had been granted to Cæsar himself on the formation of the First Triumvirate. They were deemed so extravagant, that negotiations were at once broken off, and nothing remained but to try the fortune of arms. Both Consuls proceeded to levy troops; but so exhausted was the Treasury, and so small the receipts from the Provinces, that now for the first time since the triumph of Æmilius Paullus, it was found necessary to levy a property-tax upon the citizens of Rome and Italy.[e]

Meantime Octavius and the Senatorial chiefs had assembled their forces at Alba. The regular troops were of nearly the same number as those of Antony.[f] On the first day of the new year (43 B.C.) Hirtius marched straight towards Mutina, and with him Octavius, who put himself under the Consul's command. The other Consul, Pansa, remained at Rome to raise new levies, but by the end of March he also was on his way to form a junction with Hirtius and raise the siege of Mutina. Both parties pretended to be acting in Cæsar's name. Cicero for the next few months was actually at the head of the government, and displayed a vigour worthy of his best days.

Antony left his brother Lucius in the lines before Mutina, while he took the field himself against Hirtius and Octavius. For three months the opponents lay watching each other. But when Antony learnt that Pansa was coming up with reïnforcements, he made a rapid movement southward with two of his veteran Legions, and attacked the raw levies on their march to join Hirtius. A sharp conflict followed, in which Pansa's troops were defeated, and the Consul himself was carried, mortally wounded, off the field. But Hirtius was on the alert, and assaulted Antony's wearied troops on their way back to their camp, with some advantage. This was on the 15th of April, and on the 27th, Hirtius, by a skilful advance, drew Antony from his entrenchments before Mutina. A fierce battle followed, in which the troops of Antony were at last driven back into their lines. Hirtius followed close upon the flying enemy;

[e] Chapt. xliv. § 28.

[f] Two Legions which had deserted from Antony, one newly levied, two partly composed of veterans and filled up with recruits.—Appian *ut supr.* 47.

the camp was carried by storm, and a complete victory would have been won had not Hirtius himself fallen. Upon this disaster Octavius drew off the troops. The news of the first battle had been reported at Rome as a victory, and gave rise to extravagant rejoicings. The second battle was really a victory, but all rejoicing was damped by the news that one Consul was dead and the other dying. No such fatal mischance had happened since the Second Punic War, when Marcellus and Crispinus fell in one day.

§ 13. After his defeat, Antony felt it impossible to maintain the siege of Mutina. With Dec. Brutus in the town behind him, and the victorious Legions of Octavius before him, his position was critical. He therefore prepared to retreat, and effected this purpose with the skill and coolness to be expected of a good soldier. His destination was the province of Narbonese Gaul, where Lepidus had assumed the government. He had already been engaged in negotiations with this vain and feeble man, and had prepared for the worst. Cicero and the Senate also had hopes in the same quarter. L. Munatius Plancus commanded in Northern Gaul, and C. Asinius Pollio in Southern Spain. Sext. Pompeius had made good his ground in the latter country, and had almost expelled Pollio from Bætica. Plancus and Pollio, both friends and favourites of Cæsar, had as yet declared neither for Antony nor Octavius. Lepidus had shown some jealousy of Antony. If Lepidus could be persuaded to join Plancus, if Pollio would make a treaty with Sext. Pompeius, Antony would find his position on the other side of the Alps even worse than his position in Italy. If Octavius would join with Dec. Brutus, and pursue him, he might not be able to escape from Italy at all. But all these political combinations failed. Sext. Pompeius accepted a sum of money from Lepidus, but took no further part in the war. Plancus and Pollio stood aloof, waiting for the course of events. Dec. Brutus was not strong enough to pursue Antony by himself. Octavius was unwilling, even if he had been able, to unite the veterans of Cæsar with troops commanded by one of Cæsar's murderers. And so it happened, that Antony effected his retreat across the Alps unmolested, but not without great sufferings and extreme hardships, which he bore in common with the meanest soldier. It

was at such times that his good qualities always showed themselves, and his gallant endurance of misery endeared him to every man under his command. On his arrival in Narbonese Gaul, he easily prevailed on the feeble Lepidus to join him. The two commanders met at Forum Julii (Fréjus), and agreed on a plan of future operations.

§ 14. The conduct of Octavius in allowing Antony to escape gave rise to the gravest suspicions. It was even said that the Consuls had been killed by his agents. Cicero, who had hitherto warmly maintained his cause, was silent. He had delivered his fourteenth and last Philippic on the news of the first victory gained by Hirtius. This was on the 22nd of April. But now he talked in private of "removing" the boy of whom he had hoped to make a tool. Octavius, however, had taken his part, and was not to be removed. Secretly he entered into negotiations with Antony, alleging that he was coerced by his veterans, who no doubt were really indignant at having been called to fight on behalf of Dec. Brutus. After some vain efforts on the part of the Senate to thwart his progress, Octavius appeared in the Campus Martius with his Legions. Cicero and most of the Senators disappeared from the City, and the fickle populace greeted the young heir of Cæsar with applause. Though he was not yet twenty he demanded the Consulship, having indeed been previously relieved from the provisions of the Lex Annalis by a Decree spontaneously passed by the Senate itself. He was elected to the first office in the State, with his cousin Q. Pedius.[8]

§ 15. A Curiate Law was granted, by which Octavius was adopted into the Patrician Gens of the Julii, and now he became legally possessed of the name which he had already assumed,—C. Julius Cæsar Octavianus. We shall henceforth call him Octavian.

The change in his policy was soon indicated by a Law, in which he formally separated himself from the Senate. Pedius brought it forward. By its provisions all Cæsar's murderers were summoned to take their trial. Of course, none of them appeared, and they were condemned by default. By the end

[8] Pedius was son of Cæsar's second sister, Julia minor, and therefore first cousin (once removed) to Octavius.

of September Octavian had again left Rome, was again in Cisalpine Gaul, and in close negotiation with Antony and Lepidus. The fruits of his conduct soon appeared. Plancus and Pollio relinquished their uncertain attitude, and declared against Cæsar's murderers. Dec. Brutus, deserted by most of his soldiery, attempted to escape into Macedonia by marching round the head of the Adriatic through Illyricum; but he was overtaken near Aquileia, and slain by order of Antony.

§ 16. All Italy and Gaul being now clear of the Senatorial party, Lepidus, as mediator, arranged a meeting between Octavian and Antony, upon an island in a small river near Bononia (Bologna). Here was settled the preliminaries of that great Political Union. The three potentates agreed that they should assume a joint and coördinate authority, under the name of Triumvirs, for settling the affairs of the Commonwealth. All power was placed in their hands; they were to nominate all inferior officers; and they were to govern all the Provincial dependencies of the Empire with Proconsular authority. Antony was to have the two Gauls, except the Narbonese district, which, with Spain, was assigned to Lepidus; Octavian received Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa. Italy was for the present to be left to the Consuls of the time being, and for the ensuing year Lepidus, with Plancus, received promises of this high office. In return, Lepidus gave up the greater part of his troops, so that Octavian and Antony, each at the head of ten Legions, prepared to conquer the Eastern part of the Empire, which could not yet be divided like the Western Provinces, because it was in possession of Brutus and Cassius.

§ 17. But before they began war against their chief enemies, the Triumvirs agreed to follow the example set by Sylla,—that is, to extirpate all their opponents or private enemies, and to raise money by unlimited confiscations. To make out this new Proscription, the three associates framed a list of all men's names, whose death could be regarded as in any way advantageous to any of the three, and on this list each in turn pricked a name. Antony had made many personal enemies by his proceedings at Rome, and was at no loss for victims. Octavian had few direct enemies; but the boy-despot discerned with precocious sagacity those who were likely to impede his ambi-

tious projects, and he chose his victims with little hesitation. Lepidus, a vain and feeble man, would not be left behind in the bloody work. When any of the three pricked the name of one who was a friend or dependent of either of his associates, a bargain was made by which that associate claimed a name in exchange for his concession. The author of the Philippics was one of Antony's first victims; Octavian gave him up, and took as an equivalent for his late friend the life of L. Cæsar, uncle of Antony. Lepidus surrendered his brother Paullus for some similar favour. So the work went on. The description already given of Sylla's Proscription may be repeated here literally, except that every horror was increased, and the number of victims increased. Not less than three hundred Senators and two thousand Knights were on the list. Q. Pedius, an honest and upright man, died in his Consulship, overcome by vexation and shame at being implicated in these barbarous transactions.

§ 18. As soon as their secret business was ended, the Triumvirs determined to enter Rome publicly. Hitherto they had not published more than seventeen names of the proscribed. They made their entrance severally on three successive days, each attended by a Legion. A Law was immediately brought in to invest them formally with the supreme authority, which they had already assumed. This was followed by the promulgation of successive lists, each larger than its predecessor.

Among the victims, far the most conspicuous was Cicero. With his brother Quintus, the old Orator had retired to his Tusculan villa soon after the Battle of Mutina; and now they endeavoured to escape in the hope of joining Brutus in Macedonia; for the Orator's only son was serving as a Tribune in the Liberator's army. After many changes of domicile, they reached a place called Astura, a little island near Antium, where they found themselves short of money, and Quintus ventured to Rome to procure the necessary supply. Here he was recognised and seized together with his son. Each desired to die first, and the mournful claim to precedence was settled by the soldiers killing both at the same moment. Meantime Cicero himself had put to sea. But even in this extremity he could not make up his mind to leave Italy, and landed at Circeii.

After further hesitation, he again embarked, and again sought the Italian shore near Formiæ (Mola di Gaëta). For the night he stayed at his villa near that place; and next morning would not move, exclaiming,—"Let me die in my own country,—that country which I have so often saved." But his faithful slaves forced him into a litter, and carried him again towards the coast. Scarcely were they gone, when a band of Antony's blood-hounds reached his villa, and were put upon the track of their victim by a young man who owed everything to the Ciceros. The old Orator from his litter saw the pursuers coming up. His own followers were strong enough to have made resistance; but he desired them to set the litter down. Then, raising himself on his elbow, he calmly waited for the ruffians, and offered his neck to the sword. He was soon despatched. The chief of the band, by Antony's express orders, hewed off the head and hands and carried them to Rome. Fulvia, the widow of Clodius and now the wife of Antony, drove her hair-pin through the tongue which had denounced the iniquities of both her husbands. The head which had given birth to the second Philippic, and the hands which had written it, were nailed to the Rostra, the home of their eloquence. The sight and the associations raised feelings of horror and pity in every heart.

§ 19. Cicero died in his sixty-fourth year. Of his long and chequered career, it may be said without offence that his last days showed a resolution and a courage which had been wanting to the greater part of his political life. He fell on evil times; and, being eminently a man of peace, was constantly called upon to mingle in counsels of civil war. From his first appearance in public during the Dictatorship of Sylla to the great triumph of his Consulship, he rose with a vigorous and unflagging energy of spirit, which gave promise of a man fit to cope with the dangers that were then closing round the Constitution which he loved. But the performance was not equal to the promise. That vigour and energy had been displayed on the popular side, and in behalf of Pompey, the then popular hero. But when once Cicero had fairly joined the ranks of the Senatorial Nobility, his public conduct is marked by an almost peevish vacillation. His advances were coldly rejected by Pompey. He could not make up his mind

to break entirely with Cæsar. His new Senatorial associates never heartily welcomed the New Man, whose laborious habits contrasted disadvantageously with their own. The vacillation which he displayed, due in great part to this ambiguous position, was in part also caused by his fame as an Orator and by the value which he set upon his art. Being the first Orator of the day, he thought he had a claim to be considered as equal to the first Statesmen; and the rejection of this claim even by his own party threw him still more out of harmony with that party. He was so devoted to his art, that he could not resolve to leave the Forum, even to secure himself from personal peril. He loved Rome, as Johnson loved London, because there alone he found scope for the exercise of his powers. Above all, he hated war. Therefore he lingered in Italy, when his party had followed Pompey to Epirus. Therefore he returned to Rome, when the arrival of young Octavius gave promise of a counterpoise to Antony, though just before he had determined to quit his native soil for ever.

If we turn from his public to his private character, our commendations need less reserve. None but must admire the vigorous industry with which from early youth he prepared for his chosen profession of an Advocate, full of the generous belief that every branch of liberal studies must be serviceable to one who is expected to bring out of his treasure things new and old.[h] To mould for use his multifarious knowledge he possessed a readiness of speech which sometimes betrayed him into verbosity. The Advocate with an eye only to his verdict is sometimes forgotten in the Orator who desires to display his own powers. When the Forum and the Senate-house were closed to him, he poured the overflowing abundance of his acquirements into those dialogues and treatises which we still read with delight. He wrote rapidly and fluently as he spoke, rather to amuse and employ his mind in times of enforced idleness, than as one who feels a call to instruct or benefit mankind.

His disposition was extremely amiable. He felt no jealousy for rivals: Hortensius was among his intimate friends, and is chiefly known to us by Cicero's generous praise. No man had more friends. In his family relations he shines brightly

[h] See the fine passage in the speech *pro Archia Poeta*, 6.

amid the darkness of that age. His wife Terentia, indeed, was one with whom he had little true sympathy, and her masculine energy must have been oppressive to his less resolute character. It was a relief, doubtless, to find an excuse for divorcing her in the troubles of the Civil War. But divorces were matters of course in these times. Nor did public opinion condemn him, when to mend his broken fortunes he married Publilia, a young girl of large property, who was his ward. To his affection for his brother Quintus and for his children there is no drawback. There is something amiable too in his endeavours to reclaim young men of ability from dissolute courses; though his ill success with Curio, with Cælius, with Dolabella to whom he gave his only daughter, and lastly with Octavian, shows that his good-natured vanity must here also have been in fault.

It is commonly said that the private letters of Cicero which have been preserved subject him to a severer test than other great men. They certainly disclose petty foibles, of which otherwise we should know nothing. On the other hand, this unrestrained outpouring of all his sentiments and wishes is itself the consequence of these foibles. Without his unsuspecting vanity Cicero would never have penned such letters as he wrote during his banishment from Rome. The very fact of these letters being preserved is itself high testimony to his reputation. After the close scrutiny which Cicero's character has undergone, there remains much weakness, but very little evil; while the integrity and justice of his life, in an age where such qualities were the exception, if they do not compensate for his defects in a political point of view, yet entitle him to the regard and admiration of all good men.

§ 20. Many of the proscribed escaped their fate, and found refuge, some with Brutus in the East, some in Africa, more still with Sext. Pompeius. This clever and active adventurer had broken off all connexion with the Antonian party, and took advantage of the troubles in Italy to extend his power. He took possession of Sicily, and his fleets swept the coasts of Italy to afford assistance to the proscribed. In the beginning of the next year, while Antony was intrusted with the military preparations for recovering the Eastern Provinces from the hands of Brutus and Cassius, Octavian undertook to wrest Sicily from

the hands of Sextus. But a fleet intrusted to the command of his friend Salvidienus was encountered and beaten off by the skilful captains of Sextus; and Octavian was compelled to depart for Brundusium without accomplishing his purpose.

§ 21. We must now inquire what Brutus and Cassius had been doing since they left Italy in the autumn of 44 B.C.

They had at once repaired to the Provinces respectively allotted to them, though by Antony's influence the Senate had transferred Macedonia from Brutus to his own brother Caius, and Syria from Cassius to Dolabella. C. Antonius was already in possession of parts of Macedonia; but Brutus succeeded in dislodging him from Apollonia, and afterwards exercised his troops in repelling the mountain Tribes, who had always infested the frontiers of the Province. Meanwhile, Cassius, already well known in Syria for his successful conduct of the Parthian war after the death of Crassus, had completely established himself in that Province, before he heard of the approach of Dolabella. This worthless man left Italy about the same time as Brutus and Cassius, and, at the head of several Legions which by his Consular authority he summoned from Egypt and other quarters, marched without opposition through Macedonia into Asia Minor. Here C. Trebonius had already arrived. But he was quite unable to cope with Dolabella; and the latter surprised him and took him prisoner at Smyrna. He was put to death with unseemly contumely in Dolabella's presence. This was in February 43 B.C.; and thus one of Cæsar's murderers, in less than a year's time, felt the blow of retributive justice. When the news of this piece of butchery reached Rome, Cicero, believing that Octavian was a puppet in his hands, was ruling Rome by the eloquence of his Philippics. On his motion, Dolabella was declared a public enemy.[1] Cassius lost no time in marching his Legions into Asia, to execute the behest of the Senate, though he had been dispossessed of his Province by the Senate itself. Dolabella threw himself into Laodicea; and here, rather than fall into the hands of Cassius, he sought a voluntary death.

§ 22. By the end of 43 B.C., therefore, the whole of the East was in the hands of Brutus and Cassius. But instead of mak-

[1] He had divorced Tullia, the Orator's daughter, before he left Italy.

ing preparations to meet the danger which sooner or later was sure to threaten them from the West, the two Commanders joined their forces, and spent the early part of the year 42 B.C. in plundering rather than subduing the miserable cities of Asia Minor, which were only just recovering from the exactions levied by Metellus Scipio before the campaign of Pharsalia. Brutus demanded men and money of the Lycians; and, when they refused, he laid siege to Xanthus, their principal city. The Xanthians made the same brave resistance which they had offered 500 years before to the Persian invaders.[k] They burnt their city, and put themselves to death, rather than submit. Brutus wept over their fate, and abstained from further exactions. But Cassius showed less moderation: from the Rhodians alone, though they were Allies and not subjects of Rome, he demanded all their precious metals and the sum of 500 talents. After this campaign of plunder, the two Chiefs met at Sardis, and renewed the altercations, which Cicero had witnessed and deplored in Italy. It is probable enough that war might have broken out between them, had not the preparations of the Triumvirs waked them from their dream of security. It was, as he was passing over into Europe, that Brutus, who continued his studious habits amid all disquietudes, and limited his time of sleep to a period too small for the requirements of health and strength, was dispirited by the vision which Shakspere, after Plutarch, has made famous. As he sate in his tent in the dead of night, he thought he saw a huge and shadowy form stand by him; and when he calmly asked, "What and whence art thou?" it answered, or seemed to answer, "I am thine evil genius, Brutus: we shall meet again at Philippi." It was no doubt the result of a diseased frame, though it was universally held to be a divine visitation.

§ 23. While the Republican leaders were plundering in Asia, Antony's lieutenants had already crossed the Ionian Sea, and penetrated without opposition through the passes of Rhodopé into Thrace. The Republican leaders found them at Philippi. The joint army of Brutus and Cassius consisted of nineteen Legions, which amounted to at least 80,000 men; and this strong infantry was supported by the enormous force of 20,000

[k] Herodotus i. 176.

horse. But they must have been ill supplied with experienced officers; for M. Valerius Messalla, a young man of about twenty-eight,[1] held the chief command in the army after Brutus and Cassius; and Horace, who was but three-and-twenty, the son of a Freedman, and a youth of feeble constitution, was appointed a Legionary Tribune.[m] The forces opposed to them would have been at once overpowered, had not Antony himself opportunely arrived with the second corps of the Triumviral army. Still the Republican army was superior in numbers. Octavian was detained by illness at Dyrrhachium, where he was roused by the news that his colleague had suffered a defeat. Either a defeat, or a victory without his presence, would be ruinous to him; and, crossing the sea, he ordered himself to be carried on a litter to join his Legions. The army of the Triumvirs, thus augmented, was superior to the enemy. For their Legions, also nineteen in number, were full, and consisted of more than 100,000 men; though their cavalry, counting only 13,000, was considerably weaker than the force opposed to it. The Republicans were strongly posted upon two hills, with entrenchments between the two. The camp of Cassius was upon the left next the sea, that of Brutus inland on the right. The Triumviral army, on the other hand, lay upon the open plain before them, in a position rendered unhealthy by marshes. Antony, on the right, was opposed to Cassius; Octavian, on the left, fronted Brutus. But the Triumvirs were ill supplied with provisions, and extremely anxious for a decisive battle. The Republicans, however, kept to their entrenchments, and the other party began to suffer severely from famine.

§ 24. Determined to bring on a battle, Antony began to carry works forward from his camp for the purpose of intercepting the communication of Cassius with the sea. Cassius had always

[1] That is, if we take Messalla to have been born in 69 or 70 B.C., with Scaliger, and others. See Fischer, *Zeittafeln*, p. 444. He was personally attached to Cassius, had been placed on the Proscription-list, had been pardoned, but persisted in joining his old friend.

> "Quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
> Nunc quia Mæcenas, tibi sum convictor, *at olim*
> Quod mihi pareret Legio Romana tribuno."—1 *Serm.* vi. 46.

Every one knows his allusions to the loss of his shield at Philippi, 2 *Carm.* vii. 9. &c.

opposed the plan of fighting a general action, but Brutus insisted on putting an end to a state of suspense which was painful to himself, and his colleague yielded. The day of the attack was late in the autumn, probably as late as October. Valerius Messalla, who commanded the right of Brutus' corps, turned the flank of Octavian's army, while Cassius assaulted the working parties of Antony. Cassius' assault was beaten back with loss, but he succeeded in regaining his camp in safety. Meanwhile, Messalla had completely defeated the host of Octavian, who was still too ill to appear on the field. Three Legions were cut in pieces, and the Republican soldiers penetrated into the young Triumvir's camp. Presently, his litter was brought in stained with blood, and the corpse of a young man found near it was supposed to be Octavian. But Brutus, not receiving any tidings of the movements of Cassius, became so anxious for his fate that he sent off a party of horse to make inquiries, and neglected to support the successful assault of Messalla. Consequently that officer was compelled to withdraw.

Meantime, Cassius, on his part, discouraged at his ill success, was unable to ascertain the progress of Brutus. When he saw approaching the party of horse which his colleague had detached, he hastily concluded that they belonged to the enemy, and retired into his tent with his Freedman Pindarus. What passed there we know not for certain. Cassius was found dead, with the head severed from the body. Pindarus was never seen again. It was generally believed that Pindarus slew his master in obedience to orders; but many thought that he had dealt a felon blow. The intelligence of Cassius' death, notwithstanding their frequent disagreements, was a heavy blow to Brutus. He forgot his own victory, and standing over the body of the slain pronounced his elegy in the well-known words: "There lies the last of the Romans." The praise was ill deserved, and except at such a moment it is not likely that Brutus would have bestowed it. Except in his conduct of the war against the Parthians, Cassius had never played a worthy part. He was one of the least excusable of Cæsar's assassins; and in the first battle of Philippi he had not shown the vigour or the skill which might have been expected from him.

§ 25. After the first battle of Philippi, it would have still

been politic in Brutus to abstain from battle. The Triumviral armies were in great distress, and every day must increase their losses. Large reïnforcements coming to their aid by sea were intercepted soon after the first battle,—a proof of the neglect of the Republican leaders in not sooner bringing their powerful fleet into action. Nor did Brutus ever hear of this success. He was ill fitted for the life of the camp, and after the death of Cassius many of his men deserted. He kept the remainder under his banner only by distributing large sums of money, and by promising them, if victorious, the plunder of the unoffending cities Thessalonica and Lacedæmon,—a promise which shows how little his philosophic principles availed him in moments of temptation. The discontent of the troops now took the form of impatience; and, in deference to their feelings, Brutus led them out to battle twenty days after the first action. Both armies faced one another. There was little manœuvring. The second battle was decided by numbers and force, not by skill; and it was decided, after a long and deadly conflict, in favour of the Triumvirs. Brutus at length retired with four Legions to a strong position in the rear, while the rest of his broken army sought refuge in the camp. Here Octavian remained to watch them, while Antony pursued the Republican Chief. Next day, Brutus endeavoured to rouse his men to another effort; but they sullenly refused to fight again; and Brutus withdrew with a few friends into a neighbouring wood. Here he took them aside one by one, and prayed each to do him the last service that a Roman could render to his friend. All refused with horror; till at nightfall a trusty Greek Freedman, named Strato, held the sword, and his master threw himself upon it. Most of his friends followed the sad example. The body of Brutus was sent by Antony to his mother Servilia. His wife Portia, the daughter of Cato, refused all comfort; and being too closely watched to be able to slay herself by ordinary means, she suffocated herself by thrusting burning charcoal into her mouth. Messalla, with a number of other fugitives, sought safety in the island of Thasos, and soon after made submission to Antony.

§ 26. The name of Brutus has, by Plutarch's beautiful narrative, sublimed by Shakspere, become a bye-word for self-devoted patriotism. This exalted opinion is now generally

confessed to be unjust. Brutus was not a patriot, unless devotion to the party of the Senate be patriotism. Towards the Provincials he was a true Roman, harsh and oppressive. Cicero says he never received a letter from him in which there was not something arrogant and overbearing.[n] He urged the Orator, when Proconsul of Cilicia, to exact debts due to him from Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia and the people of Salamis in Cyprus.[o] Cicero was shocked at the usurious interest he demanded for his money from the wretched Asiatics, and at the cruel way in which he extorted payment from his debtors.[p] He was entirely free from the sensuality and profligacy of his age, as became one who professed a high philosophic rule. But for public life he was unfit. His habits were those of a student. His application was great; his memory remarkable. But he possessed little power of turning his acquirements to account; and to the last he was rather a learned man than a man improved by learning. In comparison with Cassius, he was humane and generous; but in almost every respect his character is contrasted for the worse with that of the great man, from whom he accepted favours, and then became his murderer.

[n] "Etiam quum rogat aliquid, contumaciter, arroganter, ἀχαριστότως solet scribere."—*Ad Att.* vi. 1, 7. "Nullas unquam ad me litteras misit Brutus, in quibus non inesset arrogans, ἀχαριστότερον aliquid."—*Ad Att.* vi. 3, 7.

[o] *Ad Att.* vi. 1, 3-6.

[p] Cicero *ad Att.* vi. 1-3.

CHAPTER LXX.

FROM THE BATTLE OF PHILIPPI TO THE FINAL ESTABLISHMENT OF IMPERIAL MONARCHY. (41—30 B.C.)

§ 1. Battle of Philippi in fact ends the Republic: Second division of the Roman World: Antony takes the East, Octavian the West, Africa left to Lepidus. § 2. Antony's tour through Asia: Cleopatra meets him at Tarsus: he attends her through Alexandria. § 3. Difficulties of Octavian: confiscation of lands to reward the veterans: Virgil. § 4. Fulvia wife of Antony, and Lucius his brother, take advantage of these commotions: Perusine War. § 5. Syria and Asia Minor overrun by the Parthians. § 6. Induced by Fulvia, Antony in conjunction with Sext. Pompeius invades Italy: intervention of the soldiery: Peace of Brundusium: Third division of the Roman World. § 7. Sext. Pompeius forces the Triumvirs to admit him into their company. § 8. P. Ventidius Bassus: his remarkable fortunes: his victories over the Parthians. § 9. Sext. Pompeius again harasses Italy: Octavian in vain attacks him: two years' preparations by Agrippa to crush him. § 10. Fresh misfortunes of Octavian by sea: final defeat of Sextus by Agrippa: his flight to Lesbos and death. § 11. Lepidus ceases to be Triumvir. § 12. Octavian and Antony meet at Tarentum: renewal of their power for Five Years. § 13. Antony surrenders himself to Cleopatra. § 14. Firm conduct of Octavian. § 15. Antony's Will published: indignation at Rome. § 16. Declaration of War. § 17. Octavian passes over to Epirus: Position of Antony's forces. § 18. Battle of Actium. § 19. Octavian returns to Italy. § 20. Antony and Cleopatra quarrel. § 21. Arrival of Octavian in Egypt: Deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. § 22. Triumphs and Imperial Power of Octavian.

§ 1. The Battle of Philippi was in reality the closing scene of the Republican drama. But the rivalry of the Triumvirs prolonged for several years the divided state of the Roman World; and it was not till after the crowning victory of Actium that the Imperial Government was established in its unity. We shall, therefore, here add a rapid narrative of the events which led to that consummation.

The hopeless state of the Republican, or rather the Senatorial, party was such, that not only the legionaries, but many of the chiefs, hastened to make submission to the conquerors. Those whose sturdy spirit still disdained submission resorted to

Sext. Pompeius in Sicily, and swelled his forces by large additions. Octavian, still suffering from ill health, was anxious to return to Italy; but before he parted from Antony, they agreed to a Second Distribution of the Provinces of the Empire. Antony was to have all the Eastern world; Octavian all the Western Provinces. To Lepidus, who was not consulted in the second division, Africa alone was left. Sext. Pompeius was also left in possession of Sicily.

§ 2. Antony at once proceeded to make a tour through Western Asia, in order to exact money from its unfortunate people. Xanthus, Rhodes, and all places which had resisted the Republican leaders, were rewarded. But all the rest were obliged to pay heavy sums, now for the fourth time in the course of fifty years. About midsummer (41 B.C.) the Triumvir arrived at Tarsus, and here he received a visit which determined the future course of his life and of Roman History for the next ten years.

When Antony visited Alexandria with Gabinius fourteen years before, he had been smitten by the charms of Cleopatra, then a girl of fifteen. She became Cæsar's paramour, and from the time of the Dictator's death Antony had never seen her. She now left Egypt to meet him in Cilicia. The galley which carried her up the Cydnus was of more than Oriental gorgeousness,—the sails of purple, the oars of silver, moving to the sound of music, the raised poop burnished with gold. There she lay upon a splendid couch, shaded by a spangled canopy. Her attire was that of Venus, around her flitted attendant Cupids and Graces. At the news of her approach to Tarsus, the Triumvir found his tribunal deserted by the curious people. She invited him to her ship, and he complied. From that moment he was her slave. He accompanied her to Alexandria, exchanged the Roman garb for the Græco-Egyptian costume of the court, and lent his power to the Queen to execute all her caprices.

§ 3. Meanwhile, Octavian was not without his difficulties. He was so ill at Brundusium that his death was reported at Rome. Delays in granting their promised rewards to the veterans had already caused discontent; and discontent now threatened to become open mutiny. In a short time Octavian was sufficiently recovered to show himself and renew his pro-

mises. But he was destitute of money, and could find no other means of satisfying the greedy soldiery than by a confiscation of lands more sweeping than that which followed the Proscription of Sylla. Such towns of Cisalpine Gaul as were accused of favouring Dec. Brutus, saw nearly all their lands handed over to new possessors; and some towns which had notoriously taken part against the Republican Chief, as Mantua, suffered like the rest. The young poet, Virgil, lost his little patrimony, but was reïnstated at the instance of Pollio and Mæcenas, and showed his gratitude in his first Eclogue. Other parts of Italy also suffered,—Apulia, for example, as we learn from Horace's friend Ofellus, who became the tenant, under an absentee landlord, of the estate which had formerly been his own.[a]

§ 4. But these violent measures deferred rather than obviated the difficulty. The expulsion of so many persons threw thousands loose upon society, ripe for any crime. Many of the veterans themselves, discontented with their lots, were ready to join any new leader who promised them booty. Such a leader was at hand.

Fulvia, the wife of Antony, was a woman of fierce passions and ambitious spirit. She had not been invited to follow her husband to the East. She saw that in his absence Italy, and with Italy all Imperial power, would fall into the hands of Octavian. Lucius, brother of Mark Antony, was Consul for the year. At her instigation he determined to take advantage of the present discontent, and raised an army at Prænesté. The rising threatened to be formidable; but L. Antonius knew not how to use his strength; and young Agrippa, to whom Octavian entrusted the command, displayed so much skill and energy, that Antonius and Fulvia were obliged to retire northwards and shut themselves up in Perusia. Their store of provisions was so small that it sufficed only for the soldiery. The terrible sufferings of starvation lasted through the winter; and early in the next year Perusia surrendered, on condition that the lives of the leaders should be spared. The town was sacked; the cowardly conduct of L. Antonius alienated all Italy from his brother.

§ 5. While his wife, his brother, and his friends were quitting

[a] Horat. 2 *Serm.* ii. 130, *sq.*

Italy in confusion, the arms of Antony suffered a still heavier blow in the Eastern Provinces which were under his special government. After the battle of Philippi, Q. Labienus, son of Cæsar's old lieutenant Titus, sought refuge at the court of Orodes, king of Parthia. Encouraged by the proffered aid of a Roman officer, Pacorus the King's son led a formidable army into Syria. Decimius Saxa, Antony's lieutenant, was entirely routed; and while Pacorus with one army poured into Palestine and Phœnicia, Q. Labienus with another broke into Cilicia. Here he found no opposition; and, overrunning all Asia Minor even to the Ionian Sea, he assumed the Roman name of Parthicus, as if he had been the conqueror of the people whom he was serving.

§ 6. These complicated disasters roused Antony from his lethargy. He sailed from Egypt to Tyre, intending to take the field against the Parthians; but the season was too far advanced, and he therefore crossed the Ægean to Athens, where he found Fulvia and his brother, accompanied by Pollio, Plancus, and others, who were all discontented with Octavian's government. It was too late to regret not having assisted them while Perusia still held out. But their representation of the condition of Italy encouraged him to make another attempt. Octavian was absent in Gaul, settling disturbances there; and late in the same year (41 B.C.) Antony crossed over the Ionian Sea, formed a league with Sext. Pompeius; and while that formidable chief blockaded Thurii and Consentia, Antony assailed Brundusium. Agrippa was preparing to meet this new combination; and it appeared as if a fresh Civil War was imminent. But the soldiery had found how little was to be gained by these wasteful enterprises. Both armies compelled their leaders to make pacific overtures; and the new year was ushered in by a general peace. This was rendered easier by the death of Fulvia, who had been left ill at Sicyon. Antony and Octavian renewed their professions of amity, and entered Rome together in joint Ovation to celebrate the restoration of Peace. They now made a Third division of the Provinces, by which Scodra (Scutari) in Illyricum was fixed as the boundary of the West and East. Lepidus was still left in possession of Africa. It was further agreed that Octavian was to drive Sext. Pompeius, lately the ally of Antony, out of Sicily; while Antony renewed

his pledges to clear the Roman Empire of the Parthians, and recover the standards lost by Crassus. The new compact was sealed by the marriage of Antony with Octavia, his colleague's sister, a virtuous and beautiful lady, worthy of a better consort. These auspicious events, gilded by still brighter anticipations of the future, were celebrated by the lofty verse of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, styled "the Pollio."[b]

§ 7. Sext. Pompeius had good reason to complain. By the Peace of Brundusium he was abandoned by his late friend to the assaults of Octavian. He was not a man to brook ungenerous treatment. Of late years his possession of Sicily had given him command of the Roman corn-market; for its supplies were in great part drawn from that fertile island; and besides this, the corn-fleets from Africa and Egypt were easily intercepted by his numerous cruisers. Scarcity and high prices were thus added to the other causes of popular discontent. During the winter which followed the Peace of Brundusium (40-39 B.C.), Sextus blockaded Italy so closely that Rome was threatened with a positive dearth. Riots arose; the Triumvirs were even pelted with stones in the Forum; and they deemed it prudent to temporise by inviting Pompeius to enter their League. He met them at Misenum, and the two Chiefs went on board his ship to settle the terms of alliance. It is said that one of his chief officers, a Greek named Menas or Menodorus, suggested to him the expediency of putting to sea with the great prize, and then making his own terms. Sextus rejected the advice with the characteristic words: "You should have done it without asking me." It was agreed that Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica should be given up to his absolute rule, and that Achaia should be added to his portion; so that the Roman world was now partitioned among four,—Octavian, Antony, Lepidus, and Sext. Pompeius. On their way back to Rome, the Triumvirs were received with vociferous applause. No matter that some of the fairest Provinces of the Empire were

[b] C. Asinius Pollio was Consul in the year 40 B.C. It was he who had introduced the young Poet to Mæcenas. The child who was to restore the golden age—"Cara Deûm soboles, magni Jovis incrementum"—must have been the expected progeny either of Antony and Octavia, or of Octavian himself who about the same time celebrated his nuptials with Scribonia.

given up to a piratical chief, so long as corn was cheap at Rome.

§ 8. Before winter, Octavian returned to finish the arrangements in Gaul which had been interrupted by the inroad of Antony; and the latter retraced his steps to Athens in company with Octavia, who for the time seems to have banished Cleopatra from his thoughts. Still, however, he continued to disgust all true Romans by assuming the attributes of Grecian Gods, and by freely indulging in alien and fantastic orgies.

He found the state of things in the East greatly changed since his departure. On leaving Athens, he had commissioned P. Ventidius Bassus, an officer who had followed Fulvia from Italy, to hold the Parthians in check till his return. Ventidius was son of a Picenian Nobleman of Asculum, who had been brought to Rome as a captive in the Social War.[c] In his youth he had been a contractor to supply mules for the use of the Roman Commissariat. But in the Civil Wars which followed, men of military talent easily found employment and rose to command; and such was the lot of Ventidius. While Antony was absent in Italy, he had driven Q. Labienus into the defiles of Taurus, and here that adventurer was defeated and slain. The conqueror then marched rapidly into Syria, and forced Pacorus also to withdraw to the Eastern bank of the Euphrates.

In the following year (38 B.C.) he repelled a fresh invasion of the Parthians, and defeated them in three battles. In the last of these engagements Pacorus himself was slain on the fifteenth anniversary of the death of Crassus. Ventidius could have pushed forward into their country; but he knew the jealous nature of Antony, and satisfied himself with laying siege to Samosata, the capital of a petty prince in alliance with the Parthians. Here Antony found him, and took the command. But after continuing the siege some time without effect, he abandoned it in dishonour, and again sought Octavia at Athens. Ventidius returned to Rome, where he was honoured with a well-deserved triumph. He had left it as a mule-jobber: he returned with the laurel round his brows. He was the first, and almost the last, Roman General who could claim such a distinction for victory over the Parthians.

[c] Chapt. lvii. § 11.

§ 9. The alliance with Sext. Pompeius was not intended to last, and it did not last. Antony evaded putting him in possession of Achaia; and to avenge himself for this breach of faith Pompeius again began to intercept the Italian corn-fleets. Fresh discontent appeared at Rome; and Octavian found himself again compelled to take the sea against the naval chief with inadequate preparation. Menas, indeed, turned traitor and betrayed Sardinia; but after two battles of very doubtful result at Cumæ and Scyllæum, the Triumvir's fleet was destroyed by a storm, and Sextus was again left in undisputed mastery of the sea. Octavian, however, was never daunted by reverses, and he gave his favourite Agrippa full powers to conduct the war against Pompeius. This able commander set about his work with that farsighted and patient resolution that marked a man determined not to fail. As a harbour for his fleet, he carried into effect a plan of the great Cæsar,—namely, to make a good and secure harbour on the southern coast of Italy, which at present offered no shelter to ships. For this purpose he cut a passage through the narrow necks of land which separated Lake Lucrinus from the sea, and Lake Avernus from Lake Lucrinus, and faced the outer barrier with stone. This was the famous Julian Port.[d] In the whole of the two years 38 and 37 B.C., Agrippa was occupied in this work and in preparing a sufficient force of ships. Every dockyard in Italy was called into requisition. A large body of slaves were set free that they might be trained to serve as rowers.

§ 10. On the 1st of July, 36 B.C., the fleet put to sea, strengthened by a large auxiliary squadron sent by Antony. Octavian himself, with one division, purposed to attack the Northern coast of Sicily, while a second squadron was assembled at Tarentum for the purpose of assailing the Eastern side, and Lepidus, with a third fleet from Africa, assaulted Lilybæum and the South. But the winds were again adverse; and, though Lepidus effected a landing on the southern coast, Octavian's two fleets were driven back to Italy with great damage. In a short time, however, the injured ships were refitted, and

[d] Quid memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra,
Julia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso,
Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis?—Virg. *Georg.* ii. 161.
By neglect, the entrance was filled up, and the harbours became a swamp.

Agrippa was sent westward towards Panormus, while Octavian himself kept guard near Messana. Off Mylæ, a place famous for having witnessed the first naval victory of the Romans, Agrippa encountered the fleet of Sext. Pompeius, and gained some trifling advantages. Sextus, however, with the larger portion of his ships, gave Agrippa the slip, and sailing eastward fell suddenly upon Octavian's squadron off Tauromenium. A desperate conflict followed, which ended in the complete triumph of Sextus. Octavian escaped to Italy with a few ships only. But Agrippa was soon upon the traces of the enemy. On the 3rd of September Pompeius was obliged once more to accept battle off Naulochus, near the straits of Messana, and in this battle he suffered an irretrievable defeat. Presently after his troops on land were attacked and dispersed by an army which had been landed on the eastern coast by the indefatigable Octavian; and Pompeius sailed off to Lesbos, where he had found refuge as a boy during the campaign of Pharsalia, to seek protection from the jealousy of Antony.

§ 11. Lepidus had assisted in the campaign; but after the departure of Sextus he began to act independently of Agrippa, and even united his forces to the troops which Sextus had left in Messana. No less than twenty Legions were for a moment at his command, and he openly declared himself independent of his brother Triumvirs. But Octavian, with prompt and prudent boldness, crossed over into Sicily, and entered the camp of Lepidus in person with a few attendants. The soldiers deserted in crowds, and in a few hours Lepidus was fain to sue for pardon, where he had hoped to rule. He was treated with contemptuous indifference. Africa was taken from him; but he was allowed to live and die at Rome in quiet enjoyment of the Chief Pontificate, which had been conferred upon him at the death of Cæsar.

§ 12. It was fortunate for Octavian that during this campaign Antony was on friendly terms with him. In 38 B.C. the ruler of the East had come to Brundusium for the second time to have an interview with his colleague, but had returned in haste to reap the harvest of Ventidius' Parthian victories. In the next year he came a third time, and a meeting between the two Chiefs was arranged at Tarentum, which was attended by

the chief advisers and friends of both parties. The five years for which the Triumvirs were originally appointed were now fast expiring; and it was settled that their authority should be renewed by the subservient Senate and People for a second period of the same duration. They parted as good friends; and Octavian undertook his campaign against Sext. Pompeius without fear from Antony. This was proved by the fate of the fugitive. From Lesbos Sextus passed over to Asia, where after some difficulty he was surrounded and taken prisoner by Antony's lieutenants. By the order of their master he was put to death. He was but forty years old. To a man of forecast and steady will the state of the world offered a great opportunity. But Sextus Pompeius seems to have possessed no great qualities except the name of his father together with no mean portion of his military ability.

§ 13. Hitherto Octavia had retained her influence over Antony. But presently after his last interview with her brother, the fickle Triumvir began to turn his thoughts back with lingering fondness towards Cleopatra, whom he had not seen for three years. When the good understanding to which he had come with Octavian seemed to promise years of domestic and public peace, he abruptly quitted a wife who was too good for him, and returned to the fascinating presence of the Egyptian. From this time forth he made no attempt to break the silken chain of her enchantments. During the next summer, indeed, he collected his troops for a new Parthian campaign, and even penetrated into Media. But his advance was made, like that of Crassus, with reckless indifference to the safety of his troops. No means had been provided for supplying them with provisions; disease broke out; and after great suffering he was forced to seek safety by a precipitate retreat into the Armenian mountains. In the next year he contented himself with a campaign in Armenia, to punish the King of that country for alleged treachery in the last campaign. The King fell into his hands; and with this trophy Antony returned to Alexandria, where the Romans were disgusted to see the streets of a Græco-Egyptian town honoured by a mimicry of a Roman Triumph. For the next three years he surrendered himself absolutely to the will of the enchantress. To this period

belong those tales of luxurious indulgence which are known to every reader. The brave soldier, who in the perils of war could shake off all luxurious and profligate habits, and could rival the commonest man in the cheerfulness with which he underwent every hardship, was seen no more. He sunk into an indolent voluptuary, pleased by childish amusements. At one time he would lounge in a boat at a fishing-party, and laugh when he drew up pieces of salt-fish, which by the queen's order had been attached by divers to his hook. At another time she wagered that she would consume ten million sesterces at one meal, and won her wager by dissolving in vinegar a pearl of unknown value. While Cleopatra bore the character of the goddess Isis, her lover appeared as Osiris. Her head was placed conjointly with his own on the coins which he issued as a Roman Magistrate. He disposed of the kingdoms and principalities of the East by his sole word. By his influence Herod, son of Antipater, the Idumæan minister of Hyrcanus, the late sovereign of Judæa, was made King to the exclusion of the rightful heir. Polemo, his own son by Cleopatra, was invested with the sceptre of Armenia. Encouraged by the absolute submission of her lover, Cleopatra fixed her eye upon the Capitol, and dreamed of winning by means of Antony that Imperial crown which she had vainly sought from Cæsar.

§ 14. While Antony was engaged in voluptuous dalliance, Octavian was resolutely pursuing the work of consolidating his power in the West. Though he had been personally unsuccessful in all his military attempts, at Philippi formerly, and now in Sicily, yet his patience, his industry, his attention to business, his affability, were winning golden opinions and rapidly obliterating all memory of the bloody work by which he had risen to power. So long as the corn-fleets arrived duly from Sicily and Africa, the populace cared little whether the victory had been won by Octavian or by his generals. In Agrippa he possessed a consummate captain for the conduct of war, in Mæcenas a wise and temperate minister for home government. Pollio also and Messalla, once enemies or doubtful adherents, became his trusted friends and active assistants in the work of administration. It is much to his credit that he never showed any jealousy of the men to whom he owed so much. He flattered

the People with the hope that he would, when Antony had fulfilled his mission of recovering the standards of Crassus from the Parthians, engage him to join in putting an end to their sovereign power and restoring constitutional liberty. In point of fidelity to his marriage-vows Octavian was little better than Antony. He renounced his marriage with Clodia, the daughter of Fulvia, when her mother attempted to raise Italy against him. He divorced Scribonia, the sister-in-law of Sext. Pompeius,[e] when it no longer suited him to court the favour of her kinsman. To replace this second wife, he forcibly took away Livia from her husband, Ti. Claudius Nero, though she was at that time pregnant of her second son. In this and other less pardonable immoralities, there was nothing to shock the feelings of Romans.

But Octavian never suffered pleasure to divert him from business. If he could not claim to be a successful general, he resolved at least to show that he could be a hardy soldier. While Antony in his Egyptian palace was neglecting the Parthian war, his rival led his Legions in more than one dangerous campaign against the barbarous Dalmatians and Pannonians, who had been for some time infesting the Province of Illyricum. After three campaigns he brought this war to a triumphant conclusion, and in the year 33 B.C. he announced that the limits of the Empire had been extended northwards to the banks of the Save.

§ 15. Octavian now began to feel that any appearance of friendship with Antony was at Rome a source of weakness rather than of strength. Misunderstandings had already broken out. Antony complained that Octavian had given him no share in the Provinces wrested from Sext. Pompeius and Lepidus. Octavian retorted by accusing his colleague of appropriating Egypt and Armenia, which were not included in the Triumviral contract, and above all, of increasing Cleopatra's power at the expense of the Roman Empire. Popular indignation rose to its height when Plancus and Titius, who had been admitted to Antony's entire confidence, passed over to the side of Octavian, and disclosed the contents of the Will which their late chief had made. In that document, Antony ordered that his body should be carried to Alexandria and buried by the

[e] Sext. Pompeius had married her sister.

side of Cleopatra. From this testamentary order, and from his other acts, it was inferred that he was prepared to betray to the Queen all of the Roman Empire that he could make his own. Men began to fancy that Cleopatra had already planted her throne upon the Capitol. All these suspicions were sedulously encouraged by Octavian and his agents.

§ 16. Before the close of the year 32 B.C., Octavian, by the authority of the Senate, formally declared war, not against Antony by name, but against Cleopatra. Antony had been roused from his sleep by the sounds that reached his ears from Rome. He had drawn together his Legions in haste, as if he were once more about to attempt his Parthian enterprise. But feeling that a more perilous war was at hand, he passed by way of Ephesus and Samos to Athens, issuing orders everywhere to levy men and collect ships for the impending struggle. At Athens he received news of the declaration of war, and replied by divorcing his virtuous wife Octavia. His Fleet was ordered to assemble at Corcyra; and his Legions in the early spring prepared to pour into Epirus. Meantime he established his head-quarters at Patræ in the Corinthian Gulf.

§ 17. But Antony, whose fleet, supplied with all that Egypt could bestow, was superior to that of Octavian, did not use his advantages with his ancient vigour. Agrippa, invested with the chief command of Octavian's navy, was allowed to assume the undisturbed mastery of the Ionian sea, and early in the spring took possession of Methoné in Messenia, as a station for a flying squadron to intercept Antony's communications with the East, while the chief part of the fleet occupied Corcyra, which had been relinquished by Antony's navy without an effort. Here Agrippa lay watching his opportunity. Meantime the Legions of Octavian were landed in Epirus and gathered on the spit of land which forms the northern horn of the Ambracian Gulf. Opposite to this point was another acté or tongue of land, upon which there was a sacred building called Actium. This had been strongly fortified by Antony's officers. The bulk of the Eastern army lay intrenched on the southern side of the Gulf, and the fleet of Antony, after quitting Corcyra, had anchored in the waters of that spacious inlet. The position was so strong as almost to defy attack. But the place chosen

for the camp was singularly unhealthy; and in the heats of the spring and summer his army suffered greatly from disease. In the course of the spring Octavian in person joined his army.

§ 18. Early in the season, Antony also had repaired from Patræ to his army, so as to be ready either to cross over into Italy or to meet the enemy if they attempted to land in Epirus. At first he showed something of his old military spirit, and gave every sign of beginning a desperate conflict. His soldiers and centurions, who always loved his military frankness, warmed into enthusiasm; but his chief officers, won by Octavian or disgusted by the influence of Cleopatra, deserted him in such numbers, that he knew not whom to trust, and gave up all thoughts of maintaining the contest with energy. All his old soldierly qualities failed him. Urged by Cleopatra, he resolved to carry off his fleet and abandon the soldiers who trusted him, and would have fought for him to the death. All preparations were made in secret, and the great fleet quitted the waters of the Gulf on the 28th of August. For the four following days there was a strong gale from the south. Neither could Antony escape, nor could Octavian put to sea against him. On the 2nd of September, however, the wind fell, and Octavian's light vessels, by using their oars, easily came up with the unwieldy galleys of the Eastern Fleet off the headland of Actium. A battle was now inevitable.

Antony's ships were almost like impregnable fortresses to the assault of the slight vessels of Octavian;[f] and, though they lay nearly motionless in the calm sea, little impression was made upon them. But about noon a breeze sprung up from the west; and Cleopatra, followed by sixty Egyptian ships, made full sail in a southerly direction. Antony immediately sprang from his ship of war into a light galley and followed her. Deserted by their commander, the captains of Antony's ships continued to resist desperately; nor was it till the greater part of them were set on fire, that the contest was decided. Before evening closed, the whole fleet was destroyed; most of the men and all the treasure on board perished. A few days after, when the shameful flight of Antony was made known to his

[f] "Ibis Liburnis inter alta navium,
Amice, propugnacula."—Horat. *Epod.* i. 1.
Mæcenas, it may be remarked, relinquished his intention of joining the fleet.

army, all his Legions went over to the conqueror. Such was the Battle of Actium. The destinies of the world were decided at sea. The armies had taken no part in the conflict.

§ 19. It was not till eleven months after the Battle of Actium that Octavian entered the open gates of Alexandria. He had been employed in the interval in founding the City of Nicopolis to celebrate his victory nearly on the spot where his camp had been fixed on the northern horn of the Ambracian Gulf, in rewarding his soldiers, and settling the affairs of the Provinces of the East. In the winter he returned to Italy, where he staid for some time, and it was midsummer, 30 B.C., before he again set forth to reap the fruits of his great victory.

§ 20. When Antony and Cleopatra arrived off Alexandria after their flight from Actium, they put a bold face upon the matter. Some time passed before the real state of the case was known. For some time hopes were placed in the army which they had left. But when its defection was ascertained, it became plain that Egypt was at the mercy of the conqueror. The Queen, full of life and energy to the last, formed all kinds of wild designs. One was to transport all the ships that she had saved across the Isthmus of Suez and seek refuge in some distant land to which the name of Rome had not yet reached. Some ships were actually drawn across the land, but they were destroyed by the Arabs, and this plan was abandoned. All that remained was to prepare such forces, both by sea and land, as might at all events enable her to make terms of surrender. She even flattered herself, that her powers of fascination, which had already proved so potent over Cæsar and Antony, might also subdue Octavian. Secret messages passed between the conqueror and the queen; nor were Octavian's answers such as to banish hope.

Meanwhile Antony, full of repentance and despair, shut himself up in the isle of Pharos, and there remained in gloomy isolation.

§ 21. It was in the month of July 30 B.C., that Octavian appeared before Pelusium. The place was surrendered without a blow. At the approach of the conqueror, however, Antony recovered somewhat of his old vigour, and, putting himself at the head of a division of cavalry, gained some advantage in a combat. But on his return to Alexandria he found that Cleopatra had

betrayed the whole fleet to his rival; and thenceforth no opposition was offered. On the 1st of August (Sextilis as it was then called) Octavian entered the open gates of Alexandria. Both Antony and Cleopatra sought to win him. Antony's messengers the conqueror refused to see; but he still used fair words to Cleopatra. The Queen had shut herself up in a sort of mausoleum which she had built to receive her body after death, which was not approachable by any door, and it was given out that she was really dead. On hearing this news, all the tenderness of old times revived in Antony's heart. He stabbed himself, and in a dying state ordered himself to be laid by the side of Cleopatra. The Queen, touched by pity, ordered her expiring lover to be drawn up by cords into her retreat, and bathed his temples with her tears. After he had breathed his last, she consented to see Octavian. Her quickness and penetration soon told her that she had nothing to hope from him. She saw that his fair words were only intended to prevent her from desperate acts, and reserve her for the degradation of his Triumph. This impression was confirmed when all instruments by which death could be inflicted were found to be removed from her apartments. But she was not to be baffled. She pretended all submission; but at the hour when the ministers of Octavian came to carry her away, they found her lying dead upon her couch, attended by her faithful waiting-women, Iras and Charmion. The manner of her death was never really ascertained; though popular belief ascribed it to the bite of an asp, which had been secretly conveyed to her in a basket of fruit.

Thus died Antony and Cleopatra. Antony was by nature a genial, open-hearted Roman, a good soldier, quick, resolute, and vigorous, but reckless and self-indulgent, devoid alike of prudence and of principle. The corruptions of the age, the seductions of power, and above all the evil influence of Cleopatra, destroyed all that was good in him, and paralysed a nature capable of better things. We know him chiefly through the exaggerated assaults of Cicero in his Philippic, and the narratives of writers devoted to Octavian. But after all deductions for partial representation, enough remains to show that Antony had all the faults of Cæsar, with little of his redeeming greatness.

Cleopatra was an extraordinary person. At her death she was but thirty-eight years of age. Her power rested not so much on the actual beauty of her face and form as on her fascinating manners and her extreme readiness of wit. In her follies there was a certain magnificence, which excites even a dull imagination. There can be no doubt that Antony loved her, for he sacrificed all for her; and she appears to have loved Antony, though in that love there was a large admixture of selfishness and ambition. We may estimate the real power of her mental qualities by observing the impression her character made upon the Roman Poets of the time. No meditated praises could have borne such testimony to her greatness as the lofty strain in which Horace celebrates her fall, and congratulates the Roman world on its escape from the ruin which she was threatening to the Capitol.[g]

§ 22. Octavian dated the years of his Imperial Monarchy from the day of the Battle of Actium. But it was not till two years after (the summer of 29 B.C.) that he appeared in Rome to reap the fruit of his labours, and establish himself in the Capitol as Ruler of the Roman World. Then he celebrated three magnificent Triumphs, after the example of his uncle the great Dictator, for his victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and in Egypt.[h] At the same time the Temple of Janus was closed (notwithstanding that border wars still continued in Gaul and Spain) for the first time since the year 235 B.C. All men drew breath more freely, and all except the soldiery looked forward to a time of tranquillity. Liberty and independence were forgotten words. After the terrible disorders of the last half century, the general cry was for quiet at any price. Octavian was a person admirably fitted to fulfil these aspirations. His uncle Julius was too fond of active exertion to play such a part well. Octavian never shone in war, while his vigilant and patient mind was well fitted for the discharge of business, however onerous. He avoided shocking popular feeling by assuming any title savouring of royalty; but under various old offices he assumed and enjoyed by universal consent an authority more than regal.

[g] i. *Carm.* xxxvii.

[h] "At Caesar, triplici invectus Romana triumpho
Moenia, Dîs Italis votum immortale sacrabat."—Virg. *Aen.* viii. 714.

CHAPTER LXXI.

STATE OF THE EMPIRE: LITERATURE, ART, MANNERS, AND RELIGIOUS FEELING.

§ 1. Acquiescence of the Roman world in Despotic rule. § 2. Remote Causes of its necessity. § 3. Immediate cause to be sought in the enfranchisement of the Italians. § 4. Disguise thrown over his power by Octavian. § 5. Exhausted condition of Italy. § 6. The Provinces benefited by the establishment of a central Despotism. § 7. Its deadening effects upon the mind of Rome: but the first effects of tranquillity produced a new Literature. § 8. Review of Roman Literature from the beginning of the Civil Wars: Oratory: Education. § 9. Historical Memoirs and Histories. § 10. Grammatical and Philological Writers. § 11. Cicero. § 12. The Drama. § 13. Mimes: their chief authors, Dec. Laberius and Publ. Syrus. § 14. Other kinds of poetry: Didactic Poetry: Lucretius. § 15. Catullus and Calvus. § 16. Epic Poetry: various. § 17. Virgil. § 18. Horace. § 19. General rage for Poetry. § 20. Art. § 21. Buildings, such as Temples, Baths, &c. § 22. Public Works in the Provinces. § 23. Unsettled state of sentiment and opinion: Stoic and Epicurean Philosophy. § 24. Superstitious practices and sentiments. § 25. Preparation of the public mind for a purer Faith.

§ 1. We have now traced the progress and decline of the Roman Constitution through its several stages. We have seen it pass from a Monarchy into a Patrician Oligarchy, from a Patrician Oligarchy into a limited Republic, from a limited Republic into an Oligarchy of Wealth; and now, after a century of Civil War, in which the State swayed from one extreme to the other, we close with the contemplation of an absolute Despotism. Every page of the latter portion of our narrative shows how inevitably events were tending to this issue. The Roman world had long been preparing for it. At no time had such authority been altogether alien from the mind of the People of Rome. Dictatorships were frequent in their earlier history. In later times the Consuls were, by the will of the Senate, raised to Dictatorial power to meet emergencies, military or civil. The despotic commands conferred upon Sylla and Pompey, the powers seized first by Cæsar, and after him by the

Triumvirate, were all of the same form as the authority conferred upon Octavian;—that is, all were, in form at least, temporary and provisional. The disorders of the State required the intervention of one or more persons endued with absolute authority. And whether power was vested in a Dictator, such as Sylla and Cæsar; in a sole Consul, such as Pompey; in a Commission of Three, such as the Triumvirate of Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus; or in an Imperator, such as Octavian alone, the constitutional principle was the same. These despotic powers were in every case, except in the cases of Sylla and Cæsar, granted for a definite term: even in Cæsar's case, all his Dictatorships, save the last, were conferred for limited periods. The Triumvirate was renewed at intervals of five years, the Imperial rule of Octavian at intervals of ten. In theory, these powers were conferred exceptionally, for a temporary purpose; and when the purpose was served, the exception was to yield to the rule. Even in the reign of Octavian there were some persons credulous enough to expect a restoration of the Republic. It belongs not to our present purpose to examine in detail the arts of government, by which a power, formally provisional and temporary, was converted by the adroitness of the new ruler into the substance and reality of a despotic Monarchy. This belongs to the History of the Empire. Here a few brief notes must be sufficient.

§ 2. The remote cause of this necessary acquiescence in despotic rule must be sought in the constant wars in which Rome was engaged from the time of the Invasion of Hannibal. We have seen that, before that period, the popular element in the Constitution was slowly but surely unfolding itself, and that continued War threw all power into the hands of a Senate supplied from the ranks of a limited number of wealthy families. Thus arose that Oligarchy of Wealth, against which the Democratic leaders of later times directed all their assaults.

We have seen, further, that the system of the Roman Armies, which in the best times of the Republic consisted of the yeomen and free labourers—in short, of those only who had something to lose and something to defend—excellent as it was for purposes of defence, could not be employed for purposes of conquest without consequences ruinous to the country. The soil

was stript of its cultivators; the soldiers who returned to Italy brought back dissolute habits, shrank from rustic labours, and thronged into the cities. Their lands, in great part, passed into the hands of Noblemen and Knights, enriched by successful war. Their place was supplied by hosts of Slaves thrown into the market by the practice of ancient warfare; and, as a consequence, the land passed out of tillage into pasturage.[a] It may be added that the Provinces attracted Italian speculators everywhere. Eighty thousand of them fell victims in Asia Minor at the massacre of Mithridates; and a few years later the cities of the same Province were again thronged by a similar class.[b]

§ 3. The attempts of the Gracchi and their successors to reform these evils, by diminishing the power of the Senate, and reviving the free population of Italy, proved vain. Their Agrarian measures were distasteful to the Italians at large. Their proposal to raise the Italians to an equality with the People at home was an abomination to all Roman citizens.

But the latter proposal, once made, could not be eluded. The Italians vindicated their claims in the Social War, and these claims were conceded. From the time of the Julian Law, followed by the enactments of Plotius and Papirius, we are presented with the anomaly of a Civic community, in which every citizen had a right to take direct part in measures of Legislation, of Jurisdiction, and (in some degree) even of Administration, though the citizens of that community were spread over the whole long and broken surface of the Peninsula, from the banks of the Po to the Straits of Messina.

Such a system could not work. From that time it became plain that some great alteration must be made in the Constitution of the Roman Government. Marius seems first to have entertained thoughts of a perpetual Consulship; but the implicit confidence reposed in him as a leader in war neither could nor did avail to gain him a similar confidence in peace; and in the few months of his Sixth Consulship, the great General was reduced to political nonentity. Circumstances rather

[a] See Chapt. xlviii. §§ 2–5.

[b] See the well-known Letters of Cicero to his brother Quintus, on the government of that Province, *Epist. ad Quintum Fratrem*, i. 1.

than set purpose placed Sylla at the head of the State; and he endeavoured to solve the political problem of the day by the sharp method of slaughtering the popular leaders, confiscating their goods, and placing all authority in the hands of the Senatorial Oligarchy. But with his death an explosion followed; and the remainder of the History of the Republic is merely a personal conflict of successful leaders for the supreme power. Every man was for himself. Pompey, often represented as the champion of the Senate, never assumed that character till he was driven into it by jealousy of Cæsar; and even then he was only half trusted by those who made him their leader. Cæsar, from the first, had a clear determination to establish himself as the ruler of the future fortunes of Rome by means of popular favour, backed by a military force. He succeeded. But his clemency was too incautious for the position which he had assumed, and his confidence in his own fortunes too great. He disclosed his wish to assume sovereign power without the cloak of Republican forms; and he fell by the hands of men who had accepted his favour, but in their hearts were jealous of his greatness,—men who professed to be Republicans, but who were in fact the agents of the Senatorial Oligarchy. Then came Antony and the Triumvirate, who prepared the way for ready acquiescence in the sole dominion of Octavian.

§ 4. His adroitness has often been commended. But he had many examples to warn and to guide him. Above all, the example of his uncle, the Great Dictator, proved that the Romans were not prepared to accept even order and good government at the price of Royalty. He dexterously avoided the danger. The excessive cruelties of the Triumviral Proscription he was able to throw chiefly upon Antony. But these very cruelties stood him in stead. They induced People to estimate, at more than its real worth, the clemency which distinguished his sole government;—and he anticipated the rule of Machiavelli, that a Prince who has to deal with discontented subjects should strike his first blow with unsparing rigour, and then adopt a rule of mercy. He avoided jealousy, as we have already stated, by assuming a power professedly only temporary. The modest title by which he liked to be known was that of Prince; for he revived in his own person the title Princeps

Senatus, which had slept since the death of Catulus.[c] But in fact he absorbed all the powers of the State. As Imperator, he exercised absolute control not only over the armies, but over the lives of all Roman citizens not within the limits of the City. As Pontifex Maximus, an office for which he waited patiently till the death of Lepidus, he controlled the religion of the State. He assumed the Censorial power, without election, without limitation of time, and without a colleague to impede his action: thus he was able to revise at pleasure the Register of the Citizens and the List of the Senate, promoting or degrading whom he pleased. He appropriated also the Tribunician power;—and thus the Popular Assembly was by a side-blow deprived of vitality; for without its Tribunes it was naught.[d] Consuls were still elected to give name to the year; and the Assembly of the Centuries still met for the empty purpose of electing those whom the Prince named. Often, indeed, several pairs were elected for one year, after the example of a practice begun by the Great Dictator.

§ 5. The name of Italy now at length assumed the significance which it still bears,[e] and all the Cisalpine Gauls obtained the full rights of Roman citizens. But little was done to repair the losses and decays of which we have spoken in former chapters. The military Colonies planted by Sylla, Antony, and Octavian, had lowered its condition even beyond its former misery. Ancient and respectable citizens made way for reckless and profligate soldiery,—such as the Centurion who would have slain the Poet Virgil, though he was protected by the most powerful patrons. Our pity for the ejected inhabitants is somewhat lessened by the thought that all the civilised world was open to them, for all the world was Roman. Gaul, and Spain, and Sicily, and the Provinces of the East, weakened and depopulated by long wars, must have gratefully received families of Italian citizens, who brought with them habits of civilised life, industry, and probably sums of money that they had saved from the ruin of their homes. Great as was the injustice of depriving these

[c] "Non Regno . . . . neque Dictatura, sed *Principis* nomine constitutam Rempublicam."—Tacit. *Annal.* i. 9.

[d] Chapt. xxxv. § 12. He was not styled *Censor* or *Tribune*, but was said to be invested *Censoriâ potestate*, *Tribuniciâ potestate*.

[e] See Introduction, Sect. ii. § 3.

persons, the actual loss and suffering, after the pain of leaving home was over, must have been incalculably less than we, in the present condition of Europe, are apt to imagine,—not so great as the first loss and suffering necessary for emigration to Canada or Australia. After the settlement of these Colonies, it is probable that what could be done for the welfare of Italy was done by Augustus himself and his able Ministers, Agrippa and Mæcenas. But the evils were too great and too recent to admit of palliation; and Italy probably never recovered the effects of the Roman Wars of Conquest, till she received a new population from the North.

§ 6. The Provinces were gainers by the transference of power from the Senate to a single man. It belongs to a History of the Empire to inquire fully into this interesting subject. Here it will be enough to state that the most important Provinces were governed by Deputies appointed by the Prince himself,[f] while the rest were left to the rule of Senatorial Proconsuls. It appears that the condition of the Imperial Provinces was preferred. The taxes exacted were lighter, and the government under severer control. Instances occur of Senatorial Provinces requesting as a favour to be transferred to the rule of the Emperor.[g] But even the Senatorial Government was more equitable than of old. The salaries of the Proconsuls were fixed; greedy men were no longer left to pay themselves by extortion. The Governors held power for several years; so that they had more temptation to win the good opinion of their subjects. Men who rule for a succession of years are sure to be less oppressive than annual bloodsuckers. The examples of Pilate and Felix show, indeed, that even in Imperial Provinces glaring injustice was still perpetrated; but these very cases show that the Governors stood in awe of those whom they governed,—for in both cases the iniquity was committed through fear of the Jews, whom these men had misgoverned and whose accusations they feared. It may be added that Pilate died in exile as a punishment for misgovernment, and Felix only escaped by the exertion of extraordinary influence.

[f] Legati or Præfecti Cæsaris.

[g] As Achaia and Macedonia in the time of Tiberius, Tacit. *Annal.* i. 76. Dio Cassius says generally (liii. 14): ὕστερον δέ, ἐπειδή τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἦρχον, τῷ αὐτοκράτορι καὶ τὰ ἐκείνα προσετίθησαν.

§ 7. The world, therefore, as a whole, was a gainer by the substitution of the Imperial rule for the Constitution which was falsely named Republican. For nearly two centuries the government was, with two intervals, administered by rulers of great abilities and great energy. It was their interest to protect the Provinces;[h] and though, no doubt, there was enough of oppression and to spare, yet there was much less of oppression than had been common in the times of Senatorial dominion. Even under the weak Caligula, the madman Nero, and the heartless Domitian, it is probable that the rules of administration established by Augustus and Tiberius were tolerably well maintained; and under the rule of the succeeding Emperors, from Vespasian to Marcus Aurelius, these rules were not only maintained but improved.

But if the Provinces—that is, the Empire at large—continued to be content with a Central Despotism, in comparison with the old Senatorial rule of "every man for himself," this was not the case at Rome. The educated classes at least, and the Senatorial Nobility, soon began to regret even the turbulent days of Marius and Pompey. The practice of oratory, in which Romans excelled and took chief delight,—the field in which they achieved triumphs which they valued almost as much as they valued the actual triumphs of the battle-field,—was confined to mere forensic pleadings, and lost all that excitement and interest which attached to it when an orator could sway the will of the Senate, and calm or rouse the seething passions of the Forum. We cannot wonder at Cicero, notwithstanding his hatred for tumult and commotion, throwing himself into the conflict against Antony with the fervid energy which is revealed in the Philippics. He felt that this was the last chance of supporting the old freedom of the Forum,—which, with all its turbulence, he loved, partly as the scene of his own glories, partly as a barrier against the crushing force of military des-

[h] Their interest, because the Imperial Treasury (called *Fiscus*) was kept separate from the Old Treasury (*Ærarium*), which was still administered by the Senate; and, therefore, all undue exactions made by governors, whether on their own account or on account of the Senate, was a deduction from the Imperial Revenues. The Imperial Provinces paid all their tribute into the Imperial Treasury, the Senatorial Provinces also paid a portion of theirs to the same account.

potism. And though the slaughter of the Proscription and of the Civil Wars removed many of the leading Senators, and the rest submitted wearily to the sway of Octavian, yet in a short time the old feelings revived; and men of independent will and energetic feelings revolted against the deadening weight of despotic government, as is revealed in the burning pages of Tacitus. For a time, however, there was a general disposition, even at Rome, to welcome the peace and tranquillity of the rule of Augustus. Those of the old Nobility who survived were weary of revolution and unquiet life, and they were fain to purchase tranquillity at any price. Some fondly dreamed that, when order was restored, Octavian, like Sylla, might hand over the government to its old possessors.

Nothing can more strongly show the security and sense of relief that men experienced in the firm authority established at Rome by Octavian, even before the battle of Actium, than the sudden burst of vigour with which Literature and the polite Arts rose from their slumbers.

§ 8. This leads us to give a brief account of the state of Literature at Rome, from the time that we last took notice of the subject, at the beginning of the Civil Wars.

Since that epoch literary pursuits had languished, — the natural effect of political excitement and perilous times. Oratory indeed had flourished, as every page of our History indicates; and Oratory may be called the popular literature of Rome, as truly as Journalism may be called the popular literature of England. Cicero, a master of his art both in theory and practice, has left us an account of a host of Orators whom he thought worthy of being placed in a national catalogue. Of the Gracchi, of Antonius, of Crassus, of Sulpicius, we have spoken. After their time Cotta was the chief favourite, and then Hortensius rose to be "King of the Courts." He was what we may call an Advocate by profession, taking little part in politics till he had made a large fortune by the presents which at that time stood in the place of regular fees; and even in the hot conflicts that distinguished the rise of Pompey's popularity he took but a languid part. His style of speaking was what Cicero styles Asiatic,—that is, florid and decorated beyond what even the liberal judgment of his critic could

approve. Cicero considered his own youthful style to partake of this character, and refers to the brave speech in which he defended Sext. Roscius of Ameria as an example of this style. But that elaborate phraseology, that somewhat redundant flow of language, remained with him to the last. It was only when his feelings were strongly excited or when his time was limited, as when he defended old Rabirius or assailed Catiline in the Senate, that he displayed anything of that terrible concentration of speech with which Demosthenes smote his antagonists. So far as we can judge from the scanty remnants preserved, C. Gracchus, more than any other Roman, possessed this fierce earnestness. The example and criticism of Cicero lead to the conclusion that Roman Oratory generally had a tendency to be redundant, if not wordy. It may be doubted whether Cicero himself did not establish this tendency. The tendency itself may be ascribed to the prevailing mode in which the young orators of the day sought to acquire skill in speaking. The Schools of the Rhetorical Teachers were thronged by them; and here they were taught to declaim fluently in set forms on any subject, without reference to passion or feeling or earnestness of purpose. The Romans of a former generation, as we have seen, endeavoured to crush such schools at Rome; and even in these days it was not at Rome that the most celebrated Teachers were to be found. At Athens or at Rhodes were the fashionable Universities, as we may call them, to which the young Romans resorted, when they had finished their schooling at Rome.[i] After learning grammar, and reading Latin and Greek Poets in their boyhood, they repaired to the more famous haunts of Grecian learning to study a little Geometry and a little Philosophy:[k] but it was to Rhetoric or the acquirement of a fluent and facile power of speaking on any given subject that the ambitious youth devoted their efforts with the same zeal that the youth of the Middle Ages cultivated the Art of

[i] We know this, and have noticed it, of the two Ciceros, of Cæsar, of Horace, of Persius. The age at which they went seems to have been much the same as that at which young men in the present day go to the Universities.

[k] Such at least Horace represents it:

> "Adjecere bonae paullo plus artis Athenae,—
> Scilicet ut possem *curvo dignoscere rectum*,
> Atque inter silvas *Academi quaerere verum*."—2 *Epist.* ii. 43.

Dialectics for the purpose of discussing in the set forms of logical disputation any subject that might be proposed.

§ 9. The education in Greek literature which all young men of rank and fortune received, led many persons in this period to compose Greek memoirs of the stirring scenes in which they had lived or in which they had acted a part. Examples of this kind had been set as early as the Second Punic War by Cincius and Fabius. It now became very common; but many began to employ the vernacular language. C. Fannius Strabo, who mounted the walls of Carthage by the side of Ti. Gracchus, and his contemporary L. Cælius Antipater, wrote Latin histories famous in their time. Both were thought worthy of abridgment by Brutus. The former is commended by Sallust, the latter was preferred to Sallust by the Emperor Hadrian, who loved archaïc simplicity of style. But even Cicero commended Antipater as an improver of Latin composition: his follower, P. Sempronius Asellio, says the Orator, returned to the meagre dullness of the ancient Annalists.[m] Then came L. Cornelius Sisenna, the best Latin author of the times of Cicero's boyhood. He witnessed the bloody scenes of the Social and First Civil Wars and wrote their history. Cicero commends his style; Sallust speaks with praise of his diligence, but hints at his subserviency to Sylla and the Senate. But the great men who made History at this epoch also took up the pen to write History. Q. Lutatius Catulus, the temperate colleague of Marius, wrote a memoir of the Cimbric War. The good Rutilius Rufus employed his leisure in writing an historical work. Sylla composed a memoir of his own political life, to which Plutarch often refers; but from the specimens which he gives, the Dictator seems not to have been scrupulously exact or nicely impartial in his narrative. Lucullus composed similar memoirs. Cicero drew up a Greek notice of his Consulate with his own ready pen, and endeavoured to persuade L. Lucceius to undertake a similar task. Even the grim Marius wished to have his deeds commemorated by a worthy hand.[n] The Commentaries of Cæsar have been already quoted as illustrating one characteristic of the great Dictator's mind. His pen was

[m] *De Legg.* i. 2.

[n] By L. Plotius, a rhetorician, of whom little is known, *pro Archiâ* 9.

taken up by several of his officers, Au. Hirtius who completed the narrative of the Gallic War, C. Oppius, to whom the memoirs of the Dictator's Wars in Egypt, Africa, and Spain are often attributed, L. Cornelius Balbus, and others. But the most remarkable prose writer of the late Republican Era is C. Sallustius Crispus, familiarly known to us as Sallust. The two works that remain to us from the pen of this vigorous writer, the account of the Catilinarian Conspiracy and the Jugurthan War, are rather to be styled political pamphlets than histories. Sallust was, as we have mentioned, an ardent partisan of the Marian and Cæsarian party. He had been expelled from the Senate. Dislike of the reigning oligarchy and fondness for the popular party appear at every turn, notwithstanding the semblance of impartiality assumed by a man who himself practised the profligacy which he indignantly denounces. But Sallust's writings are valuable in a literary point of view, because they disclose that terse and concentrated energy of which the Latin language was capable, qualities little favoured by the oratorical tendencies of the day, but used with marvellous effect in a later age by Tacitus. Besides these two smaller works, Sallust also composed a regular History of his own Times, of which fragments remain.

Other writers now first endeavoured to hand down in Latin a History of Rome from her foundation, or from early periods of her existence. Such were C. Licinius Macer, Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, and Q. Valerius Antias, all born about the beginning of the last century before the Christian Era. Livy refers to Macer with respect, to Quadrigarius without any expression of opinion, to Antias as "one who set no bounds to his mendacity." The works of these and other Annalists were used and swallowed up by the History of the great writer whom we have just named. T. Livius was born, probably at Padua, in the year 59 B.C., and belongs to the Imperial Era of Augustus, of which we speak not here.

§ 10. Some few writers in this same period began to cultivate grammatical and philological studies. The founder of these pursuits at Rome is reputed to be L. Ælius Stilo Præconinus, a Roman of good family, the friend of Q. Metellus Numidicus, and his companion in exile. He was closely followed by Aure-

lius Opilius, a freedman, who attended Rutilius Rufus into exile, as Stilo had attended Metellus. But the man whose name is in this department most conspicuous is M. Terentius Varro of Reaté.[o] He was born in 116 B.C., ten years later than Cicero, whose friendship he cultivated to the close of the great Orator's life. Varro was a laborious student, and earned, by his successful pursuit of all kinds of knowledge, a reputation which was not deserved by his public life. From the first he adhered to the cause of Pompey. Though he sought no political honours, he accepted a commission under the great commander in the Piratical War, and ruled the Province of Further Spain as his deputy, when Pompey fled before Cæsar from the soil of Italy. After the defeat of Afranius and Petreius at Ilerda, he surrendered to the conqueror, and was allowed to join Pompey again in Epirus. After Pharsalia, Cæsar received him with the same extraordinary clemency that he had shown to all his foes, and employed him in superintending the plans which he had formed of establishing a Public Library at Rome. After the death of Cæsar he retired to his villas at Cumæ and at Tusculum, and confined himself to literary pursuits; but this did not save him from being placed on the Proscription-list of the Triumvirs. He escaped, however, to be received into favour at a later time by Octavian, and continued his studies in grammar, philology, agriculture, and other subjects, till he reached the great age of eighty-eight, when he died in peace. Of his great work on the Latin Language, originally consisting of twenty-four Books, six remain to attest the industry of the man and the infantine state of philological science at the time.[p] His work on Agriculture in three books, written when he was eighty years old, is still in our hands, and, with Cato's on the same subject, forms the most accurate and valuable account we possess from the Romans of this subject. Fragments and notices of many other writers on

[o] To distinguish him from P. Varro Atacinus, a Poet from the banks of the Atax (Aude) in Narbonese Gaul. See Horace, 1 *Serm.* x. 46.

[p] For instance: *Ocrea*, quod opponebatur *ob crus*: *Anas*, *a nando*: *Luscinia*, quia *luctuose canere* existimetur: *Ignis*, *a nascendo*, quod hic nascitur et omne quod nascitur ignis scindit: *Luna*, quod *lucet noctu*: *Sol*, quod *solum ita lucet* ut ex eo dies sit.

all kinds of topics have been handed down to justify the title given by the ancients to Varro—"the most learned of the Romans."

§ 11. It is impossible to close this brief sketch of the Prose Literature of the last age of the Republic without some notice of Cicero's writings. Of his oratory and of his letters something has been said in former pages; and it is to these productions that we must attribute the great Orator's chief merits in the Commonwealth of Letters. Of his poems it were better to say nothing. Of his memoirs and historical writings little has been preserved, unless we count the fragments of "The Republic" in this class. But his rhetorical and philosophical Essays each fill a goodly volume; and these writings have been the themes of warm admiration for ages past. Yet it is to be doubted whether the praises lavished upon them are not chiefly due to the magic influence of the language in which they are expressed. The "Brutus" doubtless is extremely interesting and valuable as containing the judgment of Rome's greatest orator on all the speakers of his own generation and of foregoing times. The Dialogues on "The Orator" are yet more interesting and valuable as furnishing a record of his professional experience during a long and successful career. But the philosophical works of Cicero are of little philosophical value. They contain few statements which we do not derive from earlier authorities; nor were they written to teach mankind so much as to employ his time and banish thought at moments when he was banished from the Forum and the Senate. Their highest merits consist in that easy, lucid, and graceful style, which seduced the great Italian Latinists at the end of the fifteenth century to abjure all words and phrases which did not rest on Ciceronian authority, and which led Erasmus himself, though he resisted this pedantry, to "spend ten years in reading Cicero."

§ 12. The Dramatic Art fell more and more into dishonour. We hear indeed of two illustrious actors, Æsopus and Roscius, who were highly honoured at Rome and died in possession of large fortunes. But it was from the great families that their honours and the means of making money came. The Theatres, as we have before observed, remained mere temporary buildings

till the second Consulship of Pompey, when the first stone theatre at Rome was erected by one of his wealthy freedmen. The pieces represented were more of the nature of spectacles. Those in which Roscius and Æsopus acted must have been old plays revived. In this period hardly one name of a dramatic author occurs.[q] It was not in Theatres, but in Amphitheatres, that Rome and Roman Towns sought amusement. Not only is the Flavian Amphitheatre the most gorgeous of the remains of Imperial Rome, but at all places where Roman remains are preserved, at Verona in Transpadane Gaul, at Arles or Nismes in "the Province," at Trèves on the distant Moselle, it is the Amphitheatre that characterises the Roman City, as it is the Theatre that marks the Greek.

§ 13. During this period, indeed, a new kind of dramatic representation was introduced, which enjoyed a short-lived popularity. This was the Mime. The name at least was borrowed from the Greeks of Sicily. The Greek Mime was a kind of Comic Dialogue in prose, without much plot, and adapted to the purposes afterwards pursued by the Roman Satire. But while the Greek Mime in the hands of Sophron assumed a grave and dignified character, so that Aristotle classes him among Poets though he wrote in prose, the Roman Mime was generally coarse and licentious. Sylla was particularly fond of these productions and their authors. After his time, Dec. Laberius, a Knight, strove to give them greater dignity and force. His Mimes, so far as the fragments show, were in iambic verse, and differed from Comedy chiefly in their absence of plot and their relation to the topics of the day. The fame of Laberius was rivalled by Publ. Syrus, a freedman who acted in his own Mimes, whereas the Knighthood of Laberius forbade this degradation. Cæsar, however, on the occasion of his quadruple Triumph, thought fit to order Laberius to enter into a contest with Syrus; and the Knight, though a man of sixty years, dared not refuse to enter into a contest with his younger rival. His sense of the indignity

[q] T. Quinctius Atta is almost the only one known to us. He died in 78 B.C., and it is evident from Horat. 2 *Epist.* ii. 79, that his Plays were the most popular dramas of the day.

was strongly marked by a fine passage in the Prologue, which is still preserved :—

> The Gods themselves cannot gainsay his might;
> And how can I, a man, think to gainsay it?
> So then, albeit I've lived twice thirty years
> Free from all taint of blame, I left my house
> At morn a Roman Knight and shall return
> At eve a sorry Player. 'Faith, my life
> Is one day longer than it should have been.[r]

And in the course of the dialogue he expressed himself with great freedom against the arbitrary power assumed by the great Dictator :—

> And then, good People, we've outlived our Freedom.[s]

And in another line almost ventured to threaten :—

> —— It needs must be
> That he fears many, whom so many fear.[t]

Cæsar, however, took no further notice of these and other caustic sallies than to assign the prize to Syrus.

§ 14. In Poetry, the long period from the death of Lucilius to the appearance of Virgil and Horace after the battle of Philippi,—a period of about sixty years,—is broken only by two names worthy of mention. But it must be admitted that these names take a place in the first ranks of Roman Literature. Without further preface, it is sufficient to name Lucretius and Catullus.

T. Lucretius Carus was a Roman of good descent, as his name shows. He is said to have been born about 95 B.C., and to have died by his own hand in the forty-fourth year of his age, that is, in 52 B.C. A few apocryphal statements might be added to these dates, and then we should have set down all that tradition records of this remarkable man. But, if little is

[r] "Etenim ipsi Di negare cui nil potuerunt,
Hominem me denegare quis possit pati?
Ergo bis tricenis actis annis sine notâ
Eques Romanus lare degressus meo
Domum reverto Mimus. Nimirum hoc die
Uno plus vixi mihi quam vivendus fuit."

[s] "Porro, Quirites, libertatem perdimus."

[t] "Necesse est multos timeat, quem multi timent."

related of his life, his great Poem on the Nature of the Universe is known by name at least to all. It is dedicated to C. Memmius Gemellus, a profligate man and an unscrupulous politician, who sided now with the Senatorial party, now with Cæsar, and ended his days in exile at Mitylené. But he was a man of a fine sense in literature, as is evinced by the feelings shown by Lucretius towards him, and also by his wish to be considered the patron of Catullus.

The poem of Lucretius seems, in part at least, to have been written about the time when Clodius was lord of misrule in the Roman Forum, that is, about the year 58 B.C. Memmius took an active part against the Demagogue, and to these violent scenes the Poet probably alludes in the introduction to the First Book, where he prays for that tranquillity which is needful for the Poet's work, and regrets the necessity which involved his friend in political struggles.[a]

The attempt of Lucretius in his great poem is to show that all creation took place, and that all nature is sustained, without the agency of a creating and sustaining God, by the self-operation of the elemental atoms of which all matter is composed and into which all matter may be resolved. The doctrine is, as he expressly asserts, the doctrine of Epicurus; and there can be little doubt that his proofs and illustrations are in great part borrowed from the early Greek philosophers, who delivered their doctrines in heroïc verse of the same majestic kind that extorts involuntary admiration from the reader of Lucretius. He professes unbounded reverence for the name of Empedocles; and doubtless, if the works of this philosopher, of Anaxagoras, and others who taught in that lofty and severe style were still in our hands, we should see, what their fragments indicate, the source and materials from which Lucretius drew. Mingled with the philosophic argument are passages of noble verse, which reveal that the soul of Lucretius was of poetic, rather than of philosophic temperament. But here also it may be doubted how far we can believe in his originality. One of the most magnificent passages,—the Sacrifice of Iphigenia,—is

[a] "Nam neque nos agere hoc patriaï tempore iniquo
Possumus aequo animo, nec Memmî clara propago
Talibus in rebus communi dêsse saluti."—i. 41.

taken in every detail from the famous Chorus in the Agamemnon of Æschylus. When we see this, and know that the almost universal habit of Latin Poets was not to create, but to adapt and borrow, we must pause before we place Lucretius in a niche separate from his brethren.

But with all deductions both for the unfortunate nature of his subject and the possibility of plagiarism, none can rise from the perusal of Lucretius without feeling that here was a true Poet. The ingenuity with which he employs Latin, a language unused to philosophical speculation, to express in the trammels of metre the most technical and minute details of natural phenomena, is itself admirable. But more admirable are those majestic outbursts of song with which (as we have said) the philosophical speculations are diversified. The indignant and melancholy passion with which he attacks the superstitious Religion of his time cannot but touch even those who feel that his censure falls not upon Superstition only, but upon the sacred form of Religion herself. But on the whole he was little appreciated at Rome. Cicero speaks of him with that cold praise which is almost worse than censure.[x] Horace, though the old Roman Literature is one of his common topics, never makes mention of his name. Virgil alone, so far as we know, among the writers of that age showed the true feeling of a poet by his value for Lucretius. He scrupled not to borrow whole lines from his poem, and many passages in the Georgics bear witness to the faithful study which he had bestowed on the works of his great predecessor.[y] In one often-quoted place especially the Mantuan bard confesses his inferiority to the great didactic Poet of Rome.[z] On the whole, it may be affirmed that Lucre-

[x] "Lucretii poëmata, ut scribis, ita sunt: non multis luminibus ingenii, multae tamen artis."—*Ad Quintum Fratrem*, ii. 11, 4.

[y] Compare, for instance, *Georg.* i. 121 *sq.* with *Lucret.* v. 931 *sq.*; *Georg.* ii. 461 with *Lucret.* ii. 24; *Georg.* iii. 289 with *Lucret.* i. 921; *Georg.* iii. 478 *sq.* with the description of the Plague in *Lucret.* vi.; &c.

[z] "Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
Atque metus omnes et inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari.
* * * *
Sin has ne possim naturæ accedere partes,
Frigidus obstiterit circum præcordia sanguis,
Flumina amem silvasque ingloriis!" &c.—*Georg.* ii. 490, *sq.*

tius possessed the greatest genius of all who appear on the roll of Roman Poets.

§ 15. In striking contrast to the majestic gravity of Lucretius appears the second Poet whom we have named. C. or Q. Valerius Catullus (for his first name is variously given) was a native of Verona, or its neighbourhood. He is said to have been born in 97 B.C., two years before Lucretius, and is known to have been alive in the Consulship of Vatinius[a] (47 B.C.). He was then fifty years of age, and we hear of him no more. His father was a friend of Cæsar, and left his son in the possession of not inconsiderable property. He had a villa on the lovely peninsula of Sirmio, at the foot of Lake Benacus, well known from his own description;[b] he had a villa near Tibur, and many of his poems indicate the extravagant habits and gay licentiousness of the life which he led at Rome. These habits soon beggared him, and he endeavoured to mend his broken fortunes by attending Memmius, the friend of Lucretius, when he went as Prætor into Bithynia. He was however little satisfied with the result; and bitterly complained of the stinginess of his patron.[c] When he was in Asia, his brother died, and he addressed to Hortalus, son of the Orator Hortensius, that beautiful and affecting elegy which alone would entitle him to a foremost place among Roman Poets.[d] Fearless of consequences, he libelled Cæsar in language too coarse for modern ears. The great man laughed when he heard the libel, and asked the poet to dinner the same day.

The poems of Catullus range from gross impurity to lofty flights of inspiration. The fine poem called the Atys is the only Latin specimen which we possess of that dithyrambic spirit which Horace repudiated for himself. The elegy to Hortalus is perhaps the most touching piece of poetry that has been left us by the ancients. The imitation of Callimachus is a masterpiece in its way. The little poems on passing events,—*pièces de circonstance* (as the French call them),—are the most lively, natural, and graceful products of the Latin Muse. To those who agree in this estimate it seems strange that Horace

[a] "Per Consulatum pejerat Vatinius."—lii. 3.

[b] Ad Sirmionem Peninsulam, xxxi.

[c] xxviii. 6, *sq.*, xlvii. 2.

[d] lxv. Compare c.

should only notice Catullus in a passing sneer.[e] It is difficult to acquit the judge of jealousy. For Catullus cannot be ranked with the old Poets, such as Livius, Ennius, and others, against the extravagant admiration of whom Horace not unjustly protested. His lyric compositions are as finished and perfect as the productions of the Venusian bard; and the latter never wrote anything so touching as the Elegy to Hortalus, or so full of poetic fire as the Atys.

With Catullus may be mentioned his friend C. Licinius Macer, commonly called Calvus, whom Horace honours by comprehending him in the same condemnation. He was some fifteen years younger, and was probably son of Licinius Macer the Historian. He was a good speaker, and a Poet (if we believe other authors, rather than Horace), not unworthy to be coupled with Catullus. He died at the early age of thirty-five or thirty-six.

Another poet highly praised by Catullus[f] was C. Helvius Cinna, who is supposed to be the unlucky man torn to pieces by the rabble after the funeral of Cæsar by mistake for L. Cornelius Cinna.[g]

§ 16. At the time that the battles of Philippi secured to Italy somewhat of tranquillity, many others began to devote themselves to poetry. Among these were L. Varius Rufus, always celebrated by Horace as the Epic Poet of his time;[h] and the

—— "Quos neque pulcher
Hermogenes unquam legit, neque simius iste,
Nil praeter Calvum et doctus cantare Catullum."—1 *Serm.* x. 18.

This was written indeed before Horace published any of his Odes, but not necessarily before he had formed and partly executed his design of writing Latin Lyrics.

[f] For Calvus, see *Carm.* xiv., for Cinna, xciv.

[g] See Chapt. lxix. § 5. If however it is to *this* Cinna that Virgil refers in his Ninth Eclogue (which cannot have been written later than 40 B.C.), it was some other Helvius Cinna, and not the poet, who suffered this death. It is not easy to suppose that there could be another poet of whom we know nothing, and of whom Virgil would have spoken in such terms of praise:

"Nam neque adhuc Vario videor nec dicere Cinnâ
Digna, sed argutos interstrepere anser olores."
"Scribêris Vario fortis et hostium
Victor, Mæonii carminis aliti."—1 *Carm.* vi. 8.
—— "Forte Epos acer
Ut Varius nemo ducit, molle atque facetum
Virgilio annuerunt gaudentes rure Camenæ."—1 *Serm.* x. 44.

At

few fragments from his pen which remain do much to justify the praise. He was the intimate friend both of Horace and Virgil.[i]

Furius Bibaculus also may be mentioned here as an Epic Poet, who attempted to commit to verse the campaign of Cæsar in Gaul. Horace ridicules his pretensions in two well-known passages;[k] but there is reason to think that in the case of Furius, as in many other cases, the satirist was influenced by some personal feelings in his estimate.

But the fame of all other Poets was obscured by the brightness which encircled the names of Virgil and Horace. Properly their history belongs to the Augustan or Imperial era. But as they both published some of their best works before the Battle of Actium, a slight notice of them may be permitted here.

§ 17. P. Virgilius (or Vergilius) Maro was born at Andes, a village near Mantua, in the famous year 70 B.C., so that he was entering manhood about the time when Lucretius put an end to his own life. From his father he inherited a small estate. After the Battle of Philippi, he was among those whose lands were handed over to the soldiery of the victorious Triumvirs. But what seemed his ruin brought him into earlier notice than otherwise might have been his lot. He was introduced to Mæcenas by Asinius Pollio, himself a Poet, who had been made Governor of Cisalpine Gaul, and was at the request of his powerful patron reïnstated in his property. This happy event, as every one knows, he celebrates in his First Eclogue. But it appears that when he tried to resume possession he was nearly slain by the rude soldier who had received a grant of the land, and it was some months before he was securely restored.[m] In company with Horace, Varius, and others, he attended Mæcenas in the famous journey to Brundusium (probably in 37 B.C.). He had already (in the year 40 B.C.) written the famous Eclogue on the Consulship of Pollio, of which we have before spoken; and soon after this he began the Georgics, at the special desire

At a later time he puts Virgil and Varius together as poets of the same class, 2 *Epist.* i. 247, *Art. Poët.* 44.

[i] See Horace, Iter Brundusinum, 1 *Serm.* v. 40; Compare x. 83.

[k] 1 *Serm.* x. 37, 2 *Serm.* v. 41.

[m] To this he is supposed to refer in his Ninth Eclogue.

of Mæcenas. They seem to have been published in their complete form soon after the Battle of Actium. For the rest of his life, which he closed at Brundusium in the fifty-first year of his age (B.C. 19), he was occupied with his Æneid, which with modest self-depreciation he ordered to be destroyed. But it was revised by his friends Varius and Plotius, and published by order of the Emperor, whom he had accompanied in a tour through Greece just before his death.

The character of Virgil was gentle and amiable, his manners simple and unobtrusive, and we hear little from himself of the great men with whom he was associated in friendship. His health was feeble, and his life passed away in uneventful study, of which his poems were the fruit and are the evidence. Nothing can be more finished than the style and versification of Virgil. His phraseology is so idiomatic as often to defy translation; his learning so great, that each poem requires a close and elaborate commentary. He bestowed the greatest labour in polishing his writings; his habit being, as is said, to pour forth a vast quantity of verses in the morning, which he reduced to a small number by continual elaboration, after the manner (as himself said) of a bear licking her cubs into shape. It may be said that Cicero, Horace, and Virgil himself, completed the Hellenising tendency which had begun with Ennius. Lucretius, though he borrowed his matter and much of his sentiment from the old Greek philosophers, is much more Roman in his style and language. Catullus is more Roman still. But Virgil, except in language and idiom, is Greek everywhere. Most of his Eclogues are feeble echoes of the Doric grace of Theocritus, mixed with matter appertaining to his own times. His Georgics, the most original of his works, are elaborately constructed from the works of Hellenic writers, tempered in some of the noblest poetic passages with the grave majesty of Lucretius. In his Æneid almost every comparison and description is borrowed, more or less literally, from Homer, Apollonius, and other Greek Poets. In strength of character his Epic fails entirely. No one person in the Æneid excites awe, love, sympathy, or any other strong feeling, unless we except the untimely end of Nisus and Euryalus, the fates of young Lausus and young Pallas, and the death of the heroine Camilla. But, notwithstanding all this,

such is the tender grace of his style, such the elaborate beauty of his descriptions, that we read again and yet again with renewed delight.

§ 18. To give any adequate account of the gay Horace in a page is impossible. Q. Horatius Flaccus was born in the Colony of Venusia in the year 65 B.C., two years before the Consulship of Cicero. He was therefore five or nearly six years younger than Virgil, and two years older than Octavian. He died in the fifty-seventh year of his age (8 B.C.), following his friend and patron Mæcenas, who died a month or two before, according to his own prophetic promise.[n] Every one knows that his father was a Freedman by birth, and by profession a collector of taxes, and that this father was a good and tender parent, caring above all things for the education of his son. He was at the expense of taking the quick and promising boy to Rome, probably when he was about twelve or thirteen years old, where he attended the school of Orbilius, known to others besides Horace for his belief in the maxim that the "sparing of the rod spoils the child."[o] There he learnt Greek as well as Latin, by reading Homer and the old Roman Poets, from Livius downwards. About the age of eighteen he went to complete his education at Athens, which was (what we should call) a University to the young men of Rome. Here Q. Cicero was his fellow-student. A little Geometry and a course of Moral Philosophy seem to have been the sum of their acquirements.[p] He was at Athens when Cæsar was murdered, and became an officer (as we have noticed) in the army of Brutus. Not long after the Battle of Philippi he returned to Rome. If his father had been in possession of any property, it was no doubt confiscated, like the farm of Virgil; and young Horace was thrown entirely upon the world. By money or by interest gained

——— "Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam: non ego perfidum
Dixi sacramentum: ibimus, ibimus,
Utcunque præcedes, supremum
Carpere iter comites parati."—2 *Carm.* xvii. 8, *sq.*

[o] A Line is quoted from Domitius Marsus, a brother poet, who was educated at the School of Orbilius:

"Si quos Orbilius scuticâ ferulâve cecidit."

[p] See above, § 8.

we know not how or whence, Horace obtained a Clerkship in the Treasury, on the proceeds of which he contrived to live in the most frugal manner. Vegetables and water, if we take him literally, formed his truly poetic diet.[q] But he was not left to languish long in poverty. He became acquainted with Varius and Virgil, and was by them introduced to Mæcenas. We have from his own pen a pleasing narrative of the introduction.[r] For several months, however, he received no sign of the great man's favour; but before the journey to Brundusium, he was evidently established in intimacy as great as Virgil's. Soon after this, he published the First Book of the Satires. The Second Book and the Epodes followed; but in the interval he had received a substantial reward from his patron in the present of the Sabine farm, so prettily described by himself.[s] At a later period he became master of a cottage at Tibur, which was distant about fifteen miles from his Sabine villa. But it must be said that, notwithstanding his dependence upon patrons, Horace always maintained a steady determination not to be subservient to any one, Emperor or Minister, such as increases that regard which his genial humour and easy good sense create. The Epistle to Mæcenas, especially, deserves especial notice; for it is written in a tone equally creditable to the Poet, who would not condescend to flatter the Patron, and to the Patron who tolerated such freedom in the Poet.[t] His fondness for the country, expressed in every passage of his works, led him to spend as much time as he could steal from the service of his patrons at Rome in the retirement. Hitherto he had declined the name of Poet. But the publication of the Three Books of his Odes in rapid succession indicated his title to this name, though still he declined to approach subjects of Epic grandeur.[u] Before this he

[q] See the description of his day, 1 *Serm.* vi. 110, *sq.*

[r] *Ibid.* 55, *sq.*

[s] "Scribetur tibi forma loquaciter et situs agri,
Continui montes, &c."—1 *Epist.* xvi. 4, *sq.*

[t] 1 *Epist.* vii.

[u] In 1 *Carm.* vi., where he turns over to Varius the task of singing in Epic narrative the deeds of Agrippa:

—— "Pudor
Imbellisque lyræ Musa potens vetat
Laudes egregii Caesaris et tuas
Culpâ deterere ingeni."

And

had been introduced to Agrippa, and somewhat later to Octavia. The First Book of his Epistles seems to have been completed in 21 B.C., when the Poet was beginning his forty-fifth year.[x] Then followed the Carmen Seculare, which may be fixed by the occasion to which it belongs, to the year 17 B.C. After this came the Fourth Book of Odes and the Second Book of Epistles, which works were in great part due to the express request of Augustus.

The popularity of the Odes of Horace has ever been great and general. He often disclaims the title of Poet for his other writings; and of the Odes he says that he wrote poetry only under the sharp compulsion of poverty.[y] Much is borrowed from the Greek, as we know; and if the writings of the Greek Lyric Poets remained to us in a less fragmentary form, we should doubtless find far more numerous examples of imitation. But the style of Horace is so finished, his sentiments expressed with so much lively precision and in words so happily chosen, that he deserves the title which he claims of "Rome's Lyric Minstrel." No doubt his poetry was the result of great labour, and every perusal of his Odes strengthens the belief that he spoke literally when he compared himself to "the Matine bee," rifling the sweets of many flowers, and finishing his work with assiduous labour. It is in the First Book of the Epistles that we must seek the true genius of Horace,—the easy man of the world, popular with his great patrons, the sworn friend of his brother poets, good-natured to every one, except the old poets

And at a later time, when he was pressed by Augustus to write an Epic upon his reign.—See 4 *Carm.* xv., and the whole of 2 *Epist.* i.

x "Forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum,
Me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembres,
Collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius anno."—1 *Epist.* xx. 26.

But there are allusions in some Epistles which show that either it was published a year or two later, or else that additions were made after the first publication.

It is impossible here to enter minutely into the time of the publication of Horace's works. Their *order* is pretty well ascertained, as given in the text. The date of none, except the 1st Book of the Epistles and the Carmen Seculare, can be settled *exactly*, even after all that has been written by Bentley, Tait, Milman, and many German Scholars.

y "Decisis humilem pennis, inopemque paterni
Et laris et fundi, paupertas impulit audax
Ut versus facerem."—2 *Epist.* ii. 50.

of Rome, whom he undervalued partly (as in the case of Livius) from dislike for a rude and imperfect style, partly (as we must suspect in the case of Catullus and Calvus) from an irrepressible, perhaps an unconscious, emotion of jealousy.

§ 19. The Elegiac Poets, Tibullus and Propertius, with their younger and more famous compeer Ovid, and many writers of lesser note, belong chiefly to the Imperial era of Augustus, and may fitly be passed over here. To this age also belong Manilius, Gallus, Domitius Marsus, Pollio, and many others of greater or less note. Poetry indeed became a rage at this season, though Horace energetically declared that the existence of indifferent Poets could not be allowed by gods or men or booksellers.[z] The whole of his elaborate Epistles to Augustus and Julius Florus, which form the Second Book, as well as the Epistle to the Pisos (commonly called the Ars Poëtica), is directed against this rage.[a] They are a commentary on the theme "Poëta nascitur, non fit," addressed to young men who seem to have believed that all men might be poets at will.

§ 20. A few words may be added on the subject of Art generally. With the great fortunes that had been amassed first by Senatorial Rulers and afterwards by the favourites of the Triumvirs, it is natural that Art in some shape should be cultivated. But Greek Masters still ruled at Rome; and a taste began for collecting ancient works, such as resembles the eagerness with which the pictures of the old Italian, Flemish, and Dutch Painters are sought in modern Europe. The rapacity with which Senatorial Governors stripped Provinces committed to their care of Works of Art recals to mind nothing so much as the conduct of the Generals of the French Empire in the heat of the Republican Wars. In the oration of Cicero against Verres we have an elaborate exposure of the base and greedy arts by which that wholesale plunderer robbed the Sicilians of their finest Works of Art. It was, no doubt, an extreme case; but Verres dared not have proceeded to extremities so audacious, unless he had been encouraged by many precedents.

[z] —— "Mediocribus esse Poetis
Non Dii, non homines, non concessêre columnae."—*Ars Poët.* 372.

[a] "Scribimus indocti doctique poëmata passim."—2 *Epist.* i. 117, &c.

§ 21. The Arts also of the Builder and Engineer grew with the growing wealth of Rome. It was one of the chief and favourite occupations of C. Gracchus, during his brief reign, to improve the roads and bridges. The great Dictator Cæsar had many projects in view when he was cut off,—as, for instance, the draining of the mountain-lakes by tunnels, of the Pontine marshes by canal. Many of these works were afterwards executed by Agrippa, who also (as we have said) constructed the noble Julian harbour, by uniting the Lucrine and Avernian Lakes with the sea. In the year 33 B.C. he condescended to act as Ædile, and signalised his Magistracy by a complete repair of the aqueducts and sewers.

Before this time, also, had begun the adornment of the City with noble buildings of public use. The first Basilica[b] was laid out and begun by M. Æmilius Paullus, Consul in 50 B.C. This magnificent work was said to have been erected with money received from Cæsar as the price of the Consul's good services.[c] It was, at least, a worthy application of unworthy gains. But the Basilica Aemilia was soon eclipsed by the splendid plans of the Dictator Cæsar. A great space had lately been cleared by the fire kindled at the funeral of Clodius. Other buildings were pulled down. The Basilica Julia extended on the south of the Forum along the frontage formerly occupied by the Tabernæ Veteres.[d] The great work was completed by Octavian. A still more magnificent edifice were the Thermæ or Hot-baths of Agrippa, of which the noble building erroneously called the Pantheon formed but a part. In this structure the Arch, that instrument by which (as we have noticed) Rome was enabled to give that combination of stability and magnitude which distinguish all her works, achieved its greatest triumph; and here was seen the first of those great vaulted domes which became the distinctive attribute of the Christian Architecture of Modern

[b] By Basilica was meant a Hall of greater length than breadth, which was divided into a central nave, flanked on each side by aisles. The *Basilica*, in fact, was the model of the Christian *Church*. Different parts of these buildings were set apart for the use of the different Law-courts, and for the transaction of other kinds of business. The most perfect specimen remaining is part of the great Basilica of Constantine, on the north side of the Forum, erroneously called the Temple of Peace.

[c] Chapt. lxvii. § 3.

[d] Chapt. iii. § 24.

Rome; here was displayed the greatest achievement that the mechanical skill of the builder could yet boast; and here it must still be sought, unless we concede that in the last few years the iron girder has been proved capable of superseding the solid majesty of the Arch. By these and many other works, Temples, Baths, and the like,—politic both because they increased the magnificence and the health of the capital, and also gave constant employment to workmen who might otherwise have been turbulent,—the Emperor Augustus was enabled to boast that he had "found Rome of brick, and left it of marble."[e]

§ 22. But it was not to Rome alone that Augustus, Agrippa, and others confined their labours. Nothing more excites our wonder than to stumble upon costly works, built with a solidity that seems to imply immortality, in the mountain districts of Italy, or in remote valleys of Gaul or Asia Minor or Africa. Wherever the Roman went, he carried with him his noble art of building. The Aqueduct which was constructed by Agrippa to supply Nemausus (Nismes), a colony of no great note, with water, is a proof of this assertion. The largest modern cities can hardly show a work of public utility so magnificent as the structure which is known to thousands of modern travellers under the name of the Pont du Gard.

§ 23. It is needless here to repeat the dismal tale of corruption and vice which was presented in the life of most of the eminent Romans of the time. Even the rich who were not vicious in their pleasures, such as Lucullus and Hortensius, showed less of taste and good sense in their expenditure than a desire of astonishing by display. The old Religion, slowly sapped by the effects of conquest and wealth, had lost its hold upon the public mind, except so far as superstitious practices lingered among the uneducated classes. Philosophy did little to supply the void. Here, indeed, the practical tendencies of the Roman mind attached it to the most practical doctrines of the Hellenic Teachers. The moral philosophy of Zeno and Epicurus divided the Roman world; for here were to be found broad and positive principles of action, comprehensible to all.

[e] "Ut jure sit gloriatus, marmoream se relinquere, quam lateritiam accepisset."—Sueton. *Octav.* 28.

The finer speculations of the later Academic and Peripatetic Schools found few votaries among men, who were equally downright in their purposes of virtuous or vicious living. In earlier times the Stoic doctrines had found a response in the hearts of men who revived the stern simplicity of the old Roman life. Some of the best men in the times that followed the Punic Wars were Stoics by practice, as well as in profession. Such were Æmilius Paullus and his son the younger Scipio. Notwithstanding the pride and self-sufficiency which was the common result of Zeno's discipline, there was yet something ennobling in the principle that a man's sole business in life is to do his Duty, regardless of pleasure or pain, riches or poverty, honour or disgrace. But Nature is too strong for such a system to prevail for many years or over many men. The popular Philosophy of the later times was borrowed from the School of Epicurus. It was an easy and fashionable modification of the morality of that great Philosopher, such as suited the rich and unscrupulous politicians who led or sought to lead the fortunes of the Republic. Epicurus taught that human happiness could not exist without Pleasure; but he added, that, without the practice of Virtue, real Pleasure could not exist. The former precept was eagerly adopted by the sensualists of Rome: the latter was forgotten or set aside.

Nothing more strongly proves the vicious state of society than the neglect of the marriage tie and the unblushing immorality of the female sex. The great Dictator Cæsar and his heir Octavian, though their own practice was not such as to set example to society, both saw the danger of this state of things, and both endeavoured to restore at least outward decency, and to put aside flagrant abuses. Regular marriage they endeavoured to encourage or even to enforce by Law.

§ 24. But if Religion had given way, Superstition was busy at work. Men in general cannot stifle their sense of responsibility, nor throw entirely aside those sentiments which are unfolded with more or less of strength in every mind and in every state of social existence. There must still be some sympathy with pain and sorrow borne patiently, with danger faced heroically, with crushed innocence, with wronged poverty, and with outraged modesty. There must still be some who are left

unsatisfied by the world of sense, and crave after higher and more spiritual truths. In a state of society, indeed, where these natural sentiments are laughed down or set at naught, there will be many in whose hearts they may disappear, and monsters in human kind may be brought forth. But Neros and Domitians are the exceptions, not the rule. The common sentiments of humanity, finding little support in the Religion of the country, little in its Philosophy, and less still in the general tone of Society, invented new modes of expression. In many hearts doubts and questionings arose; and ignorance and impatience suggested a resort to strange methods of seeking satisfaction. The ancient Oracles had fallen into disrepute, and soon after the Fall of the Republic (as is well known to Christian students) shrank into ignoble silence. But behind the Hellenic, a new world was now opened to Rome. She became familiar with the mystic speculation and the more spiritual creeds of the East. The ancient civilisation of Egypt, with its grotesque solemnity; the sublimer imaginings of the Tribes who worshipped the God of Fire or the Host of Heaven on the plains of Central Asia; the awful homage paid by the people of Jerusalem to sanctuaries which contained no visible object of worship, excited the imaginations and stirred the craving curiosity of the Romans. The fanatical worship of the Egyptian Divinities, Isis and Serapis, became common even in Rome, notwithstanding the old feeling against Cleopatra, and notwithstanding many attempts to crush this worship. It became a familiar practice to seek for revelations of the future by means of the stars. The grim Marius carried about with him a Syrian soothsayer. To consult Babylonian star-readers was familiar to the friends of Horace. Magi were the companions of Roman Magistrates. One of Juvenal's most striking pictures is that of the gloomy voluptuary Tiberius sitting in his island Palace surrounded by a host of Chaldæan astrologers. Nor could the purer and sublimer images of the Hebrew Scriptures be unknown. Jews abounded in every populous City of the Empire long before they were scattered by the Fall of their Holy City. Virgil drew one of his noblest bursts of poetry from the inspiration of Isaiah's prophetic visions. There were, however, thoughtful men who could not be content with astrological

quackeries or with the mystic fanaticism with which most Oriental creeds were mingled. These for the most part sought the presence of God in the material creation, and confounded the Divinity with his works. Man seemed to them such a mass of contradictory meannesses, that they tried to solve the riddle of evil, by supposing that he, like the animals and the whole creation, was but a machine animated by the universal and pervading spirit of the Deity. Such was the elder Pliny,[6] who forfeited a life spent in the study of nature to the curiosity which induced him to brave the fires of Vesuvius.

§ 25. Out of this seething mass of doubts and fears, uncertain belief and troubling disbelief, rose an eagerness to find and a readiness to receive the principles of that Religion which took root a few years later in Galilee and Judæa, and which extended itself with marvellous rapidity over every Province of the Empire. The purity of its morality satisfied those whose hearts were still craving for something better than could be found in the Religions or Philosophies of the day. Its divine aspirations and its pretensions to open some insight into the baffling uncertainties of life beyond the grave, offered great attractions to those who were looking with doubt and fear upon all that lay before or behind. The breaking up of national distinctions, the union of all the Mediterranean shore under one strong and central Government, the roads and canals which connected countries and Provinces under the magnificent rule of the first Cæsars, were potent instruments in assisting the rapid march of the new Religion. All things, moral and physical, internal and external, concurred to promote the greatest, but most silent, Revolution that has ever passed over the mind of that part of the Human Race which claims to lead the Civilisation of the World.

[6] See his Natural History (ii. 5),—a very striking and interesting passage.

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